

HONGKONG

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左傳曰：七年春，邾子來朝，始朝公也。

夏四月，卜郊，不從，乃免牲。孟獻子曰：吾乃今而後知有卜筮，夫郊祀后稷，以祈農事也，是故啟蟄而郊，郊而後耕。今既耕而卜郊，宜其不從也。

小邾穆公來朝，亦始朝公也。

南遺爲費宰，叔仲昭伯爲隧正，欲善季氏，而求媚于南遺，謂遺請城費，台多與而役，故季氏城費。

秋季，武子如衛，報子叔之聘，且辭緩報，非貳也。

冬十月，晉韓獻子告老，公族穆子有廢疾，將立之，辭曰：詩曰：豈不夙夜，謂行多露。又曰：弗躬弗親，庶民弗信。無忌不才，讓其可乎？請立起也。與田蘇游，而曰：好仁，詩曰：靖共爾位，好是正直，神之聽之，介爾景福。恤民爲德，正直爲正，止曲爲直，參和爲仁，如是則神聽之，介福降之，立之不亦可乎？庚戌，使宣子朝，遂老。晉侯謂韓無忌仁，使掌公族大夫。

衛孫文子來聘，且拜武子之言，而尋孫桓子之盟。公登亦登，叔孫穆子相，趨進曰：諸侯之會，寡君未嘗後衛君，今吾子不後寡君，寡君未知所過，吾子其少安。孫子無辭，亦無懷谷。穆叔曰：孫子必亡，爲臣而君過而不懷亡之木也。詩曰：退食自公，委蛇委蛇，謂從者也，衡而委蛇，必折。

楚子囊圍陳，會于鄆以救之。

鄭僖公之爲大了也，於成之十六年，與子罕適晉，不禮焉，又與子豐適楚，亦不禮焉。及其元年，朝於晉，子豐欲愬諸晉而廢之，子罕止之，及將會于鄆，子駟相，又不禮焉，侍者諫，不聽，又諫，殺之。及鄆，子駟使賊夜弑僖公，而以瘡疾赴於諸侯。簡公十五年，卒而立之。

陳人患楚，慶虎、慶寅謂楚人曰：吾使公子黃往而執之，楚人從之。慶使告陳侯於會，楚人執公子黃矣，君

THE  
CHINESE CLASSICS

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,  
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDICES

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D.,  
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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

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CONTAINING

DUKES SEANG, CHAOU TING AND GAE, WITH TSO'S APPENDIX  
AND THE INDICES.

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棄，賜我南鄙之田，狐狸所居，豺狼所嗥，我諸戎除翦其荆棘，驅其狐狸豺狼，以爲先君不侵不叛之臣。至於今不貳。昔文公與秦伐鄭，秦人竊與鄭盟，而舍戍焉。於是乎有殺之師，晉禦其上，戎亢其下，秦師不復，我諸戎實然。譬如捕鹿，晉人角之，諸戎掎之，與晉踣之，戎何以不免？自是以來，晉之自役，與我諸戎相繼於時，以從執政，猶殺志也。豈敢離邊？今官之師旅，無乃實有所闕，以攜諸侯，而罪我諸戎？我諸戎飲食衣服，不與華同，贄幣不通，言語不達，何惡之能爲？不與於會，亦無膏焉。賦青蠅而退，宣子辭焉，使卽事於會，成愷悌也。於是了叔齊子爲季武子介，以會，自是晉人輕魯幣，而益敬其使。

⑤吳子諸樊旣除喪，將立季札。季札辭曰：「曹宣公之卒也，諸侯與曹人，不義曹君，將立子臧，了臧去之，遂弗爲也。以成曹君，君子曰：『能守節，君義嗣也。』誰敢奸君？有國，非吾節也。札雖不才，願附於了臧，以無失節。固立之，棄其室而耕，乃舍之。」

夏，諸侯之大夫從晉侯伐秦，以報櫟之役也。晉侯待於竟，使六卿帥諸侯之師以進。及涇，不濟。叔向見叔孫穆子，穆子賦匏有苦葉，叔向退而具舟。魯人莒人先濟。鄭子驥見衛北宮懿子，曰：「與人而不固，取忠莫甚焉。」若社稷何？懿子說，二子見諸侯之師而勸之濟。濟涇而次，秦人右涇上流，師人多死。鄭司馬子驥帥鄭師以進，師皆從之。至于械林，不獲成焉。荀偃令曰：「雞鳴而駕，塞井夷竈，唯余馬首是瞻。」欒黶曰：「晉國之命，未是有也。」余馬首欲東，乃歸。上軍從之。左史謂魏壯子曰：「不待中行伯乎？」壯子曰：「夫子命從帥，欒伯，吾帥也。吾將從之，從帥所以待夫子也。」伯游曰：「吾令實過，悔之何及？」多遺秦禽，乃命人環。晉人謂之遷延之役。欒鍼曰：「此役也，報櫟之敗也，役又無功，晉之恥也。吾有二位於戎路，敢不恥乎？」與上鞅馳秦師，死焉。上鞅反，欒黶謂士匄曰：「余弟不欲往，而子召之，余弟死，而子來，是而子殺余之弟也。」弗逐。余亦將殺之。士鞅介秦，於是齊崔杼、宋華閱、仲江會伐秦，不書，惰也。向之會，亦如之。衛北宮括不書於向，書於伐秦，攝也。秦伯問於上鞅曰：「晉大夫其誰先亡？」對曰：「其欒氏。」



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唁衛侯，衛侯與之言，虐退而告其人曰：「衛侯其不得入矣，其葬土也，亡而不變，何以復國？」子展、子鮮聞之，見臧紇與之言，道臧孫說，謂其入曰：「衛君必入矣。」了者，或輓之，或推之，欲無入，得乎？

○師歸自伐秦，晉侯舍新軍禮也。成國不過半，天子之軍，周爲六軍，諸侯之人者，三軍可也。於是知朔牛盈而死，盈生六年而武子卒，薨，裴亦幼，皆未可立也，新軍無帥，故舍之。

○師曠侍於晉侯，晉侯曰：「衛人出其君，不亦甚乎？」對曰：「或者其君實甚，其君將賞善而刑淫，養民如子，蓋之如天，容之如地，民奉其君，愛之如父母，仰之如日月，敬之如神明，畏之如雷霆，其可出乎？夫君，神之主，而民之望也。若困民之主，匱神乏祀，百姓絕望，社稷無主，將安用之？弗去何爲？天生民而立之君，使司牧之，勿使失性，有君而爲之貳，使師保之，勿使過度，是故天子有公，諸侯有卿，卿置側室，大夫有貳宗，士有朋友，庶人工商，隸牧圉，皆有親暱，以相輔佐也。善則賞之，過則匡之，患則救之，失則革之，自一以下，各有父兄子弟，以補察其政，史爲書，瞽爲詩，工誦箴諫，大夫規誨，士傳言，庶人謗，商旅於市，百工獻藝，故夏書曰：『遄人以木鐸徇於路，官師相規，工執藝事以諫，』止月孟春，於是乎有之，諫失常也。天之愛民甚矣，豈其使人肆於民上，以從其淫，而棄天地之性，必不然矣。」

秋，楚子爲庸浦之役故，子囊師於棠以伐吳，吳不出而還，子囊殿，以吳爲不能而弗傲，吳人自皐月之隘，要而擊之，楚人不能相救，吳人敗之，獲楚公子官穀。

○下使劉定公賜齊侯命，曰：「昔伯舅大公，右我先王，股肱周室，師保萬民，世昨大師，以表東海，土室之不壞，緊伯舅是賴。今余命汝環，茲率舅氏之典，纂乃祖考，無忝乃舊，敬之哉！無廢朕命。」

晉侯問衛故於中行獻子，對曰：「不如因而定之，衛有君矣，伐之未可以得志，而勤諸侯，史佚有言曰：『因重而撫之，仲虺有言曰：『亡者侮之，亂者取之，推亡固存，國之道也。』』君其定衛以待時乎？冬，會于戚，謀定衛也。范宣子假

THE CH'UN TS'EW,  
WITH THE TSO CHUEN

BOOK IX. DUKE SEANG

*First year*

春秋

附左傳

襄公

元年春，二公即位。

仲孫蔑會二欒黶、宋華元、衛甯殖、

曹人、呂人、邾人、滕人、薛人、圍宋彭

城。

夏，三晉韓厥帥師伐鄭，仲孫蔑會齊

崔杼、曹人、邾人、杞人、次、鄆。

秋，四楚公子「人帥師侵宋。

九月，五齊人崩。

四章季孫宿、叔孫豹帥師城成郛。  
五章秋八月丁巳，日有食之。  
六章邾人伐我南鄙。  
七章冬十有一月，癸亥，晉侯周卒。

左傳曰：十有五年春，宋向戌來聘，且尋盟。見孟獻子，尤其室，曰：「了有令聞而美其室，非所望也。」對曰：「我在晉，吾兄爲之，毀之重勞，日不敢聞。」  
 官師從單靖公逆，十后卜齊，卿不行，非禮也。

①楚公了午爲令尹，公了罷戎爲右尹，蒍了蕩爲人司馬，公了蒙師爲右司馬，公了成爲左司馬，屈到爲莫敖，公了追舒爲箴尹，屈蕩爲連尹，養山基爲宮廐尹，以靖國人君子謂楚於是乎能官人，官人國之急也，能官人則民無覬心，詩云：「嗟我懷人，寘彼周行，能官人也。」及公侯伯了男，甸采衛人夫，各居其列，所謂周行也。

②鄭尉氏司氏之亂，其餘盜在宋，鄭人以了西伯有，了產之故，納賂於宋，以馬四，乘與師伐師慧，月，公孫黑爲質焉，司城了罕以堵孜父尉駟司齊與之，良司仲而逸之，託諸季武了，武了寘諸下，鄭人醢之，人也，師慧過宋朝，將私焉，其相曰：「朝也，慧口無人焉，相曰：「朝也，何故無人？」慧口必無人焉，若猶有人，豈其以了乘之相，易淫樂之嚵，必無人焉故也。」罕聞之，固詰而歸之。

夏齊侯圍成，貳於晉故也，於是乎城成郛。  
 秋邾人伐我南鄙，使告於晉，晉將爲會以討邾，晉侯有疾，乃止。冬，晉悼公卒，遂不克會。

③鄭公孫夏如晉介虒子蟻送葬。

④宋人或得卜，獻諸了罕，了罕弗受，獻卜者曰：「以小玉人，卜人以爲寶也，故敢獻之。」了罕曰：「我以不貪爲寶，爾以卜爲寶，若以與我，皆喪寶也，不若人有其寶。」稽首而告。

來聘。荀息侯使聘。公孫侯使。冬，衛來朝。邾子來朝。

左傳曰：元年，春，辛亥，圍宋彭城。非宋地，追書也。於是為宋討魚石。故稱宋，曰不登叛人也。謂之宋志。彭城，路晉。晉人以宋力大夫在彭城者歸，冀諸狐丘。齊人不會彭城。晉人以為討。月，齊大子光為質於晉。夏五月，晉韓厥、荀偃帥諸侯之師，伐鄭，入其郛，敗其徒兵於洧上。於是東諸侯之師次於鄆，以待晉師。晉師自鄭以鄆之師侵楚，焦夷及陳。晉侯、衛侯次於戚，以為之援。秋，楚子辛救鄭，侵宋呂、留。鄭子然侵宋，取人丘。九月，邾子來朝，禮也。冬，衛子叔弓知武了來聘，禮也。凡諸侯即位，小國朝之，大國聘焉，以繼好結信，謀中補闕，禮之大者也。

- I 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat
- 2 Chung-sun Meeh joined Lwan Yin of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Keu, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'ang, and an officer of Seeh, in besieging P'ang-shing in Sung
- 3 In summer, Han Keueh of Tsin led an army, and invaded Ch'ing. Chung-sun Meeh joined Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of K'e, and halted, [with their forces], in Ts'ang
- 4 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung -
- 5 In the ninth month, on Sin-yew, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died
- 6 The viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit
- 7 In winter, the marquis of Wei sent the Kung-sun P'eaou to Loo on a visit of friendly inquiries. So did the marquis of Tsin send Seun Ying

TITLE OF THIS BOOK — 襄公, 'Duke Seang'

Duke Seang's name was Woo (午). He was the son of duke Ch'ing, and as we learn from the Chuen after IX 6, at the time of his accession was only 4 years old. His mother was not the daughter of Ts'e, of whose marriage with Ch'ing we have an account in his 14th year, but of a Sze (嬖), a lady of K'e, whose death appears in the 4th year. His posthumous title Seang denotes—'Successful in his conduct of affairs' (因事有功曰襄).

S'ang's 1st year synchronized with the 14th of king Keen (簡 1), the 1st of Taou (悼) of Tsin, the 10th of Ling (靈) of Ts'e, the 5th of Heen (獻) of Wei, the 20th of King of Ts'ae, the 13th of Ch'ing (成) of Ch'ing, the 6th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'aou, the 27th of Ch'ing of Ch'in, the 65th of Hwan of K'e, the 4th of P'ing (平) of Sung, the 5th of King (景) of Ts'in,

houred anywhere. The marquises of Ts'e and Wei behaved disrespectfully at it, which made Shuh h'ang say, "These two princess are sure not to escape an evil end. These meetings and visits at courts are standard ceremonies, such ceremonies are the vehicles of government, it is through government that men's persons are guarded. When the ceremonies are dishonoured government is lost, and when government is not firmly established, disorder must ensue."

'Che K'e, Chung-hang He, Chow Ch'oh, and Hing Kwae, all fled [from Ts'in] to Ts'e, being partisans of the Lwan family. Yoh Wang-foo said to Fan Seuen-tsze, "Why not bring back Chow Ch'oh and Hing Kwae who are men of daring courage?" "They are braves of the Lwan family," replied Seuen-tsze. "What should I gain?" Wang-foo said "Be to them what the Lwan was, and they will also be your braves."

'Duke Chwang of Ts'e, at his audience [one day], pointed to Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsui, and said, "These are my heroes." Chow Ch'oh said, "If your lordship thinks them heroes, who may not presume to be reckoned a hero? But unworthy as I am, after the service at P'ing-yin, (See on xviii 4), I crowded before them both." Duke Chwang having instituted an order of bravery, Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsui wished to belong to it. Chow Ch'oh said, "In the attack on the eastern gate my outside horse on the left turned wildly round in the gate, and I know the number of the boards in it,—can I be allowed for this to belong to the order?" The duke said "You were acting for the ruler of Ts'in." "But I am newly become your servant," replied the other. "As to those two, they are like beasts, whose flesh I will eat, and then sleep upon their skins."

[The K'ang-he editors give here the following note on the birth of Confucius:—'According to the Chuen of Kung-yang Confucius was born in the 11th month of Seang's 21st year, on the day K'ang-tsze, and according to that of Kuh-l'ang, he was born on K'ang-tsze, in the 10th month of this year. The "Historical Records,"

however, give his birth, as in the 22d year of Seang. In the preface to his "Collected Comments" on the Annals, Choo He, using the "History of the Kung family" thus defers to the authority of the "Historical Records," while Sung Lien (Ming dynasty), in his "Discussion of the month and year of Confucius' Birth and Death," vehemently maintains the authority of Kung and Kuh. He adduces, however, no incontestable evidence of their correctness, merely saying that the "Historical Records" contain many errors, and that the statement of Kung and Kuh handed down from one man to another, is to be relied upon, as having been supported by proofs. H'ia Hung-ke says, "Confucius was born in the 22d year of Seang, and lived to the 16th year of Gae, so that he was then 73 years old. The account in the 'Historical Records' is correct. The month as given by Kung-yang is wrong,—how can we place implicit confidence in him? Sung Lien, following Kung and Kuh makes the sage to have been 71 years old which seems a strange thing to hear of." This view of H'ia's is the best. The prolegomena to the "General Mirror of History" observe, moreover, that in the 21st year of Seang the sun was twice eclipsed, which does not appear a proper year for the sage to be born in,—and this consideration is not without its reasonableness. Confucius was born in a K'ang-seuh year, and died in a Jin-seuh,—such is the account that has long obtained. Giving a paramount authority to Choo He, and comparing with him the statements of H'ia and the prolegomena to the "General Mirror," we may assume that the "Historical Records" are not in error in this matter.

'The year of the sage's birth ought be noticed in connection with the Ch'ün Ts'ew, but there is no article in the Chuen of T'so she on Seang's 22d year, to which it could be annexed, we have therefore preserved here the statements of Kung and Kuh, and discussed them in this note. See the proleg to Vol I, p 59]

*Thirty-second year.*

二十二年春王正月  
 公至自會。  
 三月夏四月。公至自會。  
 秋七月辛酉叔老卒。  
 冬公會晉侯齊侯宋  
 公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒  
 邾子薛伯杞伯小  
 邾子于沙隨。  
 公至自會。  
 大夫公子追舒。  
 楚殺其

the 19th of Kung (共) of Ts'oo; and the 14th of Shou mung of Woo (吳壽夢).

Par 1 See on VIII. 1. 1; *et al.*

Par 2. The Chuen says:— This year in spring on Ke-hae, there was the siege of P'ang shing. It did not now belong to Sung;—the text calls it Sung's retrospectively. At this time [the States] were punishing Yu Shih for Sung and therefore the city is called Sung's and moreover the text would not sanction the exaltation of a rebel. The language has respect to the wishes of Sung [in the matter].

P'ang-shing surrendered to Tsin, and the people of Tsin took the five great officers of Sung who were in it back with them and placed them in Hoo-k'ew. The troops of Ts'oo were not present at [the siege of] P'ang shing which Tsin thought was a ground for punishing [that State], and in the 4th month the eldest son of [the marquis of] Ts'oo became a hostage in Tsin.

According to Tso-she's own remarks in the above Chuen, the 木 before 彭城 in this par is Confucius own,—an instance not of his pruning but of his correcting pencil. But the reasons for his view are very shadowy. Ts'oo had not taken P'ang shing from Sung and appropriated it to itself. King Kung had indeed placed Lu Shih in it, as a thorn in the side of Sung and had supplied him with a force to enable him to maintain his position, but he had not made him its ruler with the title of baron, or viscount, or any higher dignity. Nothing had occurred which should make the historians not speak of the city as Sung's.

Par 3. Tsing was a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Say Chow dep. Kwei-tih. It must not be confounded with the State of Tsing, V. xiv 2; *et al.* For 彭 Kung yang has 屈 and for 郕 合.

The Chuen says:—In summer in the 5th month, Han Kueh and Seun Ien of Tsin invaded Ch'ing with the forces of [several of] the States, and entered its outer suburbs. They defeated its infantry near the Wei. At this time the armies of the [other] States were halting at Tsing waiting for the army of Tsin. When that came from Ch'ing, it made a junction with them, and made an incursion into Ts'oo-oo of Ts'oo, and into Ch'in. The marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Wei remained in T'ieh, to render any aid that might be needed.

Chao P'ang fei says on this paragraph:—Tsin, as chief among the States, invaded Ch'ing many times. The reason why it thought

it necessary to maintain its grasp of it with the forces of the other States was not the strength of Ch'ing but the fear of Ts'oo. Had there been no Ts'oo to come to the help of Ch'ing Tsin might have penetrated to its outer suburbs with a small force. The manner in which it now took its measures in reference to Ch'ing may be pronounced prudent and skilful. With Han Kueh alone attacking the capital of Ch'ing in front, and the soldiers of the five States ready to succour him in the rear if the forces of Ts'oo did not come forth the single Han Kueh was abundantly able to take the city; if they did come forth, the armies of the five States were sufficient to fight them without fear. These arrangements showed the care with which Tsin made use of the other States and did not lightly expose their people in battle. Therefore the sage by the terms "invaded" and "halted" indicated his admiration of its measures in dealing with the offending Ch'ing. Expositors, regarding only the statement in the next paragraph that an army of Ts'oo made an incursion into Sung say that the States halted at Tsing to save Sung. But it was not till the autumn that Ts'oo made that incursion;—how should the States have halted here beforehand with a view to save Sung? Such a view shows no consideration of the order of the paragraphs. Moreover Tsing was in the territory of Ch'ing;—would they have halted in Ch'ing to save Sung?

Par 4. The Chuen says:— In autumn, Tze-sin of Ts'oo went to succour Ch'ing, and made an incursion on Leu and L'ew of Sung. Tze-jen of Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung and took K'ueu-k'ew.

Par 5. This was king K'uen (㐁). He was succeeded by his son, king Ling (㐂).

Par 6. Tso-she says this is it was proper to congratulate I suppose the child marquis on his accession.

Par 7. The Chuen says:— In winter Tze-sin of Wei, and Cho Woo-tze of Tsin, came to Loo, with friendly inquiries; which was proper. On the accession of any prince smaller States appeared [by their princes] at his court and larger ones sent friendly missions,—for the continuance of their friendship, and cementing their good faith, to take counsel on affairs, and to repair deficiencies. These were the greatest of ceremonies.

These courtesies to Loo, it must be supposed were sent before the States had heard the news of the king's death, because after such an event there was an intermission for a time of those observances.

楚濊子馮卒，屈建爲令尹，屈蕩爲莫敖。舒鳩人卒叛楚，令尹子木伐之，及離城，吳人救之，子木遽以右師先，子彊、息桓、子捷、子駢、子孟帥左師以退。吳人居其間七日，子彊曰：「久將墊隘，隘乃禽也，不如速戰。」請以私卒誘之，簡師，陳以待我，我克則進，奔則亦視之，乃可以免，不然必爲吳禽。從之。五人以其私卒先擊吳師，吳師奔，登山以望，見楚師不繼，復逐之，傳諸其軍。簡師會之，吳師大敗，遂圍舒鳩。舒鳩潰，八月，楚滅舒鳩。

鄭子產獻捷於晉，戎服將事，晉人問陳之罪，對曰：「昔虞閼父爲周陶正，以服事我先王，我先王賴其利器用也，與其神明之後也，庸以元女大姬配胡公，而封諸陳，以備三恪，則我周之自出，至於今是賴。桓公之亂，蔡人欲立其出，我先君莊公奉五父而立之，蔡人殺之，我又與蔡人奉戴厲公，至於莊宣，皆我之自立。夏氏之亂，成公播蕩，又我之自入，君所知也。今陳忘周之大德，蔑我大惠，棄我姻親，介恃楚衆，馮陵我敝邑，不可億逞。我是以有往年之告，未獲成命，則有我東門之役，當陳隊者，并埋木刊，敝邑大懼不競，而恥大姬，大誘其衷，啟敝邑心，陳知其罪，授手於我，用敢獻功。」晉人曰：「何故侵小？」對曰：「先王之命，唯罪所在，各致其辟，日昔天子之地一圻，列國一同，自是以衰，今大國多數圻矣，若無侵小，何以至焉？」晉人曰：「何故戎服？」對曰：「我先君武莊爲平桓鄉上城濮之役，文公布命曰：『各復舊職。』命我文公戎服輔王，以授楚捷，不敢廢王命故也。上莊伯不能詰，復於趙文子。文子曰：『其辭順，犯順不祥，乃受之。』冬十月，子展相鄭伯如晉，拜陳之功，子西復伐陳，陳及鄭平。仲尼曰：『志有之，言以足志，文以足言，不言誰知其志？言之無文，行而不遠，晉爲伯，鄭入陳，非文辭不爲功，慎辭哉。』

○楚蔣掩爲司馬，子木使庀賦，數甲兵，甲午，蔣掩書十田，度山林，鳩數澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防，牧隰臯，井衍沃，量入修賦，賦車籍馬，賦車徒卒，甲楯之數，旣成，以授子木，禮也。

十二月，吳子諸樊伐楚，以報舟師之役，門于巢，巢牛臣曰：「吳士勇而輕，若啟之，將親門，我獲射之，必殪，是君也。」死，疆其少安，從之。吳子門焉，牛臣隱於短牆，以射之，卒。



## Second year

一  
年春王正月葬簡王。

二  
鄭師伐宋。三  
夏五月庚寅夫人姜氏薨。

四  
六月庚辰鄭伯論卒。

五  
晉師宋師衛甯殖侵鄭。

六  
秋七月仲孫蔑會晉荀偃宋華元衛孫林父曹人邾人

七  
戚。八  
葬我小君齊姜。

八  
叔孫豹如宋。

九  
冬仲孫蔑會晉荀偃齊崔杼宋華元衛孫林父曹人邾人

滕人薛人小邾人丁戚遂城虎牢。

十  
楚殺其大夫公子申。

齊慶封好田而嗜酒，與慶舍政，則以其內實，遷於盧蒲癸氏。易內而飲酒，數日，國遷朝焉。使諸亡人得賊者，以告而反之，故及盧蒲癸。癸曰：「了之，有寵妻之。」慶舍之「」謂盧蒲癸曰：「男女辨姓，了不辟宗，何也？」曰：「示不余辟，余獨焉辟之。」賦詩斷章，余取所求焉。惡誠宗。癸曰：「何而反之？」人皆嬖，使執寢戈而先後之。公膳，日雙雞，饔人竊史之以鴛，御者知之，則去其肉，而以其洎饋了。雅了尾怒，慶封告盧蒲癸。盧蒲癸曰：「譬之如禽獸，吾寢處之矣。」使析歸父告晏平仲。平仲曰：「嬰之衆不足用也，知無能謀也。」弗敢出，有盟可也。了家曰：「了之，言六，又焉用盟？」告北郭了申，了申曰：「人各有以事君，非佐之所能也。」陳文子謂桓子曰：「禍將作矣，吾其何得？」對曰：「得慶氏之木，自申於莊。」文子曰：「可慎守也。」已。盧蒲癸「」何「」卜攻慶氏，示了之兆曰：「或卜攻讐，敢獻其兆。」了之「」克見血，冬「」月。慶封田於萊，陳無宇從。丙辰，文子使召之，請曰：「無宇之「」疾病，請歸。」慶封卜之，示了之兆曰：「死，奉龜而泣，乃使歸。」慶嗣聞之，曰：「禍將作矣。」謂了家速歸，禍作必於嘗歸，猶可及也。了家弗聽，亦無懷志。了息曰：「亡矣，幸而獲在吳越。」陳無宇濟水，而戕舟發梁。盧蒲姜謂癸曰：「有事而不告我，必不捷矣。」癸告之，姜曰：「夫子懷莫之止，將不出，我請止之。」癸曰：「諾。」「」月「」乙亥，嘗於大公之廟，慶舍蒞事，盧蒲姜告之，且止之。弗聽，曰：「誰敢者？」遂如公。麻嬰爲尸，慶舍爲上獻，盧蒲癸「」何「」執寢戈。慶氏以其「」環公宮，陳氏鮑氏之閨人爲優。慶氏之馬善驚，「」皆釋甲束馬，而飲酒，日觀優。至於魚甲，樂高陳鮑之徒，介慶氏之「」了尾，抽桷擊扉。三，盧蒲癸自後刺了之。王何以戈擊之，解其左肩，猶援廟桷動於薨，以殂。帝投殺人而後死，遂殺慶繩、麻嬰。公懼，鮑國曰：「羣臣爲君故也。」陳須無以公歸，稅服而如內宮。慶封歸，遇告亂者「」亥，伐西門，弗克，還伐北門，克之，入伐內宮，弗克，反陳於嶽，請戰，弗許，遂來奔。獻申於平武了，美澤可以鑑。展壯叔見之，曰：「申甚澤，人必瘁，宜其亡也。」叔孫穆了食慶封，慶封汜祭，穆了不說，使「」爲之誦「」鳩，亦不知。既而齊人來讓，弁吳，吳糾餘了之朱方，聚其族焉而居之，富於其舊了服。患伯謂叔孫曰：「大殆富淫人，慶封又富矣。」穆了曰：「昔人富謂之賞，淫人富謂之殃，大其殃之也，其將聚而殲旃。」

左傳曰：二年春，鄭師侵宋，楚令也。

○齊侯伐萊，萊人使正與子賂夙少衛，以象馬牛皆百匹，齊師乃還。君子是以知齊靈公之爲靈也。

夏，齊姜薨，初穆姜使擇美棺，以自爲椁，與頌琴季文子取以葬。君子曰：非禮也。禮無所逆，婦養姑者也。虧姑以成婦逆，莫大焉。詩曰：其惟哲人，告之誥言。順德之行，季孫於是爲不哲矣。且姜氏君之妣也，詩曰：爲酒爲醴，丞祀祖妣，以洽百禮。降福孔偕。

鄭成公疾，子駟謂臧月於晉公曰：楚君以鄭故，親集矢於其目，非異人任，寡人也。若將之，是棄力與言，其誰曜我，免寡人，唯二三子私。七月庚辰，鄭伯論卒。

於是子罕當國，子駟爲政。子國爲司馬，晉師侵鄭，諸大夫欲從，晉子駟曰：官命未改，會于成，謀鄭故也。孟獻子曰：請城虎牢，以備鄭。知武子曰：若節之會，吾子聞崔子之言，今不來矣。滕、薛小邾之不至，皆齊故也。寡君之憂，不唯鄭將復於寡君，而請於齊，得請而告，吾子之功也。若不得請，事將在齊。吾子之請，諸侯之福也。豈惟寡君賴之？齊侯使諸姜宗婦來送葬，召萊子，萊子才會，故晏弱城東陽以備之。

穆叔聘于宋，通嗣君也。

冬，復會于成，齊崔武子及滕、薛小邾之大夫皆會。知武子之言故也。遂城虎牢，鄭人乃成。

楚公子申爲右司馬，多受小國之賂，以備子重。子辛楚人殺之，故書曰：楚殺其大夫公子申。

- II 1 In the [dukes] second year, in spring in the king's first month, there was the burial of king K'uen  
 2 An army of Ch'ing invaded Sung  
 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'ang yin, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady K'ang, died  
 4 In the sixth month, on K'ang-shin, Kw'än, earl of Ch'ing, died  
 5 An army of Tsin, an army of Sung, and Ling Chih of Wei, made an incursion into Ch'ing

(probably Chaou Tsuy) On K'ah-shin, the 1st day of the moon, he offered the winter sacrifice in W'än, and on Kang-seuh he died | The earl of Ch'ing was going to Tsin to offer his condolences [on this event], but when he had got to Yung, he returned'

## Second year.

二年春晉侯  
使韓起來聘。  
夏叔弓如晉。  
秋鄭殺其大  
夫公孫黑。  
冬公如晉至  
河乃復季孫  
宿如晉。

左傳曰：二年春，晉侯使韓宣子來聘，且告爲政而來見禮也。觀書於大史氏，見易象與魯春秋，曰：周禮盡在魯矣。吾乃今知周公之德與周之所以王也。公享之。季武子賦綿之卒章，韓子賦角弓。季武子拜曰：敢拜子之彌縫敝邑。寡君有望矣。武子賦節之卒章，既享，宴於季氏，有嘉樹焉。宣子譽之。武子曰：宿敢不封殖此樹，以無忘角弓。遂賦甘棠。宣子曰：起不堪也，無以及召公。宣子遂如齊，納幣，見了雅，了雅召了旗，使見宣子。宣子曰：非保家之主也，不臣。見了尾，了尾見彊，宣子謂之：如子旗，大夫多笑之。唯晏子信之，曰：夫子君了也，君子有信，其有以知之矣。自齊聘於衛，衛侯享之，北宮文子賦淇澳，宣子賦木瓜。

○夏四月，韓須如齊逆女，齊陳無宇送女，致少姜。少姜有寵於晉侯，晉侯謂之少齊，謂陳無宇非卿，執諸中都。少姜爲之請曰：送從逆班，畏大國也，猶有所易，是以亂作。

叔弓聘於晉，報宣子也。晉侯使郊勞，辭曰：寡君使弓來繼舊好，固曰女無敢爲賓，徹命於執事，敝邑弘矣，敢辱郊使，請辭。致館，辭曰：寡君命下臣來繼舊好，好合使成，臣之祿也，敢辱大館。叔向曰：子叔了知禮哉，吾聞之曰：忠信，禮之器也。卑讓，禮之宗也。辭不忘國，忠信也。先國後己，卑讓也。詩曰：敬慎威儀，以近有德。夫子近德矣。

秋，鄭公孫黑將作亂，欲去游氏而代其位，傷疾作而不果，駟氏與諸人

- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Chung-sun Meeh had a meeting with Seun Ying of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in Ts'eih
- 7 On Ke-ch'ow, we buried our duchess, Ts'e Keang
- 8 Shuh-sun P'aou went to Sung
- 9 In winter, Chung-sun Meeh had a meeting with Seun Ying of Tsin, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'ang, an officer of Seeh, and an officer of Little Choo, in Ts'eih, when they proceeded to wall Hoo-laou
- 10 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tze Shin

Par 1 This burial, 5 months after death, was sooner than 'the rule' prescribed

Par 2 Acc to Tso, this 'invasion' was merely 'an incursion,' at the command of Ts'oo

[The Chuen appends here —The marquess of Ts'e invaded Lao, the people of which sent Ching Yu-tsze to bribe Suh Sha-wei [Chief eunuch in Ts'e] with a hundred choice horses and as many oxen. On this the army of Ts'e returned. From this the superior man might know that duke Ling of Ts'e was indeed *ling* (A play on the meaning of the term as a posthumous epithet)]

Par 3 This was duke Ch'ing's wife *proper*, called the 'wife-mother' (嫡母) of duke Seang. The Chuen says —'Before this, Muh Keang [Duke Ch'ing's mother] had caused some fine *lea* trees to be chosen, to make for herself a coffin and a *sung* lute. Ke Wän-tsze now took the coffin to bury Ts'e Keang in. The superior man will pronounce this proceeding contrary to propriety. Propriety admits of nothing unreasonable. A wife should nourish her mother-in-law,—nothing could be more unreasonable than to take from the mother-in-law to supply the wife. The ode (She, III in ode II 9) says,

"There is indeed a wise man,—  
I tell him good words,  
And he yields to them the practice of  
docile virtue"

But Ke-sun in this showed himself not wise. And [Ts'e] Keang was the duke's mother. The ode (She, IV 1 Bk. II ode IV), says,

"With spirits and sweet spirits,  
To present to our deceased parents,  
And in supply for all ceremonies,—  
Very abundant is the blessing conferred  
upon us"

Par 4 The Chuen says —'Duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing was ill, and Tsze-sze begged him to ease

his shoulder upon Tsin, but he said, "For the sake of Ching, the ruler of Ts'oo received an arrow in his eye. It was for me he underwent this, and for no other man. If I revolt from him, I cast away his efforts in our behalf and my own promise,—who in such a case would care for my friendship? It is for you, my officers, to save me from such a course." In autumn, in the 7th month, on Käng-shun, Kwän, earl of Ching, died'

In this last sentence of the Chuen, Käng-shun the day of the earl's death, is said to have been in the 7th month, and not in the 6th as in the text. And the Chuen must be correct, for Käng-yin of par 3 being in the 5th month, there cannot have been a Käng-shun day in the 6th. Acc to Tso's scheme of the calendar, Käng-shun was the 9th day of the 7th month.

There is no mention subsequently of the burial of the earl of Ch'ing, 'because,' acc to K'aou K'ang, 'he had joined the party of Ts'oo, and the other States therefore did not observe the usual measures at his funeral'

Par 5 The Chuen says —'At this time, Tsze-han [of Ch'ing] had charge of the State, Tsze-sze was chief minister, and Tsze-kwoh was minister of War. All the other great officers wished to give in the adhesion of the State to Tsin, but Tsze-sze said, "The charge to us officers is not yet changed."

Tsin was now taking advantage of the death of the earl of Ch'ing to attack the State. The other officers wanted to submit to it, but Tsze-sze held that the charge of the deceased earl, that they should adhere to Ts'oo, was binding on them, till his successor should give them different instructions and it was too early for him to have done so. To attack a State when suffering from the death of its ruler was contrary to the rule and practice of those times. The commentators have much to say on this point.

## Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年春，叔弓帥師圍費。  
二章 夏四月，楚公子比自晉歸，丁楚，弑其君。  
三章 虔，丁乾谿。楚公子棄疾殺公子比。  
四章 秋，公會劉子、晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、  
五章 曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、  
六章 平丘。八月甲戌，同盟于平丘。  
七章 公不與盟。晉人執李孫意如以歸。  
八章 公至自會。蔡侯廬歸，丁蔡，陳侯吳歸。  
九章 丁陳。冬十月，葬蔡靈公。  
十章 公如晉，至河乃復。吳滅州來。  
十一章

左傳曰：十三年春，叔弓圍費。弗克，敗焉。平子怒，令見費人，執之以爲囚俘。冶區夫曰：非也。若見費人，寒者衣之，饑者食之，爲之令主，而共其乏困，費來如歸。南氏亡矣，民將叛之，誰與居邑？若憚之以威懼之以怒，民疾而叛，爲之聚也。若諸侯皆然，費人無歸，不親南氏，將焉入矣？平子從之，費人叛南氏。  
 楚子之爲令尹也，殺大司馬遷掩而取其室，及卽位，奪遷居川，遷許而質許圍，蔡洧有寵於王，王之滅蔡也，其父死焉，王使與於守而行，申之會，越大夫戮焉，王會闕章龜中，讎又奪成然邑，而使爲郊尹，曼成然故事蔡公，故遷氏之族及遷居許圍，蔡洧

Par 6. The Chuen says—This meeting at Tai'eh was to consult in reference to Ch'ing M'ang Hsien tze (M'eh) proposed that they should fortify Hoo-laou, to bring a pressure to bear on Ch'ing. Che Woo-tze said, "Good. At the meeting in T'ang (the year before), you [mentioned] some remarks of the minister Tai'uy which you had heard; and now he is not here. Neither have T'ang, Hs'eh, and Little Choo come—all in consequence of Tai'e's [disaffection], and to the grief of my ruler. I will report the thing to him, and we will ask Tai'e [to join in the fortification]. If it accede, and we give notice accordingly the merit will be yours. If it do not accede, our business will lie in Tai'e. This proposal of yours is for the happiness of all the States. Not our ruler only is indebted to you for it."

Par 7. The Chuen says—The marquis of Tai'e made the wives of all his great officers of his own surname come to Loo to attend the funeral. He sent for the viscount of Lao also to come but he was not present. On this account Gan Juh walled Lung yang to exert a pressure on Lao.

Par 8. Shuh-sun P'au,—see the Chuen on VIII. xvi. 14. Tso says:—This friendly mission of Muh-shuh (P'au) to Sung was to open communications between it and the young marquis.

Par 9. Little Choo;—see V. vii. 2. The Chuen says:—In winter there was a second meeting at Tai'eh, when Tai'uy Woo-tze of Tze, and great officers of T'ang, Hs'eh, and Little Choo were all present, in consequence of the words of Che Woo-tze [at the former meeting]. They then proceeded to fortify Hoo-laou, and the people of Ch'ing tendered their submission [to Tsin]. Hoo-laou was a city which had belonged to Ch'ing, but was now held by Tsin. It was in the prov. dis. of Sze-shuwy dept. K'ue-fung. The K'ang he editors say that the fortifying of this city was grasping Ch'ing by the throat, so that it could not look towards the south.

Par 10. The Chuen says:—The Kung tze Shin of Tai'oo was marshal of the right and by means of the bribes which he received from many of the small States exercised a pressure on Tze-chung and Tze-sin till the people of Tai'oo put him to death. Hence the language of the text, "Tai'oo put to death its great officer the Kung tze Shin."

### Third year

一  
 年春，楚公子嬰齊帥師伐吳。  
 公如首。夏四月，王戌，公及首侯  
 盟于長檣。公卒自首。  
 六月，公會單子、首侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭  
 伯、呂子、邾子、齊世子光。己未同盟  
 雞澤。  
 陳侯使袁僑如會。  
 戊寅，叔孫豹及諸侯之人人及陳  
 袁僑盟。秋，公卒自會。  
 冬，首荀癸帥師伐許。

左傳曰：「一年春，楚子重伐吳，爲簡之師，克鳩茲，至於衡山，使鄧廖帥組甲、白、被練，丁以侵吳。吳人夢而擊之，獲鄧廖，其能免者，組甲八十被練，白而已。」了重歸既飲至，一日吳人伐楚，取駕，駕，良邑也。鄧廖亦楚之良也。君了謂子重於是役也，所獲不如所亡，楚人以是咎了重，子重病之，遂遇心疾而卒。

公如晉，始朝也。

夏，盟于長樗。孟獻子相，公稽首。知武子曰：「人丁在，而君辱稽首，寡君懼矣。」孟獻子曰：「以敝邑介在東表，密邇仇讎，寡君將君是望，敢不稽首。」

○祁奚請老，晉侯問嗣焉。稱解狐，其讐也，將立之而卒。又問焉，對曰：「午也可。」於是羊舌職死矣。祁奚曰：「孰可以代之？」對曰：「赤也可。」於是使祁午爲中軍尉。羊舌赤佐之。君了謂祁奚於是能舉善矣，稱其讐，不爲諂，立其子，不爲比，舉其偏，不爲黨。商書曰：「無偏無黨，十道蕩蕩。」其祁父之謂矣。解狐得舉，祁午得位，伯華得官，建官而勿成，能舉善也。夫唯善，故能舉其類。詩云：「惟其有之，是以似之。」祁父有焉。

晉爲鄭服故，且欲修吳好，將合諸侯。使上句告於齊曰：「寡君使句以歲之不易，不虞之不戒，寡君願與一兄弟相見，以謀不協，請君臨之。」使句乞盟。齊侯欲勿許，而難爲不協，乃盟於郕外。八月，公會單頃公及諸侯，己未同盟于雞澤。晉侯使荀會逆吳了於淮上，吳了不介。

楚了辛爲令尹，侵欲於小國，陳成公使袁倫如會求成。晉侯使和組父告於諸侯。

秋，叔孫豹及諸侯之人，夫及陳袁僑盟，陳請服也。

○晉侯之弟楊丁，亂行於曲梁，魏絳戮其僕。晉侯怒，謂羊舌赤曰：「合諸侯以爲榮也，楊丁爲戮，何辱如之？必殺魏絳，無失也。」對曰：「絳無貳志，事君不辟難，有罪不逃刑，其將來辭，何辱命焉？」終，魏絳立授僕人書，將伏劍。勳張老止之。公讀其書曰：「日君之使，使臣斯司馬，臣聞師衆以順爲武，軍事有死無犯爲敬，君合諸侯，臣敢不」



敬君師不武執事不敬，罪  
大焉。臣懼其死，以及揚  
無所逃罪，不能致討，至  
鉞臣之罪重，敢有司不  
征，以怒君心，請歸死於司  
寇公，跳而出曰：寡人之言  
親愛也。吾子之討軍禮也，  
寡人有弟，弗能教訓，使干  
大命，寡人之過也。子無重  
寡人之過，敢以爲請。晉侯  
以魏絳爲能以刑佐民矣。  
反役與之禮食，使佐新軍。  
張老爲中軍司馬，士富爲  
候奄。  
○楚司馬公子何忌侵陳  
陳叛，故也。  
許靈公事楚，不食于雞澤。  
冬，晉知武子帥師伐許。

- III 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, the Kung tsze Ying ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo  
2 The duke went to Tsin  
3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Jin seuh, the duke and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Chang-ch'oo  
4 The duke arrived from Tsin  
5 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of K'eu, the viscount of Ohoo, and Kwang, heir son of Ts'e, and on Ke-wu they made a covenant together at Ke-taih  
6 The marquis of Ch'in sent Yuen K'iaou to be present at the meeting  
7 On Mow yin, Shuh-sun P'aou, and the great officers of the various princes, made a covenant with Yuen K'iaou of Ch'in  
8 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting  
9 In winter, Seun Ying of Tsin led a force, and invaded Heu

Par 1 We have here the commencement of those hostilities between Ts'oo and Woo, which did more than all the power of the northern States to repress the growth of Ts'oo. Tsin had fostered the jealousy and ambition of Woo, until Ts'oo saw that the most prudent course for itself was to take the initiative in making war.

The Chuen says:— In the spring Tsze-chung of Ts'oo invaded Woo with an army selected for the purpose. He subdued K'au tsze, and proceeded as far as mount Hing. Thence he sent T'ang L'iao to make an incursion into the country with a force of 300 men wearing buff coats lacquered as if made of strings, and 3,000, whose coats were covered with silk. The people of Woo intercepted and attacked him. T'ang L'iao himself was taken, and of the men whose buff-coats looked as if made of strings only 80 escaped, and of the others only 300. Tsze-chung had returned [to Ying], and three days after he had drunk his arai al [in the ancestral temple] the people of Woo invaded Ts'oo, and took K'au. K'au was a good city. As T'ang L'iao was a good officer of Ts'oo. Superior men observed that what Tsze-chung gained in this expedition was not equal to what he lost. The people of Ts'oo on this account blamed Tsze-chung, who

was so much distressed, that he fell into mental trouble, and died.

1 arr \*—4 Tso says that this court visit was made as being proper on the duke's accession to the State. Of course the child was in the hands of his ministers, and did as they directed him. His guide at this time was Chung-sun M'ieh. As the duke had gone to the capital of Tsin, and the name of the place where the marquis and he covenanted is given it is supposed by Tso that the latter had courteously left the city and met his young guest outside. Hence Ying taih says that Chang-ch'oo was a place near the wall of the capital of Tsin.

The Chuen says:— At the covenant in Chang-ch'oo, M'ing H'ien-tze directed the duke, who bowed with his head to the ground. Cho Woo-tze said, "The son of Heaven is alive; and for your ruler to bow his head to the ground before him makes my ruler afraid. H'ien-tze replied, "Considering how our poor State stands there in the east, in proximity to our enemies, all our ruler's hope is in yours;—dare he but bow his head to the ground?"

[The Chuen append here:— K'e He (see the Chuen after VIII. xlii. 3) asked leave to resign his office on account of age. The marquis of

Tsin asked him, "Who is your successor, and he recommended Hsiao Woo, who was his enemy Hoo, however, died, as he was about to be appointed, and the marquis consulted He again. He replied, "Woo (his own son) may do." About the same time Yang-shieh Ch'ih died, and the marquis asked He who should take his place, when he replied, "Ch'ih (Ch'ih's son) will do." Accordingly K'e Woo was appointed tranquillizer of the army of the centre, and Yang-shieh Ch'ih assistant to him.

The superior man will say that K'e He thus showed himself capable of putting forward good men. He recommended his enemy, —evidently no flatterer, he got his own son appointed, —but from no partiality, he advanced his subordinate, —but with no partizanship. One of the Books of Shang (Shoo, V iv 14) says,

"Without partiality, and without deflection,  
Broad and long is the royal path,"

—words which may be applied to K'e He. Hsiao Woo, was recommended, K'e Woo got his position, and Pih-hwa (Yang-shieh Ch'ih) got his office —in the filling up of one office three things were accomplished. He was indeed able to put forward good men. Good himself, he could put forward those who were like him. The ode (She, II vi ode X 4) says,

"They have the ability,  
And right is it their actions should  
show it," —

so was it with K'e He!"]

Par 5 Ke-tshih was in Tsin, —in the northeast of the pres dep of Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. The Chuen says —"In consequence of the submission of Ch'ing, and wishing to cultivate the friendship of Woo, Tsin proposed to call a meeting of the States, and therefore [the marquis] sent Sze Kae to inform Ts'e, saying, "My ruler has sent me, because of the difficulties of every year, and the want of preparation against evils that may arise, [to say that] he wishes to have an interview with his brethren, to consult about the case of States that are not in harmony with us, and begs your lordship to come to it. He has sent me to beg a covenant with you." The marquis of Ts'e wanted to refuse, but felt the difficulty of appearing to be among the discordant, and made a covenant [with K'e], beyond the E. In the 6th month, the duke met duke K'ing of Shen and the various princes, and on Ke we they made a covenant together at Ke-tshih. The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Hwuy to meet the viscount of Woo on the Hwae, who, however, did not come [to the meeting]."

Most of the critics condemn this covenant on the ground that it was derogatory to the king to associate his representative, the viscount of Shen, in it. Too, however, and others think the viscount may have been specially commissioned to take part in it, to establish the leadership of duke Taou among the States. The heir son of Ts'e was a hostage in Tsin (see on 1 2), and was therefore present at the meeting.

Par 6, 7 Here is another proof that the power of Ts'oo had received a check, and that the States which had adhered to it were now seeking the alliance of Tsin. The Chuen says —"Tszé-sin of Ts'oo, being made chief minister of the State, was exorbitant in his desire [for bribes] from the small States. [In conse-

quence], duke Ching of Ch'in sent Yuen K'iaon to the meeting [of the States], to seek for reconciliation and peace. The marquis of Tsin made Ho Ts'oo-foo inform the prince of it. In the autumn, Shuh-sun P'ao and the great officers of the [other] States made a covenant with Yuen K'iaon, —on Ch'in's thus begging to tender its submission." No stress is to be laid on the two 及 in p 7, as Kuli and Kung would do.

[The Chuen appends here —"Yang Kan, a brother of the marquis of Tsin, having thrown the ranks into confusion at Ke-tshih, Wei K'ang (marshal of the army of the centre) executed his character. The marquis was angry, and said to Yang-shieh Ch'ih, "We assembled the States for our glory, and now this execution has been done on Yang-kan, —the disgrace is extreme. You must put Wei K'ang to death without fail." Ch'ih replied, "K'ang is not a man of double purpose. He will avoid no difficulty in the service of his ruler, and will evade no punishment due to any offence he may commit. He will be here to state his case, why should you send such an order about him?" When he had done, Wei K'ang arrived, gave a written statement to one of the [marquis's] attendants, and was about to fall upon his sword, but was stopped by Sze K'ang and Chang Laou. The marquis read the statement, which said, "Formerly, being in want of servants, you gave to me this office of marshal. I have heard that in a host submission to orders is the soldier's duty, and that when the business of the army may require the infliction of death, not to shrink from inflicting it is the officer's reverential duty. Your lordship had assembled the States, and I dared not but discharge my reverential duty. If your lordship's soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offence would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yang-kan, I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offence is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the minister of Crime."

The duke ran out barefoot, saying, "I spoke out of my love for my brother, you punished in accordance with military law. I was not able to instruct my brother, which made him violate your great orders, —that was my fault, do not you render it still heavier. Let me presume to request this of you." The marquis [now] considered that Wei K'ang was able by his use of punishments to aid [in the govt of] the people. When then they returned from the service, he gave him a feast of ceremony, and made him assistant-commander of the new army. Chang Laou was made marshal of the army of the centre, and Sze Foo was made scout-master."

There follows another brief notice —"The Kung-tsze Ho-ke, minister of War of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Ch'in, because of the revolt of that State."

Par 9 The Chuen says —"Duke Ling of Heu adhered to Ts'oo, and was not present at the meeting in Ke-tshih. In winter Che Woo-tsze of Tsin led a force, and invaded Heu."

## Fourth year

四年春，十一月，  
 己酉，陳侯午卒。  
 夏，叔孫豹如晉。  
 秋七月戊子，大  
 人嬀氏薨。  
 葬陳成公。  
 八月辛亥，葬我  
 小君定嬀。  
 冬，公如晉。  
 陳人圍頓。

左傳曰：四年春，楚師爲陳叛故，猶在繁陽。韓獻子患之，言於朝曰：「文王帥殷之叛國，以事紂，惟知時也。今我易之，難哉！」三月，師成。公卒，楚人將伐陳，聞喪乃止。陳人不聽命，臧武仲聞之，曰：「陳不服於楚，必亡。」大國行禮焉而不服，在大猶有咎，而況小乎？夏，楚彭名侵陳，陳無禮故也。

穆叔如晉，報知武子之聘也。晉侯享之，金奏肆夏之三，不拜。工歌文王之三，又不拜。歌鹿鳴之三，三拜。韓獻子使行人子員問之，曰：「子以君命辱於敝邑，先君之禮藉之以樂，以辱吾子。吾子舍其大而重拜其細，敢問何禮也？」對曰：「三夏，天子所以享元侯也；使臣弗敢與聞。文王兩君相見之樂也，臣不敢及。鹿鳴，君所以嘉寡君也；敢不拜嘉。四牡，君所以勞使臣也；敢不重拜。皇皇者華，君教使臣；曰必賂於周，臣聞之，訪問於善爲咨，咨親爲詢，咨禮爲度，咨事爲取，咨難爲說，臣獲五善，敢不重拜。」

秋，定嬀薨，不殯于廟，無椁，不虞。匠慶謂季文子曰：「子爲正卿，而小君之喪不成，不終君也。君畏難，受其咎。初，季孫爲己樹六椁於蒲圃東門之外，匠慶請木，季孫曰：『略匠慶用蒲圃之檀。』季孫不御，君子曰：『志所謂多行無禮，必自及也。』其是之謂乎？」

冬，公如晉，聽政。晉侯享公，公請屈卬，晉侯不許。孟獻子曰：「以寡君之密邇於仇讐，而願固事君，無失官命，卽無賦於司馬，爲執事朝夕之命，敝邑敝邑，褊小闕而爲罪，寡君是以願借助焉。」晉侯許之。

楚人使頓問陳，而伐之，故陳人問頓。

○無終了嘉父，使孟樂如晉，因魏莊了納虎豹之皮，以請和諸戎。晉侯曰：「戎狄無親而貪，不如伐之。」魏絳曰：「諸侯新服，陳新來和，將觀於我，我德則睦，否則攜貳，勞師於戎，而楚伐陳，必弗能救，是棄陳也。諸華必叛，我禽獸也，獲戎失華，無乃不可乎？」夏，訓有之曰：「有窮后羿，公曰：『后羿何如？』對曰：『昔有夏之方衰也，后羿自鉏，遷於窮石，因夏民以代夏政，恃其射也，不修民事，而淫於原獸，棄武羅，伯因，熊髡，尨圉，而用寒浞。寒浞，伯明氏之讎了弟也，伯明后寒棄之，夷羿收之，信而使之，以爲己相，浞行媚於內，而施賂於外，愚弄其民，而虞羿了田，樹之詐慝，以取其國家，外內咸服，羿猶不悛，將歸自田，家衆殺而亨之，以食其了，其了不忍食諸，死於窮門，靡奔有鬲氏，浞因羿室，生澆及豷，恃其讒慝，詐僞，而不德於民，使澆用師，滅斟灌及斟尋氏，處澆於過，處豷於戈，靡自有鬲氏，收一國之燼，以滅浞，而立少康。少康滅澆於過，后杼滅豷於戈，有窮山是遂亡，失人故也。昔周辛甲之爲人史也，命自官，官箴一闕，於虞人之箴曰：『已芒禹迹，書爲九州，經啟九道，民有寢廟，獸有茂草，各有攸處，德用不擾，在帝夷羿，冒於原獸，亡其國恤，而思其麇牡，武不可重，用不恢於夏家，獸臣司原，敢告僕大，虞箴如是，可不懲乎？於是首侯好山，故魏絳及之。』公曰：『然則莫如和戎乎？』對曰：『和戎有九利焉。』戎狄存居，貴貨易十，一可買焉。也，邊鄙不聳，民狎其野，穡人成功，一也。戎狄事首，四鄰振動，諸侯咸懷，也，以德綏戎，師徒不勤，甲兵不頓，四也。鑿了后羿，而用德度，遠至邇安，五也。君其圖之。」公說，使魏絳盟諸戎，修民事，出以時。

○冬，十一月，邾人莒人伐鄆，臧紇救鄆，侵邾，敗於狐貍。國人逆喪者皆髻，魯於是乎始髻。國人誦之曰：「臧之狐裘，敗我於狐貍，我君小了，朱儒是使，朱儒朱儒，使我敗於邾。」

- IV 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died  
 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Tsin  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-tsze, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady Sze, died.  
 4 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ch'in

- 5 In the eighth month, on Sin hui, we buried our duchess, Ting Sze
- 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin
- 7 A body of men from Ch'in laid siege to the capital of Tun

Par 1. The Chuen says:— This spring, the army of T'oo in consequence of the revolt of Chin, was still in Fan yang. Han Hien tze was troubled about it, and said in the court (of Tsin), "When king Wan led on the revolted States of Yin to serve Shou, he knew the time. It is different now with our course. Alas!" In the 3d month, duke Ching of Chin died; and when the people of T'oo, who were then about to invade Chin heard of the event they stayed their movement. Nevertheless the people of Chin would not hearken to T'oo's commands. When Tsang Woo-tung heard of it, he said, "Chin, thus refusing to submit to T'oo, is sure to perish. When a great State behaves with courteous consideration, not to submit to it would be deemed blameworthy in [another] great State; how much more now it is deemed so in a small one!" In summer H'ang Ming of T'oo made an incursion into Chin, because of the want of propriety which Chin had manifested. The K'ang he editors are indignant at the remarks which T'oo's persistence in attacking Chin elicited from the two statesmen of Tsin and Loo. Now they think, was the time to have taken the field in force against T'oo.

Par 2. Two sheets of this visit of Tsin to Tsin was in return for that of Hsueh Ying in the 1st year; but that courtesy of Tsin had been already more than repaid to us. We did not know what now took place to Tsin.

The Chuen says:— Muh-shuh went to Tsin, in return for the friendly mission of Che Woo-tze. The marquises gave him an entertainment; and when the bells gave the signal, [there were sung] three pieces of the Hsueh-sha, but he made no bow in acknowledgment. The musician then sang the first three pieces in the first book of the Greater odes of the kingdom; but neither did he bow in acknowledgment of these. They sang finally the first three pieces in the 1st book of the Minor odes in acknowledgment of which he bowed three times. Han Hien tze sent the later nuncios Tze-yun to him, saying, "You have come by the command of your ruler to our poor State. We have received you with the ceremonies appointed by our former rulers, adding the accompaniment of music. Where the honour was the greatest, you overlooked it; and where it was the least, you acknowledged it:—I presume to ask by what rules of propriety you were guided?" The envoy replied, "The first three pieces were those proper to an occasion when the son of Heaven is entertaining a chief among the princes; I did not presume to deem as if I heard them. The second three were those proper to the music at an interview between two princes; I did not presume to appear as if I had to do with them. But in the first of the last three your ruler was complimenting mine:—I could not but presume to acknowledge the compliment. In the second, your ruler was cheering me for the toll of my embassy:—I dared not decline deeply to a knowledge [his kindness]. In the third, your ruler was instructing me and telling me to be prosecuting my inquiries among the good. I

have heard that to inquire about goodness is [the proper] questioning; to inquire about relative lukiness [the] seeking for information; to inquire about propriety is [the proper] deliberation; to inquire about government affairs is [the proper] consultation; to inquire about calamities is [the proper] deviling:—thus I obtained five excellent instructions, and I dared not but deeply to acknowledge [the favour]."

Par 2, 5. Han hung yang makes the surname of the lady to have been ~~Ch~~ and not ~~W~~. It is plain from the Chuen that she was the mother of duke K'ang. The death of duke Ching's wife—Tse K'ang—appears in the second year. The Sze could only have been a concubine; yet she appears here as if she had been his wife and was buried as such. The K'ang he editors can not help calling attention to this impropriety, and they suppose that the entries were made just to call attention to it. The whole thing is the more remarkable as it appears from the Chuen that it was not thought necessary at first to bury Ting Sze with any distinguished ceremonies at all. It says—In autumn, Ting Sze died, and [it was proposed] that her coffin should not be carried into the ancestral temple on occasion of her interment; that there should be no [double] coffin and that the subsequent ceremony of lamentation should be omitted. The artificer K'ing said to Ke Wan tze "You are our chief minister and in making the funeral rites of the duchess thus incomplete you are not doing your duty to our ruler. When he is grown up, who will receive the blame?"

Before this, he-nan had planted for himself six trees in the T'oo orchard outside the east gate. K'ing asked him for some trees [to make the coffin], and when he gave a half assent, the other used the land in that orchard, without K'ing's forbidding him. The superior man will say "Might not what we find in an [old] book that he who is guilty of many breaches of propriety will find his conduct recited upon himself be spoken of he-nan? The funeral must have been hurried on."

Par 4. The State of Chin had revolted from T'oo, and was now on the side of Tsin. Loo in consequence as one of the northern party, now sent an officer to be present at the burial of the marquis.

Par 6. The Chuen says:— The Loo now went to Tsin, to receive its orders (as to the services to be rendered to the leading State). The marquises of Tsin entertained him, and the duke requested that Tsang might be attached to Loo. The marquises not agreeing to this, Hsueh Hien tze said "Our ruler in Loo is in proximity to your adversaries, and wishes to serve your lordship firmly without falling in any of the requirements of your officers. Tsang contributes no help to your minister of War. Your officers are continually laying their commands on our poor State which being of small dimensions is liable to fail in discharging them, and may be

charged with some offence Our ruler therefore wished to borrow the assistance [of Ts'ang]. On this the marquis assented to the application.

Par 7 Tun,—see V xxv 5 It was one of the many small States acknowledging the supremacy of Ts'oo The Chuen says —‘The people of Ts'oo made Tun watch for opportunities in Ch'in, and attack it or make inroads into it In consequence, the people of Ch'in laid siege to its principal city’

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about Tsin and the Jung ‘Kea-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (a tribe of the Hill Jung) sent Māng Loh to Tsin, and through Wei Chwang-tsze (Wei K'ang) presented a number of tiger and leopard skins, begging that Tsin would agree to be in harmony with the various tribes of the Jung The marquis said, “The Jung and Teih know nothing of affection or friendship, and are full of greed The best plan is to attack them” Wei K'ang said, “The States have only recently declared their submission to Tsin, and Ch'in has recently sought our friendship They will all be watching our course If that be one of kindly goodness, they will maintain their friendship with us, if it be not, they will fall off and separate from us If we make a toilsome expedition against the Jung, and Ts'oo [in the mean time] invade Ch'in, we shall not be able to relieve that State,—we shall be throwing Chi in away The States also will be sure to revolt from us,—shall we not be acting an impolitic course, if we lose the States, though we gain the Jung? And in the Book of Instructions of Hea (Shoo, III in 2) mention is made of “E, prince of K'ung” The marquis said, “What about the prince E?” He replied, “Formerly, when the princes of Hea were in a decaying State, prince E removed from Sen to K'ung-shih, and took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of] the people to supersede the line of H'ea Relying [afterwards] on his archery, he neglected the business of the people, and abandoned himself to the pursuit of the beasts of the plains He put away from him Woo Lo, Pih Yin, H'ung K'wān, and Māng Yu, and employed Tsuh of Han This Tsuh was a slanderous scion of the House of Pih-ming, prince of Han, who cast him out E, [prince of K'ung], received him, trusted him, and made him his chief minister Tsuh then fell to flattering all inside the palace, and gave bribes to all outside it He cajoled the people, and encouraged E in his fondness for hunting He plied more and more his deceit and wickedness to take from E his kingdom, until inside and outside the palace all were ready to acknowledge him Still E made no change in his ways, and as he was [on one occasion] on his return from the field, his own servants killed him, boiled him, and gave his flesh to his sons to eat They could not bear to eat it, and all died in the gate of K'ung Mei then fled to the State of Yew-kih Tsuh took to himself E's wife, and by her had Keaou and He Relying on his slanderous villanies and deceit, he displayed virtue in governing the people, and made Keaou with an army extinguish the States of Chin-kwan and Chin-sin He then placed Keaou in Ko (過),

and He in Ko (克) [In the meantime], Mei went from Yew-kih, and collected the remnant of the people of those two States, with whom he extinguished Tsuh, and raised Shaou-k'ang to

the throne Shaou-k'ang extinguished K'eaou in Ko, and [his son], the sovereign Ch'oo, extinguished He in Ko The princes of K'ung thus perished because they had lost the people Formerly, in the times of our own Chow, when Sin K'ali was grand historiographer, he ordered each of the officers to write some lines reproving the king's defects. In the lines of the forester it was said,

‘Wide and long Yu travelled about,  
When the nine regions he laid out,  
And through them led the nine-fold route.  
The people then safe homes possessed,  
Beasts ranged the grassy plains with zest.  
For man and beast sweet rest was found,  
And virtue reigned the empire round  
Then took E E the emperor's place,  
His sole pursuit the wild beasts' chase  
The people's care he quite forgot  
Of does and stags alone he thought  
Wars and such pastimes kings should flee,  
Soon passed the power of H'ea from E  
A forester, these lines I pen,  
And offer to my king's good men’

Such were the lines of the forester,—is there not matter of admonition in them?” At this time the marquis of Tsin was fond of hunting, and therefore Wei K'ang took the opportunity to touch on the subject The marquis then said, “Well then, will it not be our best plan to be on good terms with the Jung?” K'ang replied, “To be on good terms with the Jung has five advantages The Jung and Teih are continually changing their residence, and are fond of exchanging land for goods Their lands can be purchased,—this is the first advantage. Our borders will not be kept in apprehension. The people can labour on their fields, and the husbandmen complete their toils,—this is the second When the Jung and Teih serve Tsin, our neighbours all round will be terrified, and the States will be awed and cherish our friendship,—this is the third Tranquillizing the Jung by our goodness, our armies will not be toiled, and weapons will not be broken,—this is the fourth Taking warning from the sovereign E, and using only measures of virtue, the remote will come to us, and the near will be at rest,—this is the fifth” The marquis was pleased, and sent Wei K'ang to make a covenant with all the Jung He also attended to the business of the people, and hunted [only] at the proper seasons’

There is another narrative regarding Loo and Choo —‘In winter, in the 10th month, a body of men from Choo and another from Keu invaded Ts'ang Ts'ang-sun Heih succoured Ts'ang, and made an incursion into Choo, when he was defeated at Hoo-t'ae The people of the State went to meet the dead [who were being brought back], and all had their hair tied up with sack-cloth It was now that this style commenced in Loo The people sang these lines on the occasion —

“The fox-fur robe of Ts'ang,  
Caused our loss at Hoo-t'ae  
Our ruler a child,  
Our general a dwarf  
O dwarf, O dwarf,  
You caused our defeat in Choo!’”

## Fifth year

二五年春，公至自晉。二夏，鄭伯使公子發  
三來聘。叔孫豹、鄆、子如皆。  
四仲孫蔑、衛孫林父、會吳、子善道。  
五秋，人雩。楚殺其人大公子、子人。  
七公會晉侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、呂  
八子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、齊子、光、吳人、鄆人、  
九丁戚。公至自會。冬，戍陳。  
十楚公子貞帥師伐陳。公會晉侯、宋公、  
十一衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、齊子、光、救陳。  
十二有。月，公至自救陳。  
十三辛未，季孫行父卒。

左傳曰：五年春，公至自晉。

○王使王叔陳生慰我於晉，晉

人執之士魴如京師，言王叔之

貳於我也。

夏，鄭子國來聘，通嗣君也。

穆叔醜鄆犬子於晉，以成屬鄆。

書曰：叔孫豹鄆犬子巫如晉，言

比諸魯大夫也。吳子使壽越如

晉，辭不會于雞澤之故，且請聽

諸侯之好，晉人將爲之合。諸侯

使魯衛先會吳，且告會期。故孟

獻子、孫文子、會吳于善道。

秋，大雩，旱也。

楚人討陳叛故，曰：由令尹子辛，

寬侵欲焉，乃殺之。書曰：楚殺其

大夫公子壬夫，貪也。君子謂楚

共王於是不刑，詩曰：周道挺挺，

我心翼翼，講事不令，集人來定。

已則無信，而殺人以逞，不亦  
 難乎？夏書曰：成允成功。  
 九月丙午，盟于戚。會吳，日命  
 成陳也。穆叔以屬鄆爲不利，  
 使鄆大夫聽命于會。  
 楚子囊爲令尹，范宣子曰：我  
 喪陳矣。楚人討貳，而立了囊。  
 必改行，而疾討陳。陳近於楚，  
 民朝夕急，能無往乎？有陳，非  
 吾事也。無之而後可。冬，諸侯  
 會於城棣，以救之。十一月，  
 季文子卒。人人入歛，公在位。  
 辛卯，家器爲葬備。無衣帛之  
 妾，無食粟之馬，無藏金玉，無  
 重器備。君子是以知季文子  
 之忠於公室也。相君矣，而  
 無私積，可不謂忠乎？

- V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin
- 2 In summer, the earl of Ch'ing sent the Kung-tsze Fah to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries
- 3 Shuh-sun P'aou and Woo, heir-son of Ts'ang, went to Tsin
- 4 Chung-sun Meeh and Sun Lin-foo of Wei had a meeting with Woo at Shen-taou.
- 5 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain
- 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo
- 7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Ken, Choo, and T'ang, the earl of Seeh, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, an officer of Woo, and an officer of Ts'ang, in Ts'eh
- 8 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 In winter, we went to guard Ch'in
- 10 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'in
- 11 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in relieving Ch'in
- 12 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from the relief of Ch'in
- 13 On Sin-we, Ke-sun H'ang-foo died

Par 1 [The Chuen appends here — 'The king sent Wang shuh Ch'in-s'ang to accuse the Jung to Tsin. The people of Tsin seized and held him prisoner, while Sze Fang went to the capital, to tell how Wang-shuh was playing double with the Jung']

Par 2 Tso-shc says — 'This mission of Tze-kwoh of Ching was to open communication between Loo and the new earl of Ch'ing.' The new earl of Ch'ing had succeeded to that State in the duke's 2d year, he might have sent a mission to Loo before this, but through Ch'ing's long adherence to Ts'oo, its intercourse with the northern States had become irregular. Fah was son of duke Muh, and was styled Tze-kwoh. He was the father of the famous Tze-ch'an (子產)

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'Muh-shuh (P'aou) procured an interview with [the marquis of] Tsin for the eldest son of [the viscount of] Ts'ang, in order to complete the attaching of Ts'ang [to Loo]. The style of the text, joining Shuh-sun P'aou and Woo of Ts'ang together, [without a conjunction between their names], exhibits the latter as a great officer of Loo.'

Par 4 Shen-taou was in Woo. Kung and Kuh make the name 善稻. It appears to have been in the pres Sze-chow (泗州), dep Fung-yang, Ngan-hwuy. The Chuen says — 'The viscount of Woo sent Show-yueh to Tsin, to explain the reason of his not attending the meeting at Ke-tsih, and to ask for another opportunity of joining the alliance of the other





VI 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's third  
month, on Jin-woo, Koo-yung, earl of Ke, died  
2 In summer, Hwa Joh of Sung came a fugitive to Loo.  
3 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ke  
4 The viscount of T'äng came to Loo on a court-visit  
5 The people of Keu extinguished Tsäng  
6 In winter, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Choo  
7 Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin  
8 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e extinguished  
Lae

Par 3 Loo had not before this sent an officer to attend the burial of a prince of Ke The State was small and at a distance But

duke Hwan had married a daughter of Loo, and Sze—Ting-sze—duke Szeang's mother had been from Ke. These circumstances drew the States together more than had been the case before.

Par 4. Tso says that this visit of duke Ching of T'ang was the first on the part of T'ang since duke Szeang's accession.

Par 5. This calamity came upon Tsang acc. to Tso-she, through its trusting in bribes, — bribes which it had paid to Loo for its protection. Nothing could be plainer than the statement here that Tsang was extinguished by Keu. Mention, however, is made in the 4th year of duke Ch'ao of Loo's taking Tsang, as if it had not been extinguished now. The language there can only be equivalent to Loo took from Keu what had formerly been Tsang. Kung yang however suggests another view of the extinguished in the text — that Keu now succeeded the Sze line in Tsang by the son of a daughter of Tsang married to one of its scions. There is no necessity for this view and no evidence of it.

Par 6. Tso-she says:— In winter Muh-shuh went to Choo, with friendly inquiries, and to cultivate peace;—after the battle of Foo-t'ae, in the end of last year.

Par 7. Suh was the son of H'ang-foo, and had succeeded to his father as chief minister of Loo. It would seem that it was necessary for him to get the sanction of the leading State to his appointment. The Chuen says:—An off-

icer of Tsin came to Loo to inquire about [the loss of] Tsang and to reprove us for it, saying "Why have you lost Tsang?" On this, Ko Woo-tso went to Tsin to have an interview [with the marquis], and to hear his commands.

Par 8. The Chuen says:— In the 11th month the marquis of Ts'ao extinguished Lao, through its reliance on the bribes [which it had offered to Ts'ao], (see the Chuen after 11.). In the 4th month of the last year when Tso-kwoh of Ch'ing came on his friendly mission to Loo (see v 2), Ngan Joh fortified Tung yang, and proceeded to lay siege to the capital of Lao. On K'ieh-jin he raised a mound round the wall, which was [gradually] brought close to the parapet. In the month [of this year] when duke Hwan of Ko died, on Yih-we, Wang Tso-ao (see the Chuen on VIII. xxi. 5), Ching Yu tze (see the Chuen after 11 2), and the people of T'ang attacked the army of Ts'ao, which inflicted on them a great defeat, and entered Lao on Ting we. Fow jow duke Kung of Lao, fled to T'ang. Ching Yu tze and Wang Tso-ao fled to Keu, where they were put to death. In the 4th month, Ch'iu Woo-yu presented the most precious spoils of Lao in the temple of [duke] Szeang. Ngan Joh laid siege to T'ang and on H'ang shin, in the 11th month, he extinguished it. Lao was removed to E. Kaou Hlow and T'ing Ch'oo superintended the laying out of its lands [anew].

### Seventh year

七年春，鄭伯來朝。夏四月，鄭伯不從，乃免牲。秋，季孫宿如衛。八月，螽。冬，十一月，衛侯使孫林父來聘。師圍陳。戊辰，陳侯薨。宋公陳侯、衛侯、曹伯、呂子來朝。陳侯逃歸。

歸 侯 圖 有 廟 稷 社 秋 我 昌  
逃 陳 二 懼 宗 社 秋 我 昌

- VII 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, the viscount of T'an came to Loo on a court visit.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a third time about the border sacrifice. The divination was adverse, and the victim was let go.  
 3 The viscount of Little Choo came to Loo on a court visit.  
 4 We walled Pe.  
 5 In autumn, Ke-sun Suh went to Wei.  
 6 In the eighth month, there were locusts.  
 7 In winter, in the tenth month, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lin foo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries, and on Jin-sūh [the duke] made a covenant with him.  
 8 The Kung tze Chung of Ts'oo led a force and besieged [the capital of] Ch'in.  
 9 In the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, and the viscounts of Keu and Choo, in Wei.  
 10 K'wān hwan earl of Ch'ing [set out] to go to the meeting, but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Ping seuh, he died at Ts'au.  
 11 The marquis of Ch'in stole away [from the meeting] to Ch'in.

Par 1 See on p. 4 of last year.

Par 2 See on V xxxi. 3-5. There, however the divination had been tried 4 times, while here the tortoise-shell was only consulted a 3d time; and it is understood that to divine thrice was in accordance with rule. But on this occasion, as we learn from the Chuen, the 3d divination was made after the equinox, when it was no longer proper to offer the border sacrifice. The Chuen says:—On this occasion, Māng Hsien-tze said, "From this time forth, I know the virtue of the tortoise-shell and the milfoil. At this service we sacrifice to Hwa tseih, praying for a blessing on our husbandry. Hence the border sacrifice is offered at the season of h'e-chih (the emergence of insects from their burrows; see on II v 7), and afterwards the people do their ploughing. Now the ploughing is done, and still we divined about the border sacrifice. It was right the divinations should be adverse."

Par 3. Like p. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par 4. Pe was the city belonging to the Ku or Ke-sun clan;—its name remains in the district so called, dep. of K'chow. The old city was 30 li north-west from the present city. It was granted originally by duke Ho to Ke Yōw the founder of the Ke clan; as the Chuen on V L 9. The Chuen says:—Nan E is commandant of Pe and Shuh-chung Ch'au is superintendent of workmen. Wishing to be on good terms with Ke [Woo-tze] and flatter Nan E, he proposed to him to ask that

Pe might be fortified saying that he would allot a great number of workmen for the undertaking. On this the Head of the Ke clan fortified Pe.

This event deserved record, as illustrating the gradual increase of the power of perhaps the most influential family in Loo.

Par 5. Tao-sho says this visit to Wei was in return for that of Tze-shuh or Kung-sun P'ao in the duke's 1st year to explain the delay that had taken place, and assure Wei that it was from no disaffection. Maou thinks it unreasonable to suppose that we have here the response to a visit seven years before; what really occasioned it however he cannot tell.

Par 6. See II v 8; et al.

[The Chuen appends here:—In winter in the 10th month, Hsien Hsien-tze announced his wish to retire from duty on account of] age. [His son] Mui-tze (Hsien Woo-ke; see the Chuen after VIII. xviii. 5), the head of one of the branches of the ducal kindred had an incurable disease; and when it was proposed to appoint him his father's successor he declined [the office] saying, "The ode says (She, L II. ode VI. 1):—

Might I not have been there in the early morning?

I said, "There is too much dew on the path."

And another says (She, II. iv. ode VII. 4) —

Doing nothing personally and by himself, The people have no confidence in him.



六年 呂人伐我東鄙。秋九月，大雩。冬，楚公伐鄭。子貞帥師。晉侯使上句來聘。

左傳曰：八年春，公如晉朝且聽朝聘之數。

○鄭羣公子以倍公之死也，謀子驪。子驪先之，夏四月庚辰，辟殺子狐、子驪、子侯、子丁、孫擊、孫惡，出奔衛。

庚寅，鄭子國子耳侵蔡，獲蔡司馬公子燮。鄭人皆喜，唯子產不順，曰：小國無文德而有武功，禍莫大焉。楚人來討，能勿從乎？從之。晉師必至，晉楚伐鄭，自今鄭國不四五年弗得寧矣。子國怒之曰：爾何知國有大命而有正卿童子言焉？將爲戮矣。

五月甲辰，會于邢丘，以命朝聘之數，使諸侯之大夫聽命。季孫宿、齊高厚、宋向戌、衛甯殖、邾大夫、會之。鄭伯獻捷於會，故親聽命。大夫不書，尊晉侯也。

晉人伐我東鄙，以疆鄭田。

秋九月大雩，旱也。

冬，楚子囊伐鄭，討其侵蔡也。子驪，子國子耳，欲從楚。子孔，子蟬，子展欲待晉。子驪曰：周詩有之曰：俟河之清，人壽幾何？兆云：詢多，職競作羅，諫之多，族民之多，違事茲無成，民急矣。姑從楚以紓吾民。晉師至，吾又從之，敬共幣帛以待來者。小國之道也。犧牲玉帛待於二竟，以待強者而庇民焉，寇不爲害，民才罷病，不亦可乎？子展曰：小所以事大，信也。小國無信，兵亂日至，亡無日矣。五會之信，今將背之。雖楚救我，將安用之？親我無成，鄙我是欲，不可從也。不如待晉。晉君方明，四軍無闕，八卿和時，必不棄鄭。楚師遠糧，食將盡，必將速歸。何患焉？舍之間之杖，莫如信。完守以老楚，杖信以待晉，不亦可乎？子驪曰：詩云：謀夫孔多，是用不集。發言盈庭，誰敢執其咎？如匪行邁謀，是用不得於道。請從楚驍也。受其咎，乃及楚平使王子伯駟告於晉曰：君命敝邑。

修而車賦，倣而師徒，以討亂略。蔡人不從，敝邑之人不敢寧處，悉索敝賦，以討於蔡。獲司馬焚，獻于邢丘。今楚來討，曰：「汝何故稱兵於蔡？焚我郊保，蕩陵我城郭，敝邑之衆，夫婦男女，不遑啟處，以相救也。」翦焉傾覆，無所控告。民死亡者，非其父兄，卽其子弟。夫人愁痛，不知所庇。民知窮困而受盟於楚，孤也與其。一臣不能禁止，不敢不告。知武了使行人了員對之，曰：「君有楚命，亦不使介行。今告於寡君，而卽安於楚，君之所欲也。誰敢違君？」寡君將帥諸侯以見於城下，唯君圖之。

首范宣子來聘。日拜公之辱，告將用師於鄭。公亨之，宣子賦。標有梅，予武了曰：「誰敢哉？今譬於草木，寡君在君，君之臭味也。」歡以承命，何時之有？武了賦：「角弓。」賓將出，武了賦：「彤弓。」宣了曰：「城濮之役，我先君文公獻功於衡雍，受彤弓於襄王，以爲子孫藏。」也。先君守官之嗣也，敢不承命。君了以爲知禮。

- VIII 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Tsin
- 2 In summer, there was the burial of duke He of Ch'ing
- 3 A body of men from Ch'ing made an incursion into Ts'ae, and captured duke [Chwang's] son, Seeh
- 4 Ke-sun Sui had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the earl of Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Choo, in Hing-k'ew.
- 5 The duke arrived from Tsin.
- 6 A body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders
- 7 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain
- 8 In winter, the Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'ing
- 9 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Kae to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries

Par 1 The duke was at the meeting of Wei the month before this, and now went on to Tsin, without first returning to Loo. He went to Tsin, says Tso she 'on a court-visit, and to hear how often such visits and visits of friendly inquiry, should be paid.' From the Chuen after X in 1, we learn that, when dukes Wän and Scung of Tsin led the States, the rule was that the other princes should appear in the court of Tsin once in 5 years and send a friendly mission once in 3 years. This rule had ceased to be observed, and duke Thau was now encouraged by his strength and success to regulate anew the relations between his own and other States.

Par 2 The King-he editors observe that the classic, having given above the death of the

earl of Ch'ing as it had been announced to Loo, —a natural death, and not a murder—was now bound to give his burial. I suppose the burial is recorded, because it took place, and was attended by an officer of Loo.

[The Chuen adds here —'The sons of previous earls of Ch'ing, in consequence of the death of duke He, were planning to take off Tsze-sze, when he anticipated their movement. On Käng-shin, in the 4th month, this summer, on some charge of guilt, he put to death Tsze-hoo, Tsze-he, Tsze-how, and Tsze-ting. Sun Keih and Sun Goh (sons of Tsze-hoo) fled to Wei']

Par 3 Here and afterwards Kih-läng has, for 變, 濕, which he interchanges with 澤

The Chuen says:—"On K'ang yin, Tze-kwoh and Tze-uh made an incursion into Ts'ao, and captured its minister of War duke [Chwang's] son S'eh. The people of Ch'ing were all glad, with the single exception of Tze-ch'ian, who said:

"There can be no greater misfortune to a small State than to have success in war while there is no virtue in its civil administration. When the people of Ts'ao come to punish us [for this exploit] we must yield to their demands. Yielding to Ts'ao, the army of Tsin is sure to come upon us. Both Tsin and Ts'ao will attack Ch'ing which within 4 or 5 years will have no quiet." Tze-kwoh (his father) was angry and said to him: "What do you know? The expedition was a great commission of the State and conducted by its chief minister. If a boy like you talk about it so, you will get into disgrace."

Par 4. Hing k'ew was in Tsin.—"On the south-east of the district of Ho-nan dep. Hwa king, Ho nan. The Chuen says:—"In the 8th month, on K'eh shih, [the marquis of Tsin] held a meeting at Hing k'ew; to give out his rules about the times for appearing at his court, and for friendly missions, when he made the great officers attend to receive his orders. [Our] Ke-sun Suh, haun Hov of Tse, Hing boah of Sang, Ning Chih of Wei, and a great officer of Choo, were present. The earl of Ch'ing presented the spoils [of Ts'ao] at the meeting, and so received the charge of Tsin in person. The names of the great officers are not given, in deference to the marquis of Tsin. The Chuen on the 1st par says that the duke went to Tsin to receive the instructions of that court about the relations between the States and it. He was not present, however at Hing k'ew; and the earl of Ch'ing was present only through his own forwardness, and wish to pay court to Tsin. The marquis of Tsin seems to have felt that if he assembled the princes in person at Hing k'ew the proceedings would approximate too closely to a usurpation of kingly functions. Tse-sho's canon about the different **A** has little value.

Par 5. Tse says this invasion had reference to the defining the borders of the lands of Ts'ao. We can easily suppose that Tse had encroached, or was now endeavouring to encroach, on the west of what had been the territory of Ts'ao, supplying Kea with a *casus belli*.

Par 6. See on v 5.

Par 7. The Chuen says:—"In winter Tse-nang of Ts'ao invaded Ch'ing to punish it for its raid on Ts'ao. Tse-ze, Tze-kwoh, and Tse-nih wished to follow Ts'ao. Tse-k'ung, Tse k'ao and Tse-chen, wished to [hold out and] wait for Tsin. Tse-ze said, "There is an ode (a lost ode) of Chow which says,

If you wait till the Ho becomes clear  
The life of man is too short [for such a thing].

There are the decisions of the tortoise-shell and various opinions of our counsellors; this is like making a net with conflicting views. The great families have many different plans and the people are much divided. It is more and more difficult to conduct our affairs successfully. The people are in distress; let us for the time give way to Ts'ao, to relieve our people. When the army of Tsin arrives, we can also follow it.

To wait the comer with tribute offerings of silks is the way for a small State. With cattle, grain, and silks on our two borders, we can wait the approach of the stronger lower and thus protect the people. The enemy will then do us no harm and the people will not be distressed;—is not this a course that can be followed?

Tse-chen said, "It is by good faith that a small State can serve a great one. If the small one do not observe good faith, war and disorder will be constantly coming on it, and the day of its ruin will not be distant. We are bound to faith [with Tsin] by five treaties, and if we violate it, though Ts'ao may help us, of what use will it be? With [Tsin] that would be friend you do not seek peace; with [Ts'ao] that would make our State a border of its own you wish to [treat];—this plan is not to be followed. We had better wait for Tsin. Its ruler is intelligent; its four armies are all complete; its eight commanders are all harmonious;—it will not abandon Ch'ing. The army of Ts'ao has come from far; its provisions will soon be exhausted. It must shortly retire;—why be troubled about it? According to what I have heard, no support is like good faith. Let us firmly hold out, to tire Ts'ao, and let us lean on good faith, awaiting Tsin.—Is not this the course that should be followed? Tse-ze replied, "The ode (the IL v ode 13) says,

The counsellors are very many  
And so nothing is accomplished  
The word spoken fills the court,  
But who will take the responsibility of decision?

We are as if we consulted [about a journey], without taking a step in advance  
And therefore did not get on on the road.

Please let us follow Ts'ao, and I will take the responsibility." Accordingly they made peace with Ts'ao, and sent the king's son, Hih-ping to inform [the marquis of] Ts'ao saying "Your lordship commanded our State to have its chariots in repair and its soldiers in readiness to punish the disorderly and remiss. The people of Ts'ao were disaffected and our people did not dare to abide quietly [looking on]. We called out all our forces to punish Ts'ao, took captive S'eh its minister of war, and presented him to your lordship at Hing k'ew. And now Ts'ao has come to punish us, a king why we commenced hostilities with Ts'ao. It has burned all the stations on our borders. It has come in suddenly up to our wall and suburbs. The multitudes of our people, husbands and wives, men and women, had no houses left in which to save one another. They have been destroyed with an utter overthrow with no one to appeal to. If the fathers and elder brothers have not perished the sons and younger brothers have done so. All were full of sorrow and distress, and there was none to protect them. Under the pressure of their destitution they accepted a covenant with Ts'ao, which I and my ministers were not able to prevent. I dare not but now inform you of it." Ch'ao Woo-tzu made the intercession. Tse-yun replied to Hih-ping, "Your ruler received an ill message from Ts'ao, and at the same time did not send a single messenger to inform our ruler but instantly sought for rest under Ts'ao;—it was your ruler's wish to



do so, who would dare to oppose him? But our ruler will lead on the States and see him beneath his walls. Let your ruler take measures accordingly."

Par 9 The Chuen says — 'Fan Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae) came to Loo, on a friendly mission, and also to acknowledge the duke's visit [to Tsin, in spring], and to give notice about taking the field against Ch'ing. The duke feasted him, on which occasion he sang the P'eaou y'ew mei (She, I ii. ode IX), and Ke Woo-tsze (Ke-sun Suh) rejoined, "Who will dare [not to obey your orders]? If you compare your ruler to a plum-tree, ours is to him as its fragrance, [a portion of the same plant]. Joyfully we re-

ceive your orders, and will obey them without regard to time." With this he sang the Keoh kung (She II vii ode IX). When the guest was about to leave [the hall], Woo-tsze [also] sang the T'ung kung (She, II iii ode I). Seuen-tsze said, "After the battle of Shing-puh, our former ruler, duke Wan, presented [the trophies of] his success in H'ang-yung (see the Chuen on V xxi 8), and received the red bow from king Shang, to be preserved by his descendants. I have inherited the office held by my ancestor under that previous ruler, and dare not but receive your instructions?" The superior man considers that Seuen-tsze was acquainted with propriety.'

*Ninth year.*

九年春宋災。夏李孫宿如晉。五月辛酉，夫人姜氏薨。秋八月癸未，葬我小君穆伯。冬公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊世子光伐鄭。十一月己亥同盟于戲。楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰：九年春，宋災。樂喜爲司城以爲政，使伯氏司甲火所不至，徹小屋，塗人屋，陳畚揭，具縵缶，備水器，量輕重，蓄水潦，積土塗巡丈城，繕守備，衣火道，使卒具止，徒令隧止納郊保，奔火所，使卒閱討右官，官比其司，向戌討左，亦如之，使樂過比刑器，亦如之，使臯鄆命校止出馬，止出車，備甲兵，比武守，使西鉏召庀府守，令司宮巷伯儆宮一師，令四鄉止敬，享祝宗，用馬於四墉，祝盤庚於西門之外，首侯問於一弱，曰：「吾聞之，宋災，於是乎知有大道，何故？」對曰：「占之火。」

正或食於心，或食於味，以出內火，是故味爲獨火，心爲大火，陶唐氏之火正閼伯，居商丘，祀大火，而火紀時焉，相十四之故，商主大火，商人閱其禍敗之數，必始於火，是以日知其有天道也。公曰：可必乎？對曰：在道，國亂無象，不可知也。

夏季，武子如晉，報宣子之聘也。

穆姜薨于東宮，始往而筮之，遇艮之八。史曰：是謂艮之隨，隨其山也。君必速出。姜曰：亡，是於周易曰：隨，元亨利貞，無咎。元體之長也，亨嘉之會也，利義之和也，貞事之幹也。體仁足以長人，嘉德足以合禮，利物足以和義，貞固足以幹事，然故不可隨也。是以雖隨無咎。今我婦人而與於亂，固在下位而有不仁，不可謂元，不靖國家，不可謂亨，作而害身，不可謂利，乘位而嬖，不可謂貞。有四德者，隨而無咎，我皆無之，豈隨也哉！我則取惡，能無咎乎？必死於此，弗得出矣。

○齊景公使士雅乞師於楚，將以伐晉。楚子許之子囊曰：不可。當今吾不能與晉爭，晉君類能而使之，舉不失選，官不易方，且卿讓於善，其大夫不失守，其士競於教，其庶人力於農穡，商工阜隸，不知遷業，韓厥老矣，知營其焉以爲政，范旬少於中行偃，而土之，使佐中軍，韓起少於欒黶，而欒黶士魴，土之使佐上軍，魏絳多功，以趙武爲賢而爲之佐，君明臣忠，上讓下競，當是時也，晉不可敵，事之而後可。君其圖之。王曰：吾既許之矣，雖不及晉，必將出師。秋，楚子師於武城，以爲齊援。齊人侵晉，晉饑，弗能報也。

冬十月，諸侯伐鄭。庚午，季武子齊桓桓，朱皇即從荀罍，士魴門于鄆門，衛北宮括、曹人、邾人從荀偃，韓起、門于師之梁，滕人、薛人從欒黶，士魴門于北門，杞人、邾人從趙武，魏絳、斂行、梁甲、戊師于汜，令於諸侯曰：脩器械，盛餼糧，歸老幼，居疾于虎牢，肆眚，圍鄭。鄭人恐，乃行成。中行偃子曰：遂圍之，以待楚人之救也，而與之戰，不然，無成。知武子曰：許之盟，而還師以敝楚人，吾三分四軍，與諸侯之銳以逆來者，於我未病，楚不能矣，猶愈於戰，曷



- IX 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, there was a fire in Sung  
 2 In summer, Ke sun Suh went to Tsin  
 3 In the fifth month, on Sin yew, duke [Suen's] wife, Kiang, died  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Kwei we, we buried our duchess Mui Kiang  
 5 In winter, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'ao, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and F'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, his son of Ts'ao, in invading Ch'ing. In the twelfth month, on Ke-hae, these princes made a covenant together in He.  
 6 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing

Par 1 Kung yang has here 火 instead of 災 and we may doubt whether the canon of Tso-chi that 災 denotes a calamity produced by Heaven applicable to this passage. The Chuen makes it clear that the event thus briefly chronicled was a fire which desolated the capital of Sung. This is another instance of the record in the Chun T'ao of the privileges and calamities that occurred in Sung. As to hung and kuh, such events in other States on it not to be mentioned in the Classics, but they make an exception in the case of Sung, as being entitled to prominence among the other States because its princes were the representatives of the line of Shang or because Confucius was descended from a family of Sung! But calamities in other States are sometimes chronicled in the text—e.g. X xliii. "Tsin, no doubt, correct in saying we have this record here because an announcement of the event was sent from Sung to Lu."

The Chuen says:—In the duke's 9th year in spring, there was a fire in Sung. Yoh He (Tse-chuan) was then minister of Works, and made in consequence [the following] regulations [for such an event]. He appointed the three 1st to take charge of the streets where the fire had not reached. He was to remove small houses and plaster over large ones. He was to set forth in kets and burrows for carrying things portable ropes and bucket; prepare water jars; have things arranged according to their weight; jam the water up in places where it was collected; have earthen and iron tubs; go round the walls, and men are off the places where watch and war should be kept; and signalize the line of the fire. He appointed Hwa K'ien to have the public workmen in well-bes and to order the commissariat outside the city to march their men from the 1st and various stations to the place of the fire. He appointed Hwa Yeh to arrange that the officers of the right should be prepared for all they might be called on to do; and Hwang K'uei to arrange similarly for the officers of the left. He appointed Yi Chuen in the same way to prepare the various in truncheon of punishment. He appointed Hwang Yun to give orders to the master of the horse to bring out horses and the

chariot master to bring out chariots and to be prepared with buff-coats and weapons, in readiness for military guard. He appointed Ho T'ao-woo to look after the records kept in the different repositories. He ordered the superintendent and officers of the harem to maintain a careful watch in the palace. The masters of the right and left were to order the headmen of the 4 village districts to reverence 1 off 1 sacrificial fires. The great officer of religion was to sacrifice horses on the wall and sacrifice to 1 wan kang outside the w. temple.

The marquis of Ts'ao said: "What was the reason of a saying, which he had heard, that from the fire of Sung it could be known there was a providence?" The ancient director of fire replied: "It was sacrificed to either when the heart or the back of the Ming culminated at sunset to regulate the climate, or the extinguishing of the people's fires. Hence the back is the star Shun-hsü, and the heart is Ta-ho. Now the director of fire under T'ang wang (Yao) was (Shih) who did it in Shang k'ew and sacrificed to Ta-ho, by fire regulating the seasons. Shang too came after him, and hence Shang paid special regard to the star Ta-ho. The people of Shang, in calculating their disasters and calamities, discovered that they were sure to begin with fire and hence came thus saying about their knowledge there was a providence." "Can the thing be certainly [known beforehand]?" a k'ei the marquis, to which Shih replied: "It depends on the ruler's course. When the disorders of a State have not evident indications, it cannot be known [beforehand]."

Par 2 Tso says that it is of the Wood-se to Tsin was in return for that of Han Shuen to go to Lu. In the end of last year.

Par 3. Last year was the grandmother of duke Seang. Her intrigue with Hsiao-joo, and her threats to duke Ch'ing, have appeared in different narratives of the Chuen. It would appear that she had been put under some restraint and confined in the palace, prior to the eldest son and heir apparent of the State. The Chuen says:—Muh Kiang died in the eastern palace. When she first went into it, she consulted the millfoll, and got the second line of the diagram K'ien (䷮). The diviner said, This is what remains when Kiu becomes

Suy (隨, 二) Suy is the symbol of getting out, your ladyship will soon get out from this." She replied, "No. Of this diagram it is said in the Chow Yih, 'Suy indicates being great, penetrating, beneficial, firmly correct, without blame.' Now that greatness is the lofty distinction of the person, that penetration is the assemblage of excellences, that beneficialness is the harmony of all righteousness, that firm correctness is the stem of all affairs. The person who is entirely virtuous is sufficient to take the presidency of others, admirable virtue is sufficient to secure an agreement with all propriety. Beneficialness to things is sufficient to effect a harmony of all righteousness. Firm correctness is sufficient to manage all affairs. But these things must not be in semblance merely. It is only thus that Suy could bring the assurance of blamelessness. Now I, a woman, and associated with disorder, am here in the place of inferior rank. Chargeable moreover with a want of virtue, greatness cannot be predicated of me. Not having contributed to the quiet of the State, penetration cannot be predicated of me. Having brought harm to myself by my doings, beneficialness cannot be predicated of me. Having left my proper place for a bad intrigue, firm correctness cannot be predicated of me. To one who has those four virtues the diagram Suy belongs,—what have I to do with it, to whom none of them belongs? Having chosen evil, how can I be without blame? I shall die here, I shall never get out of this."

[The Chuen appends here — 'Duke King of Ts'in sent Sze K'een to beg the assistance of an army from Ts'oo, intending to invade Ts'in. The viscount granted it, but Tsze-nang objected, saying, "We cannot now maintain a struggle with Ts'in. Its ruler employs officers according to their ability, and his appointments do justice to his choice. Every office is filled according to the regular rules. His ministers give way to others who are more able than themselves, his great officers discharge their duties, his scholars vigorously obey their instructions, his common people attend diligently to their husbandry, his merchants, mechanics, and inferior employes know nothing of changing their hereditary employments. Han Kueh having retired in consequence of age, Che Ying asks for his instructions in conducting the government. Fan Kae was younger than Chung-hang Yen, but Yen had him advanced and made assistant-commander of the army of the centre. Han K'e was younger than Lwan Yin, but Yin and Sze Lang had him advanced, and made assistant-commander of the 1st army. Wei Keang had performed many services but considering Chaou Woo superior to himself, he became assistant under him. With the ruler thus intelligent and his servants thus loyal, his high officers thus ready to yield their places, and the inferior officers thus vigorous, at this time Ts'in cannot be resisted. Our proper course is to serve it, let your Majesty well consider the case." The King said, "I have granted the request of Ts'in. Though we are not a match for Ts'in, we must send an army forth." In autumn, the viscount of Ts'oo took post with an army at Woo-shung, in order to afford support to Ts'in. A body of men from Ts'in made an incursion into Ts'in, which was suffering from famine, and could not retaliate.]

Par 4. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 繆 for 穆. The duchess was buried sooner than the rule required.

Par 5. He was in Ch'ing. It was the same place which, in the Chuen on VIII\_xvii 2, is called He-t'ung (戲亭),—in the pres dis of Fan-shwuy (汜水), dep K'ac-fung. Acc to Too there was no Ke-hae day in the 12th month, and we should read | 有 instead of |

有. The Chuen says — 'In winter, on the 10th month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On K'ang-woo, Ke Woo-tsze, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, and Hwang Yun of Sung, followed Seun Ying and Sze Kae, and attacked the Chuen gate Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo followed Seun Yen and Han K'e, and attacked [the gate] Sze che-leang. Officers of T'ang and Seeli followed Lwan Yin and Sze Fang, and attacked the north gate. Officers of Ke and E followed Chaou Woo and Wei Keang, and cut down the chesnut trees along the roads. On Keah-seuh, the armies collected in Fan, and orders were given to the States, saying, "Look to your weapons that they be ready for service, prepare dried and other provisions, send home the old and the young, place your sick in Hoo-laou, forgive those who have committed small faults—we are going to lay siege to the capital of Ch'ing." On this the people of Ch'ing became afraid, and wished to make peace. Chung-hang Heen-tsze (Seun Yen) said, "Let us hold the city in siege, and wait the arrival of the succours from Ts'oo, and then fight a battle with them. If we do not do so, we shall have accomplished nothing." Che Woo-tsze, however, said, "Let us grant Ch'ing a covenant, and then withdraw our armies, in order to wear out the people of Ts'oo. We shall divide our 4 armies into 3, and [with one of them and] the ardent troops of the States, meet the comers—this will not be distressing to us, while Ts'oo will not be able to endure it. This is still better than fighting. A struggle is not to be maintained by whitening the plains with bones to gratify [our pride]. There is no end to such great labour. It is a rule of the former kings that superior men should labour with their minds, and smaller men labour with their strength."

'None of the States wished to fight, so they granted peace, and in the 11th month, on Ke-hae, they made a covenant together in He,—on the submission of Ch'ing. When they were about to covenant, the six ministers of Ch'ing,—the Kung-tszes, Fei (Tsze-sze), Fah (Tsze-kwoh) and Kea (Tsze-k'ung), and the Kung-suns, Cheh (Tsze-urh), Ch'ac (Tsze-kean), and Shay-che (Tsze-chen) with the great officers and younger members of the ministerial clans, all attended the earl of Ch'ing. Sze Chwang-tsze made the words of the covenant to this effect, "After the covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing hear any commands but those of Ts'in, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is [imprecated] in this covenant!" The Kung-tsze Fei rushed forward at this, and said, "Heaven has dealt unfavourably with the State of Ch'ing, and given it its place midway between two great States, which do

not bestow on it the marks of favour which could be appreciated, but demand its adherence by violence. Thus its Spirits cannot enjoy the sacrifices which should be presented to them, and its people cannot enjoy the advantages of its soil. Its husbands and wives are oppressed and straitened, full of misery having none to appeal to. After this covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing follow any other but that which extends propriety to it and strength to protect its people, but dares to waver in its adherence, may there happen to it according to [the imprecations in] this covenant! Sun Yen said, "Change [the conditions of] this covenant." Kung-sun Shay-che said, "These are solemn words in which we have appealed to the great Spirits. If we may change them, we may also revolt from your great State." Che Woo-tze said to Hsien tze "We indeed have not virtue, and it is not in power to force men to covenant with us. Without propriety how can we preside over covenants? Let us agree for the present to this covenant, and withdraw. When we come again, after having cultivated our virtue, and rested our armies, we shall in the end win Ch'ing. Why must we determine to do so to-day? If we are without virtue, other people will cast us off, and not Ch'ing only. If we can rest and be harmonious, they will come to us from a distance. Why need we rely upon Ch'ing? Accordingly they covenanted [as related above], and the forces of Tsin withdrew.

The people of Tsin had thus not got their will with Ch'ing, and they again invaded it with the armies of the States. In the 12th month, on Kwei hae, they attacked the [same] three gates, and peace held for five days at each (閏月 ought to be 閏五日). Then on Mow yin, they crossed [the Wei] at Yin fan, and overran the country. After hui g at Yin k'ow they withdrew. Tze-k'ung proposed to attack the army of Tsin, saying that it was old and exhausted, and the soldiers were all bent on returning home, so that a great victory could be gained over it. Tze-chen, however, refused to sanction such a movement.

[The Chuen here relates the capping of duke Ssang:—The duke accompanied the marquises of Tsin [back from Ch'ing] and when they were at the Ho and he was with the marquises at a feast, the latter asked how old he was. Ke-Woo-tze replied, "He was born in the year of the meeting at Sha-ny (see VIII xvi. 8)." He is twelve then, said the marquises. "That is a full decade of years, the period of a revolution of Jupiter. The ruler of a State may have a son when he is fifteen. It is the rule that he should be capped before he begets a son. Your ruler may now be capped. Why should you not get anything necessary for the ceremony ready?" Woo-tze replied, "The capping of our ruler must be done with the ceremonies of libation and offerings. Its different stages must be defined by the music of the bell and the musical stone. It must take place in the temple of his first ancestor. Our ruler is now travelling, and those things cannot be provided. Let us get to a brother State, and borrow what is necessary to prepare for the ceremony." The marquises assented so, when the duke had got as far as Wei on his return, he was capped in the temple of duke Ch'ing. They buried the bell and

musical stone of it for the purpose;—as was proper.

This capping of duke Ssang out of Loo was a strange proceeding, and was probably done in the wantonness of the marquises of Tsin, amusing himself with the child. Maou supposes that it is kept out of the text, to conceal the disgrace of it.]

Par 6 Here T'ao is down again upon Ch'ing, because of its making the covenant with Tsin. The Chuen says—The viscount of T'ao invaded Ch'ing and Tze-ssu proposed to make peace with him. Tze-k'ung and Tze-k'iao said, "We have just made a covenant with the [other] great State, and, while the blood of it is not dry on our mouths, may we break it?" Tze-ssu and Tze-chen replied, "At that moment we said that we would follow the strongest. Here now is the army of T'ao arrived, and Tsin does not come to save us, so that T'ao is the strongest—we are not presuming to break the words of the covenant and oath. Moreover at a forced covenant where there is no sincerity the Spirits are not present. They are present only where there is good faith. Good faith is the gem of speech, the point of all goodness and therefore the Spirits draw near to it. They in their intelligence do not require adherence to a forced covenant—it may be broken." Accordingly they made peace with T'ao. The Kung tze Po-jung entered the city to make a covenant, which was done in [the quarter] Chung fun [in the meantime] the widow of [king] Chwang of T'ao died, and [king] Kung returned [to Ying], without having been able to settle [the affairs of] Ch'ing.

[The Chuen appends here a notice of the measures of internal reform in Tsin.—When the marquises of Tsin returned to his capital, he consulted how he could give rest and prosperity to the people. Wei K'ang begged that he would confer favours on them and grant remissions. On this all the accumulated stores of the State were given out in benefits. From the marquises downwards, all who had such stores brought them forth, till none were left unappropriated, and there was no one exposed to the endurance of want. The marquises granted access to every source of advantage, and the people did not covet more than their proper share. In religious services they used offerings of silks instead of victims; guests were entertained with [the flesh of] a single animal; new articles of furniture and use were not made; only such chariots and robes were kept as sufficed for use. When this style had been practised for twelve months, a right method and order prevailed throughout the State. Then three expeditions were undertaken, and T'ao was not able to contend [any more] with Tsin.]

## Tenth year

一十年春，公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊世子光、會吳、于相。  
二夏五月甲午，遂滅偃陽。  
三公會白會。  
四楚公子貞、鄭公孫輒帥師伐宋。  
五晉師伐秦。  
六秋，莒人伐我東鄙。  
七公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、齊世子光、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、伐鄭。  
八冬，盜殺鄭公子騂、公子發、公孫輒。  
九戍鄭虎牢。  
十楚公子貞帥師救鄭。  
十一公會白伐鄭。

左傳曰：「十年春，會于相。會吳了壽夢也。月癸丑，齊高厚相火了光以先會諸侯於鍾離，不敬。一莊子曰：「同了相火了以會諸侯，將社稷是衛而皆不敬，棄社稷也，其將不免乎。」夏四月戊午，會于相。  
 荀偃曰：「請伐偃陽，而封宋向戌焉。」荀偃曰：「城小而固，勝之不武，弗勝爲笑，固請內寅圍之。」弗克，孟氏之臣秦革父、革重如役，偃陽人啟門，諸侯之上門焉。縣門發，邾人紇挾之，以出門者，狄虬彌建大車之輪，而

蒙之以甲，以爲櫓，左執之，右拔戟以成一隊。孟獻子曰：「詩所謂有力如虎者也。」主人縣布，董父登之，及堞而絕之。隊則又縣之，蘇而復上者三。主人辭焉，乃退，帶其斷以徇於軍。三日，諸侯之師久於偃陽。荀偃士句請於荀偃曰：「水潦將降，懼不能歸，請班師。」知伯怒，投之以机，出於其間曰：「汝成二事而後告余。」余恐亂命以不汝違。汝既勒君而與諸侯，牽帥老夫以至於此，既無武守而又欲易余罪，曰：「是實班師。」不然，克矣。余，羸老也，可重任乎？七日不克，必爾乎取之。」五月庚寅，荀偃士句帥卒攻偃陽，親受矢石。甲午，滅之。書曰：「遂滅偃陽。」言自會也。以與向戌，向戌辭曰：「君若猶辱鎮撫，木國而以偃陽光啟寡君，益臣安矣。其何貺如之？」若粵，賜臣是臣與諸侯以自封也。其何罪大焉？敢以死請。」乃子宋公宋公享晉侯於楚丘，請以桑林荀偃辭。荀偃士句曰：「諸侯未魯，於是觀禮。魯有禘樂，賓客用之。宋以桑林享，召才可耳。舞師題以旌，夏晉侯懼而退入於房，去旌卒享而遽及著雍。疾卜桑林見荀偃士句欲奔，請曰：「焉荀偃不可。」曰：「我辭禮矣。」彼則以之。猶有鬼神於彼，加之晉侯有間，以偃陽子歸獻於武宮，謂之夷俘。偃陽，如姓也。使周內史選其族嗣，納諸霍人禮也。師歸，孟獻子以祭，董父爲右，生蔡丕茲事仲尼。

六月，楚子囊薨。子耳伐宋，師於豈毋。庚午，圍木門於桐門。

晉荀偃伐蔡，報其侵也。

○衛侯救宋師於甕牛。鄭子展曰：「必伐衛，不然是不與楚也。」得罪於晉，又得罪於楚。國將若之？何子驪曰：「國病矣。子展曰：『得罪於二大國，必亡。』病不猶愈於亡乎？」諸大夫皆以爲然。故鄭皇耳帥師侵衛，楚令也。孫文子卜追之，獻兆於定姜。姜氏問縣曰：「兆如山陵，有夫出征而喪，其雄姜氏曰：『征者喪，雄禦寇之利也。』」大夫圖之，衛人追之。孫蒯獲鄭皇耳於犬丘。

○秋七月，楚子囊薨。子耳伐我西鄙，還圍蕭。八月丙寅，克之。九月，子耳侵木北鄙。孟獻子曰：「鄭其有災乎？」師競。



已甚，周猶不堪，況鄭乎？有災，其執政之十七乎？

諸侯伐鄭，齊崔杼使大子光先至於師，故長於滕，己酉，師於牛首。

初，子駟與尉止有爭，將禦諸侯之師，而黜其車，尉止獲，又與之爭，子駟抑尉止曰：「爾車，非禮也。」遂弗使獻。初，子駟爲田洫，司氏堵氏侯氏子師氏皆喪田焉，故五族聚羣不逞之人，因公了之徒，以作亂。於是子駟當國，子國爲司馬，子耳爲司空，子孔爲司徒。冬十一月戊辰，尉止、司臣、侯晉、堵女父、子師僕、帥賊以入，晨攻執政於西宮之朝，殺子駟。子國、子耳、刼鄭伯以如北宮，子孔知之，故不死。書曰：「盜，」無人大焉，了西聞盜，不做而出，尸而追盜，盜入於北宮，乃歸授甲，臣妾多逃，器用多喪，了產聞盜，爲門者庀羣司，閉府庫，慎閉藏，完守備，成列而後出兵，車十七乘，尸而攻盜於北宮，了矯帥國人助之，殺尉止，了師僕盜衆盡死，侯晉奔晉，堵女父、司臣、尉翩、司齊、介朱子孔當國，爲載書以位序，聽政辟，大諸司門了弗順，將誅之，了產止之，請爲之焚書，了孔不可，曰：「爲書以定國，衆怒而焚之，是衆爲政也，國不亦難乎？」了產曰：「衆怒難犯，專欲難成，合一難，以安國，危之道也，不如焚書以安衆，了得所欲，衆亦得安，不亦可乎？」專欲無成，犯衆興禍，了必從之，乃焚書於倉門之外，衆而後定。

諸侯之師，城虎牢而戍之，晉師城梧及制，一魴魏絳戍之，書曰：「戍鄭虎牢，非鄭地也。」言將歸焉，鄭及晉平，楚了囊救鄭，十一月，諸侯之師還鄭而南，至於陽陵，楚師不退，知武了欲退，曰：「今我逃楚，楚必驕，驕則可與戰矣。」爰麟曰：「逃楚，晉之耻也，合諸侯以益恥，不如死，我將獨進，師遂進，己亥，與楚師夾潁而軍，了麟曰：「諸侯既有成行，必不戰矣，從之將退，不從亦退，退楚必圍我，猶將退也，不如從楚，亦以退之。」宵涉潁，與楚人盟，爰麟欲伐鄭師，荀罃不可，曰：「我實不能禦楚，又不能庇鄭，鄭何罪，不如致怨焉，而還，今伐其師，楚必救之，戰而不克，爲諸侯笑，克不可命，不如還也。」丁未，諸侯之師還，侵鄭北鄙而歸，楚人亦還。

○王叔陳生與伯與爭政，王右伯與，王叔陳生怒而出奔及河，王復之，殺史狡以說焉，不入。遂處之晉侯使士匄平王室，王叔與伯與訟焉。王叔之宰與伯與之大夫瑕禽坐獄於王庭，士匄聽之。王叔之宰曰：「篳門閔竇之人，而皆陵其上，其難爲上矣。」瑕禽曰：「昔平王東遷，吾七姓從王，牲用備具，王賴之，而賜之辭，施之盟，曰：『世世無失職。』若篳門閔竇其能來東底乎？且王何賴焉？今自王叔之相也，政以賄成，而刑放於寵，官之師旅不勝其富，吾能無篳門閔竇乎？唯大國圖之，下而無直，則何謂正矣？」范宣子曰：「天子所右，寡君亦右之；所左，亦左之。」使王叔氏與伯與合娶，王叔氏不能舉其卿士，以相王室。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in a meeting with Woo at Cha.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'eh woo, [Ts'in] went on [from the above meeting] to extinguish Peih yang.
- 3 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 The Kung tsze Ching of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun Cheh of Ch'ing, led a force, and invaded Sung.
- 5 An army of Ts'in invaded Ts'in.
- 6 In autumn, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders.
- 7 The duke joined the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscount of T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 8 In winter, some ruffians killed the Kung tszes Fei and Fah, and the Kung sun Cheh, of Ch'ing.
- 9 We [sent troops] to guard Hoo-laou.
- 10 The Kung tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force to relieve Ch'ing.
- 11 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

Par 1 Too says Cha was in the territory of Ts'oo, and the Kang he editors identify it with the pres. K'eh-k'ow (加口), in the dis. of Yih, dep. of Yen-chow. The one or the other must be wrong. The territory of Ts'oo would thus have extended as far north as Loo. We may accept the statement of Too, and leave the question as to any more exact identification. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to call forth the hostility of Woo to more active measures against Ts'oo, so that that State should be

obliged to relax its efforts to hold Ch'ing. The phrase a meeting with Woo (會吳), without specifying the viscount himself or his representative on the occasion, has occasioned the critics a good deal of difficulty. The same style has occurred before, in VIII xv 10 and IX v 4, and we meet with it again, in xiv 1. The most likely account that can be given of it is the remark, probably of Hoo Ch'eh, that only the name of the State is given because [to get the help of]

that State was the object of the meeting (特書會吳以吳爲會故也)

The Chuen says — 'The meeting at Cha was a meeting with Show-mung, viscount of Woo. In the 3d month, on Kwei-ch'ow, Kaou How of Ts'e came with his marquis's eldest son Kwang, and had a previous meeting with the princes in Chung-le (see VIII 10), when they behaved disrespectfully. Sze Chwang-tsze (Sze Joh) said, "Kaou-tsze, coming in attendance on his prince to a meeting of the States, ought to have in mind the protection of Ts'e's altars and yet they both of them behave disrespectfully. They will not, I apprehend, escape an evil end." In summer, in the 4th month, on Mow-woo, there was the meeting at Cha.'

Par 2 Peih-yang was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Yun (云)

It was under the jurisdiction of Ts'oo Tsin now led on the forces of the States from the meeting at Cha to attack it. Its principal town is said to have been 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  to the south of the dis of Yih, dep Yen-chow. The Chuen says — 'Seun Yen and Sze Kae of Ts'in asked leave to attack Peih yang, and that it should be conferred on Hsäng Seuh of Sung. Seun Ying said, "The city is small but strong. If you take it, it will be no great achievement, if you do not take it, you will be laughed at." They persisted in their request, and on Ping-yin they laid siege to it, but could not overcome it.'

'Ts'in Kin-foo, the steward of the Mäng family, drew after him a large waggon to the service. The people of Peih-yang having opened one of their gates, the soldiers of the States attacked it, [and had passed within]. Just then, the portcullis gate was let down, when Heih of I-sow raised it up, and let out the stormers who had entered. Teih Sze-me carried the wheel of a large carriage, which he covered with hides and used as a buckler. Holding this in his left hand, and carrying a spear in his right, he took the place of a body of 100 men. Mäng Hsen-tsze said, "To him we may apply the words of the ode (She, I in ode XIII 2), 'Strong as a tiger.'" The besieged hung strips of cloth over the wall, by one of which Kin-foo climbed up to the parapet, when they cut it. Down he fell, when they hung out another, and when he had revived, he seized it and mounted again. Thrice he performed this feat, and on the besieged declining to give him another opportunity he retired, taking with him the three cut pieces, which he showed all through the army for three days.

'The forces of the States were long detained at Peih-yang, and Seun Yen and Sze Kae went with a request to Seun Ying, saying, "The rains will soon fall and the pools gather, when we are afraid we shall not be able to return. We ask you to withdraw the troops." Che Pih (Seun Ying) became angry, and threw at them the stool on which he was leaning, which passed between the two. "You had determined," said he, "on two things, and then came and informed me of them. I was afraid of confusing your plans, and did not oppose you. You have imposed toil on our ruler, you have called out [the forces of] the States, you have dragged an old man like myself here. And now you have no prowess to show, but want to throw the

blame on me saying that I ordered the retreat of the troops, and but for that you would have subdued the place. Can I, thus old and feeble, sustain such a heavy responsibility? If in 7 days you have not taken it, I shall take yourselves instead of it." On this, in the 5th month, on Käng-yin, Seun Yen and Sze Kae led on their men to the attack of the city, themselves encountering [the shower] of arrows and stones. On Kesh-woo they extinguished it.

'The language of the text, — "They went on to extinguish Peih yang," shows that they proceeded to attack it from the meeting [at Cha]. [The marquis of Ts'in] would then have given Peih-yang to Hsäng Seuh, but he declined it, saying, "If your lordship will still condescend to guard and comfort the State of Sung and by the gift of Peih-yang distinguish my ruler and increase his territory, all his ministers will be at ease, — what gift can be equal to this? If you insist on conferring it on me alone, then I shall have called out the States to procure a fief for myself, — than which there could not be a greater crime. Though I die, I must entreat you not to do so." Peih yang accordingly was given to the duke of Sung.

'The duke entertained the marquis of Ts'in in Ts'oo-k'w, and asked leave to use, [on the occasion, the music of] Sang-lin (the music which had been used by the sovereigns of Shang). Seun Ying declined it but Seun Yen and Sze Kae said, "Among the States, it is [only] in Sung and Lo that we can see the ceremonies [of the kings]. Lo has the music of the grand triennial sacrifice, and uses it when entertaining guests and at sacrifices, is it not allowable that Sung should entertain our ruler with the Sang-lin?" The master of the pantomimes began indicating to them their places with the great flag, when the marquis became afraid, and withdrew to another apartment. When the flag was removed, he returned and finished the entertainment. On his way back [from Sung], he fell ill at Choo yang. They consulted the tortoise-shell [about his sickness], and [the Spirit of] Sang-lin appeared. Seun Yen and Sze Kae wanted to hurry [back to Sung], and to pray to it. Seun Ying, however, refused to allow them, and said, "I declined the ceremony. It was they who used it. If there indeed be this Spirit, let him visit the offence on them." The marquis got better, and took the viscount of Peih-yang back with him to Ts'in and presented him in the temple of [duke] Woo, calling him an E captive. [The lords of] Peih-yang had the surname of Yun. [The marquis] made the historiographer of the Interior in Chow select one from the family of the [old] House to continue [its sacrifices] whom he placed in Hoh as its commandant, — which was proper.

'When our army returned, Mäng Hsen-tsze employed Ts'in Kin-foo as the spearman on the right of his chariot. He had a son, Ts'in Pe-tsze, who was a disciple of Chung-ne.'

As Tso-she here mentions Confucius, it may be added that it was the sage's father, Shuh-lang Heih, who performed the feat of strength with the portcullis of Peih-yang.

Par 4 Sung had been rewarded for its allegiance to Ts'in with Peih-yang, and now it has to pay the price to Ts'oo. The Chuen says — 'In the 6th month, Tsze-nang of Ts'oo and Tsze-urh of Ch'ing invaded Sung, taking

post [first] at Tsz-moo. On Käng-woo they laid siege to the capital, and attacked the Tung gate.

Par 5 The Chuen says:—Sün Ying of Tsin invaded Ts'in, to retaliate its incursion. The incursion of Ts'in is related in the Chuen after p. 3 of last year. Tsin was then unable to retaliate in consequence of a famine, but its vengeance had not slumbered long. At this time Tsin was in league with Ts'oo, and the alliance between the States was drawn closer through the wife of king Kung being a sister of duke King of Ts'in.

[The Chuen gives here a narrative, which is the sequel of that on p. 4:—The marquess of Wei went to succour Sung and encamped with his forces at Szang-nü. Tsz-chen of Ch'ing said, "We must invade Wei. If we do not do so, we shall not be doing our part for Ts'oo. We have offended against Tsin, and if we also offend against Ts'oo, what will be the consequence to our State?" Tsz-chen said "It will distress the State;" but Tsz-chen replied, "If we offend against both the great States, we shall perish. We may be distressed, but is that not better than perishing? The other great officers all agreed with him, and Hwang urh accordingly led a force and made an incursion into Wei,—[having *wei* ed] orders from Ts'oo.

Sün Wan tze (Lin foo) consulted the tortoise-shell about pursuing the enemy and presented the indication he had obtained to T'ing K'ang (the mother of the marquess of Wei), who asked what the *wei* ed, or oracle was. "It is this," said Wan-tze. The indication being like a hill, a party go forth on an expedition, and lose their leader." The lady said, "The invaders lose their leader—this is favourable for those who resist them. Do you take measures accordingly." The people of Wei then pursued the enemy and Sün Hwang captured Hwang Urh at K'ao-ch'ü.

[There follows the account of an invasion of Loo by Ts'oo, which ought to be given in the text. Too close as that as it involved no disgrace to Loo, he cannot account for the silence about it.—In autumn, in the 7th month, Tsz-nang of Ts'oo and Tsz-urh of Ch'ing invaded our western borders. On their return they laid siege to Szau (a city of Sung), and reduced it in the 8th month, on 'Ming yin. In the 9th month, Tsz-urh of Ch'ing made an incursion on the northern border of Sung. M'ing Hien tze said, "Calamity must be going to befall Ch'ing." The aggressions of its enemies are excessive. Even Chow could not endure such violent efforts, and how much less Ch'ing! The calamity is likely to befall the three ministers who conduct its government.]

Par 6. The Chuen says:—The people of K'au taking advantage of the States being occupied invaded our eastern borders. Wang K'hi kwan observes that at this movement shows strikingly the daring of K'au, as its viscount had taken part in nearly all the covenants ordered by duke Ts'ao of Tsin. It shows how incomplete the harmony was which the leading State sought to establish among the others which acknowledged its supremacy.

Par 7 This was the first of the three expeditions of Tsin mentioned in the Chuen at the end of last year by which that State wore out Ts'oo, and established its supremacy for a

time, over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—"The States invaded Ch'ing. Ts'ao Ch'oo of Ts'ao came with Hwang the eldest son of the marquess, to the army early and the prince therefore took precedence of Hwang. On Ke-yü the whole army took post at Nü shou. The proper place of the heir-son of Ts'ao was after all the princes, as in p. 1. If he had received, indeed the appointment of the king as his father's successor and were administering for him the govt of the State he would have been entitled to rank as an earl, according to the rules of Chow. But he had not received such appointment as we infer from the Chuen on the 19th year. The precedence now given to him was probably brought about as Tsz-sho says; but as we shall find that he continued to retain it, it is an instance of how the marquess of Tsin took it upon him to override the standing statutes of the kingdom.

Par 8 We have here the fulfilment of the prognostication in the Chuen after p. 5. For 鄭 Kung and Kuh have 弑. We have in this par the first occurrence of 弑 in the text, which I have translated "ruffians." Too Yu observes that, as the paragraph commences with that term, the rank of the murdered could not be mentioned in it. They were all ministers or great officers, and if their death had been by order or management of the State, the text would have been 鄭殺 or 鄭人殺其大夫.

云云 If the murderers had been great officers, their names and rank, and those of their victims as well, would have been given. But being what they were in this case, their names were not admissible in the text and consequently we have the persons murdered without any intimation of their rank. No stigma is fixed upon them by the omission, as Kuh-l'ang thought, and as Ch'ing E, Hoo Ngan-kwoh, and many other critics have contended. The men may have died of their fate, but no evidence of that can be drawn from the style of the text.

The Chuen says:—Before this Tsz-ze (the Kung tze Fei) had a quarrel with Wei Che, and when he was about to take the field against the army of the States, he reduced the number of the chariots [which Che wanted to contribute to the expedition]. He had another quarrel with Che about the captives whom he had taken, and kept him down, saying his chariots had been beyond the number prescribed by rule, and would not allow him to present his spoils before the marquess.

Before this also, Tsz-ze, in laying out the ditches through the fields, had occasioned the loss of fields to the Szao, T'oo, Hoo and Tsz-ze families; and these four along with Wei Che, collected a number of dissatisfied individuals, and proceeded, with the adherents of the sons of the ruling House (killed in the 8th year by Tsz-ze; see the Chuen after vill 2) to raise an insurrection. At this time the govt was in the hands of Tsz-ze; Tsz-kwoh (the Kung tze K'hi) was minister of War; Tsz-urh (the Kung-sun Cheh) was minister of Works; and Tsz-k'ung was minister of Instruction. In winter in the 10th month, on Mow-shin, Wei Che, Szao Chin, Hoo Tsin, T'oo Joo-foo, and Tsz-ze Puh, led a band of ruffians into the

palace, and early in the morning attacked the chief minister at the audience in the western palace. They killed Tsze-sze, Tsze-kwoh, and Tsze-urh, and carried off the earl to the northern palace. Tsze-k'ung had known of their design, and so escaped death. The word 'ruffians' in the text indicates that none of them were great officers.

'Tsze-se, the son of Tsze-sze) hearing of the ruffians, left his house without taking any precautions, went to [his father's] corpse, and pursued them. When they had entered the northern palace, however, he returned, and began giving out their arms [to his followers]. Most of the servants and concubines had fled, and most of the articles of furniture and use were lost.

'Tsze-ch'an (the son of Tsze-kwoh), hearing of the ruffians, set a guard at his gate, got all his officers in readiness, shut up his storehouses, carefully secured his depositories, formed his men in ranks, and then went forth with 17 chariots of war. Having gone to [his father's] corpse, he proceeded to attack the ruffians, in the northern palace. Tsze-k'eaou (the Kung-sun Chae) led the people to his assistance, when they killed Wei Che and Tsze-sze Puh. The majority of their followers perished, but How Tsin fled to Tsin, and Too Joo foo, Sze Shin, Wei Peen, and Sze Ts'e fled to Sung.

'Tsze-k'ung (the Kung-tsze Kea) then took charge of the State, and made a covenant requiring that all in the various degrees of rank should receive the rules enacted by himself. The great officers, ministers, and younger members of the great families refusing obedience to this, he wished to take them off, but Tsze-ch'an stopped him, and begged that for their sakes he would burn the covenant. He objected to do so, saying, "I wrote what I did for the settlement of the State. If I burn it because they all are dissatisfied, then the government is in their hands,—will it not be difficult to administer the affairs of the State?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "It is difficult to go against the anger of them all, and it is difficult to secure the exclusive authority to yourself. If you insist on both these difficulties in order to quiet the State, it is the very way to endanger it. It is better to burn the writing, and so quiet all their minds. You will get what you wish, and they also will feel at ease,—will not this be well? By insisting on your exclusive authority, you will find it difficult to succeed, by going against the wishes of all, you will excite calamity—you must follow my advice." On this Tsze-k'ung burned the writing of the covenant outside the Ts'ang gate, after which the minds of all the others became composed.

Par 9 Hoo-laou,—see 11 9. The text would lead us to think that the keeping guard over Hoo-laou was the action of Loo, and of Loo alone, whereas Tsin had taken possession of that city, fortified it and now held it with the troops of its confederate States, as a strategical point against Ch'ing and Ts'oo. Loo sent troops to guard it, and this alone the text mentions, but other States did the same. Originally it belonged to Ch'ing, but was not Ch'ing's now. Yet the text says—"Hoo-laou of Ch'ing." Too Yu and others see in this the style of Confucius writing retrospectively, expressing himself according to his knowledge of the purpose

of Tsin to restore the place to Ch'ing, when that State should really have broken with Ts'oo. Hoo Ngan kwoh, again, has his followers in maintaining that Confucius here assigned it to Ch'ing to mark his disapproval of Tsin's ever taking it. The probability is that neither the one view nor the other is correct. The place properly belonged to Ch'ing, it was held against it by the confederates for a time, it was immediately restored to it—what more natural than to mention it as 'Hoo-laou of Ch'ing,' without any intention either 'to praise or to blame.' The Chuen says—"The armies of the States fortified [afresh] Hoo-laou, and guarded the country about. The army of Tsin fortified Woo and Che, and Sze Fang and Wei Keang guarded them. The text speaks of Hoo-laou of Ch'ing, though it was not [now] Ch'ing's, indicating that it was to be restored to it. Ch'ing [now] made peace with Tsin."

Par 10 The Chuen says—"Tsze-nang of Ts'oo came to succour Ch'ing. In the 11th month, the armies of the States made a circuit round Ch'ing, and proceeded south to Yang-ling. Still the army of Ts'oo did not retire, [seeing which], Cho Woo-tsze proposed that the confederates should withdraw, saying, "If we now make our escape from Ts'oo, it will become arrogant, and can be fought with when in that mood. Lwan Yin, said, "To evade Ts'oo will be a disgrace to Tsin. Our having assembled the States will increase the disgrace. We had better die. I will advance alone." On this the [whole] army advanced, and on Ke-hae it and the army of Ts'oo were opposed to each other with [only] the Ying between them. Tsze Keaou [of Ch'ing] said, "The [armies of the] States are prepared to march and are sure not to fight. If we follow Tsin, they will retire, if we do not follow it, they will retire. Ts'oo is sure to besiege our city when they retire, but they will still do so. We had better follow Ts'oo, and get its army to retire also." That night he crossed through the Ying, and made a covenant with Ts'oo. Lwan Yin wished to attack the army of Ch'ing, but Seun Ying said, "No. We cannot keep back Ts'oo, neither can we protect Ch'ing. Of what offence is Ch'ing guilty? Our best plan is to leave a grudge against it, and withdraw. If we now attack its army, Ts'oo will come to its help. If we fight, and do not conquer, the States will laugh at us. Victory cannot be commanded. We had better withdraw." Accordingly on Ting-we the armies of the States withdrew, made an incursion into the northern borders of Ch'ing, and returned. The forces of Ts'oo also withdrew.

Par 11 [The Chuen gives here a narrative about troubles at court—"Wang-shuh Ch'ing-sing and Pih Yu had a quarrel about the govt. The king favoured Pih Yu, when the other fled from the capital in a rage. The king recalled him when he had got to the Ho, and put the historiographer Keaou to death to please him. He would not enter [the capital], however, and was allowed to remain [near the Ho]. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Kae to pacify the royal House, when Wang-shuh and Pih Yu maintained each his cause. The steward of Wang-shuh, and Hea Kin, the great officer of Pih Yu, pleaded in the court of the king, while Sze Kae listened to them. Wang-shuh's steward said, "When people who live in hovels, with wicker

doors fitted to holes in the wall, insult their superiors, it is hard to be a man of superior rank." Hea K'in said, "When king Ping came to the east, there were seven families of us, who followed him, and on whom he was dependent for the victims which he used. He made a covenant with them over [the flesh of] a red bull, saying that from generation to generation they should hold their offices. If we had been people of such hovels, how could they have come to the east? and how could the king have been dependent on them? Now since Wang-shuh became chief minister the govt. has been carried on by means of bribes, and punishments have been in the hands of his favourites.

His officers have become enormously rich, and it is not to be wondered at if we are reduced to such hovels. Let your great State consider the case. If the low cannot obtain right, where is what we call justice?" Fan Benen-tso said, "Whom the son of Heaven favours, my ruler also favours; whom he disapproves, my ruler also disapproves." He then made Wang-shuh and Pih Yu prepare a summary of their case; but Wang-shuh could bring forward no evidence and fled to Tsin. There is no record of this in the text, because no announcement of it was made to Loo. Duke Tsing of Shien then became high minister to act as director for the royal House.]

*Eleventh year*

十有年春，不從，乃不郊。鄭公孫舍之帥師侵宋。  
 滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子伐鄭。  
 公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、齊世子光、莒子、邾  
 公、魯公、自伐鄭。  
 楚子、鄭伯伐宋。  
 楚人執鄭行人良霄。  
 冬，秦人伐晉。

左傳曰：「十年春，季武子將作軍，告叔孫穆子曰：『請爲軍，各征其軍。』」穆子曰：『政將及了，了必不能。武子固請之。』穆子曰：『然則盟諸？』乃盟諸僂闕，謂諸力父之衢，止月作軍。分公宰而各有其了。各毀其乘，季氏使其乘之人，以其役品入者無征，不入者倍征。孟氏使平爲中，若了若弟叔孫氏使盡爲中。不然，不舍。

鄭人患晉楚之故，諸人夫曰：『不從晉，國幾亡。楚弱於晉，晉不台疾也。晉疾楚將辟之，何爲而使晉師致死於我？楚弗敢敵，而後可固與也。』展曰：『與宋爲惡，諸侯必不吾從之。』盟楚師，台又從之，則晉怒甚矣。晉能驟來，楚將不能，台乃固與晉。大夫諛之，便疆場之司忠於宋。宋向戌侵鄭，人獲了展曰：『師而伐宋可矣。若我伐宋，諸侯之伐我必疾。』台乃聽命焉。日告於楚，楚師台又與之盟，而重賂晉師，乃免矣。夏，鄭了展侵宋。

四月，諸侯伐鄭。己亥，齊大子光、宋向戌先至於鄭，門於東門。其莫晉荀息至於西郊，東侵舊許，衛孫林父侵其北鄙。八月，諸侯會於北林，師於向，右還，次於瑣，圍鄭。觀兵於南門，西濟於濟隧。

鄭人懼，乃行成。秋七月，同盟於亳，范宣子曰：『不慎，必失諸侯。諸侯道敝而無成，能無貳乎？』乃盟。載書曰：『凡我同盟，毋湍年，毋壅利，毋保姦，毋啗慝，救災患，恤禍亂，同好惡，獎一室，或間茲命，司慎司盟，名山名川，享神享祀，先一先公七姓。』一國之祖，明神殛之，俾失其民，隊命亡氏，陪其國家。

於是囊乞旅於秦，秦右人夫詹帥師從楚了，將以伐鄭。鄭伯逆之丙子，伐宋。

九月，諸侯悉師以復伐鄭。諸侯之師觀兵於鄭東門，鄭人使了了伯駢行成。甲戌，晉趙武入盟鄭伯。冬十一月，丁亥，鄭了展出盟。晉侯十一月戊寅會於蕭魚，庚辰赦鄭囚，皆禮而歸之。納斥侯，禁侵掠。晉侯使叔肸告於諸侯。公使臧孫紇對曰：『凡我同盟，小國有罪，大國致討，苟有以藉丁，鮮不赦宥。寡君聞命矣。鄭人賂晉侯，以師懼，師觸師，蠲廣車，軛車，淳一十乘，甲兵備，凡兵車自乘歌鐘一肆，及其具，罍磬，女樂一八。晉侯以樂之，賜魏絳曰：『了教寡人和諸戎狄，以止諸旱，八年之中，九合諸侯，如樂之和，無所不諧，請與了樂之。』辭曰：『夫和戎狄，國之福也。』

八年之中，九合諸侯，諸侯無憾，君之靈也。二三子之勞也，臣何力之有焉？抑臣願君安其樂而思其終也。詩曰：『樂旨君子，遐不作。』天子之邦，樂旨君子，福祿攸同，便蕃左右，亦是帥從。夫樂以安德，義以處之，禮以行之，信以守之，仁以厲之，而後可以殿邦國，同福祿，來遠人，所謂樂也。書曰：『居安思危，思則有備，有備無患。』敢以此規。公曰：『予之教，敢不承命。抑微子，寡人無以待戎，不能濟河，夫實國之典也。』臧在盟府，才可廢也。予其受之。魏絳於是乎始有金石之樂禮也。

鄭人使良霄、犬宰石臯如楚，告將服於晉。曰：『孤以社稷之故，不能懷君，君若能以玉帛綏晉，不然則武震以攝威之，孤之願也。』楚人執之，書曰：『行人言使人也。』

秦庶長鮑、庶長武帥師伐晉，以救鄭。鮑先入晉地，士魴御之，少宰師而弗殺。備壬午，武濟自輔氏，與鮑交伐。晉師已丑，秦晉戰於櫟，晉師敗績，易秦故也。

- XI. 1 In the [dukes] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, we formed three armies.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fourth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and the sacrifice was not offered.
- 3 The kung sun Shay-eh of Ch'ing led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 4 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, Kwang, heir son of Ts'ü, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ing, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ke we, [the above princes] made a covenant together on the north of Poh shing.
- 6 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 7 The viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 8 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, Kwang, heir son of Ts'ü, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ing, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing. There was a meeting in S'auou yu.
- 9 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 10 The people of Ts'oo seized and held L'ang S'auou, the messenger of Ch'ing.
- 11 In winter, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.



Par 1 作 must be taken here as in VIII 1 4, indicating an arrangement either altogether new, or modifying in a most important manner existing arrangements on the subject to which it refers. The Chuen says — 'This spring, Ke Woo-tsze wished to form 3 armies, and told Shuh-sun Muh-tsze (P'non) of his purpose, saying, "Let us make three armies, and each of us collect the revenue for the support of his army." Muh-tsze replied, "When the demands [of Tsin] come upon you, [according to this increased establishment], you will not be able [to meet them]." Woo-tsze, however, persisted in his request, till Muh-tsze said, "Well, let us make a covenant." They covenanted accordingly at the gate of [duke] He's temple, the imprecatory sentences being repeated in the street of Woo-foo." In the 1st month they proceeded to the formation of the 3 armies, [the three clans] dividing the ducal prerogative [as it were] into three, and each of them taking one part to itself. The three chiefs broke up their own [establishments of] chariots. The Ke appointed that those who brought their followers and the amount of the military contribution of their families to him, should pay nothing more [to the State], and those who did not so enter his ranks should pay a double contribution. The Mäng employed one half the sons and younger brothers in his service. The Shuh sun employed all the sons and younger brothers. [They had said that], unless they acted thus, they would not alter the old arrangements.'

It is to be wished that Tso-she's narrative were more perspicuous and explicit,—see also the narrative under X v 1, when the new army, or that of the centre, was obliged to be discontinued. The arrangement for 3 armies which was now adopted was an important one, and marked an era in the history of Loo. It was originally a great State, and could furnish the 3 armies, which were assigned by the statutes of Chow to a great State,—see the Chow Le, Bk XXVIII par 3. But its power had gradually decayed, and as Tsin rose to preeminence as the leading State of the kingdom, Loo sank to the class of the second-rate States (次國), which furnished only two armies. The change from 3 to 2 seems to have taken place under Wan or Seuen. In this way Loo escaped some of the exactions of Tsin, whose demands for military assistance were proportioned to the force which the States could furnish, and hence, in the Chuen, Shuh-sun Muh-tsze objects to the formation of 3 armies on the ground that they would then be unable to meet the requirements of Tsin. But up to this time, the armies of Loo, whether 3 or 2, had always belonged to the marquises, having been called forth by them as occasion required, and been commanded by their ministers according to their appointment. A great change now took place. The Heads of the three families,—the descendants of duke Hwan, now not only claimed the command of the armies, but they claimed the armies as their own. Taking advantage of the youth of duke Hwang, their act was all but a parting of the State among themselves. They would henceforth be not only its ministers, but its lords, and the direct descendants of the duke of Chow would be puppets in their hands. I must repeat the wish that we had fuller details of the formation of the three armies, and of the pro-

ceedings of the three chiefs. Tso says that they added one army,—that of the centre, to the two already existing, but that is a very imperfect description of their act. The chariots which they broke up would be those belonging to themselves, for which they would now have no separate occasion, and which would go therefore to the formation of the third army. The text relates the event, as if it had proceeded from the duke or by his authority.

Par 2 See on V xxxi 3

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'The people of Ch'ing were troubled about [their relations with] Tsin and Ts'oo, and all the great officers said, "Through our not following Tsin, the State is nearly ruined. Ts'oo is weaker than Tsin but Tsin shows no ingerness in our behalf. If Tsin were eager in our behalf, Ts'oo would avoid it. What shall we do to make the army of Tsin ready to encounter death for us? In that case Ts'oo will not venture to oppose it, and we can firmly adhere to it." Tsz' chen said, "Let us commence hostilities against Sung, the States are sure to come [to its help], when we will submit to them and make a covenant. The army of Ts'oo will then come, and we shall do the same with it. This will make Tsin very angry. If it can then come quickly and resolutely [into the field] Ts'oo will not be able to do anything against it, and we shall firmly adhere to Tsin." The others were pleased with this proposal, and they made the officers of the borders commence a quarrel with Sung. Hwang Seuh of which retaliated with an incursion into Ch'ing, in which he took great spoil. Tsz' chen said, "We may now invade Sung with an army. If we attack Sung the States are sure to attack us immediately. We will then hearken to their command, and at the same time send notice to Ts'oo. When its forces come we shall further make a covenant with it, and by heavy bribes to the army of Tsin, we shall escape [the vengeance of them both]." Accordingly in summer, Tsz' chen (Shay-che) made an incursion into Sung.'

Tsz' chen had formerly advocated the adherence of Ch'ing in good faith to Tsin, while Tsz' sze had been for adhering now to Tsin and now to Ts'oo, according to the pressure of the time. Tsz' sze was now dead, and the commentators find great fault with Tsz' chen for the crooked course which he took to bring about the accomplishment of his own policy.

Par 4 This is the second of Tsin's great expeditions with the States of the north to break the power of Ts'oo. The Chuen says — 'In the fourth month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On Ke-hae, Kwang, eldest son of [the marquis of] Ts'e, and Hwang Seuh of Sung, came first to its capital, and attacked the east gate. In the evening of that day, Seun Yung of Tsin arrived in the western suburbs, from which he made an incursion to the old [capital of] Heu (see on VIII v 11). Sun Lin-foo of Wei made an incursion on the northern borders of the State. In the 6th month the States assembled at Pih-lin and encamped in Hwang. Thence they took a circuit, and halted at So, after which they invested the capital, and made a [grand] display of their forces outside the south gate, and on the west crossed over the Tse sui.'

Par 5. Instead of 京 Kung and Kuh have 京. Poh-shing was in Ch'ing and, acc. to the K'ang-ho editors, must have been in the pres. district of Yen-ze dep. Ho-nan. This is very doubtful. Too and nearly all the critics explain the 同 with reference to the presence of Ch'ing and its joining in the covenant. No previous in tance where the term has occurred exactly corresponds to this; and perhaps Tan Tsao is right in thinking that Ch'ing was not present. The Chuen says:—The people of Ch'ing [now] became afraid, and sought terms of accommodation. In autumn, in the 11th month, they made a covenant together in Lo. Fan Shuen tzu said, "If we be not careful, we shall lose the States. Wearied as they have been by marching and not [really] accomplishing any thing, can they be but disaffected? Accordingly when they covenanted, the words were:—

All we who covenant together agree not to board up the produce of good years, not to shut one another out from advantages [that we possess] not to protect traitors, not to shelter criminals. We agree to aid one another in disasters and calamities, to have compassion on one another in seasons of misfortune and disorder to cherish the same likings and dislikes, to support and encourage the royal House. Should any prince break these engagements, may he who watches over men's sincerity and he who watches over covenants, [the Spirits of] the famous hills and [of] the famous streams, the kings and dukes our predecessors, the whole host of Spirits, and all who are sacrificed to, the ancestors of our 12 (713) States with their 7 surnames—may all these intelligent Spirits destroy him so that he shall lose his people, his appointment pass from him, his family perish, and his State be utterly overthrown!

Par 7. The Chuen says:—Tze-nang of T'oo had asked the assistance of troops from Ts'in; and Chien, Ts'in's great officer of the right, led a force to follow the viscount of Ts'oo, intending to invade Ch'ing. [In the meantime], the earl of Ch'ing met [the army of Ts'oo], [made his submission], and on Ping tze invaded Seng [along with it].

Par 8. This is the third and last of the great expeditions of Ts'in against Ts'oo. S'ao-yu was a place in Ch'ing to the south of its capital, in the pres. Hsu Chow (許州). The Chuen says:—In the 9th month, the States, with all their armies, again invaded Ch'ing. They showed their forces outside the east gate of the city on which the people of Ch'ing made the king's son, Pih ping, offer their submission. On K'eh-sou Ch'ao Woo of Ts'in entered the city and made a covenant with the earl, and in winter in the 10th month, on Ting-hao, Tze-chen came out, and made a covenant with the marquess of Ts'in. In the 12th month, on Mow yin, there was a meeting in S'ao-yu. On K'ang-shin, [the marquess of Ts'in] released his Ch'ing prisoners, treated them all courteously and sent them back. Ho [also] called in his scouting parties, and forbade raids and pillaging. [At the same time], he sent Shuh-hieh to inform the [other] princes of these proceedings. The duke made Tsang-sun Heli return the following reply: "All we who have covenanted to-

gether [are here] because your great State found it necessary to punish a small one which had offended. Having obtained sufficient ground for your present course, you are ready to exercise forgiveness. My ruler has received your commands."

The people of Ch'ing presented to the marquess of Ts'in the music masters Kwel, Ch'uh and Keen fifteen, each, of wide chariots and guard chariots with the buff-coats and weapons for their complete and other war-chariots amounting altogether to a hundred; two sets of musical bells, with the large bells and musical stones belonging to them; and sixteen female musicians. The marquess gave one half [of these two last gifts] to Wei K'ang saying "It was you who taught me to harmonize the Jung and the Teib so as secure the adherence of the great States (see the long Chuen at the end of the 4th year). In the space of 8 years, I have nine times assembled the States, and a harmony has prevailed among them like that of music. I beg to share the pleasure of these things with you." Wei K'ang declined the gifts, saying, "The harmonizing of the Jung and Teib was the happy destiny of the State. The assembling of the States nine times within the space of eight years, and the princes all virtuously adhering to be ascribed to your lordship's powerful influence and the labours of your various servants. What did I contribute to those results? What your servant wishes is that your lordship may enjoy your present pleasure and think about the future. The ode (Shu, II vii. ode VIII. 4) says,

To be delighted in are those princes,  
The guardians of the country of the Son of Heaven!

To be delighted in are those princes;  
Around them all blessings collect.  
Discriminating and able are their attendants.

Who also have followed them hither!

Now music helps the repose in virtue; right conduct is seen in the manner of occupying one's position; the rules of propriety are seen in one's practice; good faith maintains consistency, and benevolence makes one powerful in influencing others. When a prince has these qualities then indeed he may be the guardian of the country share in all blessings and ornaments, and attract people from a distance—this is called music indeed. The Shoo says (probably V. xv. 10 is intended). In a position of security think of peril. If you think thus, you will make preparation against the danger and with the preparation there will be no calamity. I venture to offer you these admonitions. The marquess said, "I do I but receive your commands in these instructions? But for you, however I should not have known how to treat the Jung; I should not have been able to cross the Ho. So reward is a statute of the State preserved in the repository of covenants; it may not be dissolved. Do you receive those things?" It was thus that Wei K'ang first had bells and musical stones—and it was right he should thus receive them.

Par 9. The canon laid down for entries like this is that, when the duke has been absent on more than one affair, the last shall be stated in the record of his return. It is so here. The

duke left Loo to take part in the invasion of Ch'ing, which ended in the meeting at Scaou-yu, and it is said he arrived 'from the meeting' In par 6, however, it is said that he arrived 'from the invasion of Ch'ing,' though the event immediately preceding his return was the meeting and covenant at Poh. The commentators find 'praise and blame' in these variations of the style, but we may well believe that the historians made these entries, as the characters occurred to them, without regard to any different character of the transactions in which the duke had been engaged

Par 10 For 霄 Kuh-lang has 宵 The Chuen says — 'The people of Ch'ing had sent Leang Scaou, and the grand-superintendent Sheh Ch'oh, to Ts'oo, to give notice of their intended submission to Tsin in the words, [as from the earl], "Out of regard to my altars, I

am not able to cherish your lordship [as my superior] If your lordship with arms and all will come to a good understanding with Tsin, or if by a display of prowess you will overawe it, this would be what I desire.' The people of Ts'oo seized and held the two officers. The text speaks of "the messenger" intimating that [Leang Scaou] was an ambassador'

Par 11 The Chuen says — 'Two dignitaries of Tsin, Paou and Woo, led a force and invaded Tsin, in order to succour Ch'ing. Paou first entered the territory of Tsin and was met by Sze Lang, who slighted the forces of Tsin, and did not make preparation against them. On Jin-woo Woo crossed [the Ho] from Poo she, and joining Paou, went on with him into Tsin. On Ke-chow the armies of the two States fought at Loh, when that of Tsin received a great defeat,—in consequence of making light of Tsin'

Twelfth year.

上<sup>二</sup>有<sup>一</sup>年春王<sup>一</sup>正月<sup>一</sup>莒人伐我東鄙<sup>一</sup>。季孫宿帥師救<sup>一</sup>。冬楚公子貞帥師<sup>一</sup>。聘<sup>四</sup>。秋九月吳子乘卒<sup>五</sup>。侵宋<sup>六</sup>。公如晉<sup>六</sup>。

左傳曰：十二年春，莒人伐我東鄙，圍台。季武子救之，遂入郕，取其鐘以爲公盤。夏，晉使欒來聘，且拜師。秋，吳子壽夢卒，臨於周廟，禮也。凡諸侯之喪，異姓臨於外，同姓於宗廟，同宗於祖廟，同族於禰廟，是故魯爲諸姬臨於周廟，爲邢、凡、將、茅、胙祭，臨於周公之廟。冬，楚子囊秦庶長無地伐宋，師於楊梁，以報晉之取鄭也。

○靈王求后於齊，齊侯問對於晏桓子，桓子對曰：「先王之禮，辭有之。」人子求后於諸侯，諸侯對曰：「大婦所生，若而人，妾婦之了，若而人，無女而有姊妹及姑姊妹，則曰：『先王某公之遺女，若而人。』齊侯許昏，使陰甲結之。

公如晉朝，且拜一魴之序禮也。

○秦嬴歸於楚，楚司馬子庚聘於秦，爲夫人寧禮也。

- XII 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, a body of men from K'eu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae
- 2 Ke-sun Suh led a force and relieved T'ae, after which he went on to enter Yun
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, Shing, viscount of Woo, died
- 5 In winter, the kung tze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung
- 6 The duke went to Tsin

Part 1 2. T'ae was a city belonging to Loo, —in the pres. dis of I-t'ung. K'ehow. K'ehow has 兗. Yun is the same place mentioned in V. L. xlii. b, as then walled by duke Wan. In his time it belonged to Loo, but had subsequently been taken by K'eu. Though Ke-sun Suh now entered it, it does not appear to have remained in the possession of Loo.

The Chuen says — This year in spring a body of men from K'eu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae. Ke Woo-tze then relieved T'ae and went on to enter Yun, from which he took its hill to form a deep ditch for the duke. 兗 is used as heretofore to denote the going on from the accomplishment of one thing to another not originally contemplated. Hung and Kuh, however, remark that it was not convenient for any one to do this but the ruler of the State himself, and hence the 兗 is here condemnatory of Ke-sun Suh;—but see on III. xli. 3.

Part 3. T'ao says that the object of Fang in this mission was to convey the acknowledgments of the marquis of Tsin for the military services performed by Loo the previous year.

Part 4. Ti is viscount of Woo is better known by the name of Shou-mung, which we find in the 1st Chuen on the 10th year. How he should have the two names of Shou-mung and Shing is not easily explained. Fuh K'ien (服虔) of the Han dynasty supposed that the double name of this and the other lords of Woo is merely an attempt to spell, or give the sound of the native term, so that in reality 兗 and 兗 are but one and the same name.

The Chuen says:— In autumn, Shou-mung, viscount of Woo, died. The duke went to the Chow temple (that of king Wan) to wall for him;—which was according to rule. On occasion of the decease of any prince if he were of a different surname from the duke, he was walled for outside on the city wall. If he were of the

same surname the walling took place in the ancestral (堂, the Chow) temple; if he were descended from the same individual who bore that surname in the temple of that [common] ancestor; if he were of some common branch family from that ancestor in the paternal temple. Thus the princes of Loo mourned for the K'ee generally in the Chow temple; but for the lords of Hing Fan, Ts'ang Maon, Ts'ao, and Chae in the temple of the duke of Chow. Here for the 1st time the Chuen T'ao records the death of a lord of Woo. But there is no record of the burial; not that an officer of Loo may not have been present at it but because as in the case of the lords of Ts'oo, the usurped title of king must have been introduced.

Part 5. The Chuen says — In winter T'ao-nang of Ts'oo, and Woo-te one of the dignitaries of Ts'ao, invaded Sung, and took post with their forces at Yang Hsiang;—in retaliation for Tsin's taking Ching (from Ts'oo).

[The Chuen here turns a lie to a marriage negotiation on the part of the king:—king Ling sought a queen from T'ao. The marquis of Wei Gan Hwan told how he should reply and that officer answered, "In the language of my lord by the former kings, we find that when the king applies for a queen to the prince of any State the prince replies 'Of daughters by my proper wife I have so many; and of daughters by concubines I have so many.' If he have no daughter of his own, but has sisters and aunts, he says 'Of so and so, who I have had me in this &c.' there are so many daughters." The marquis of T'ao agreed to the proposed marriage and the king sent Yin Lo to settle the engagement.]

Part 6. T'ao says, The duke went to Tsin, to appear at its court and to express his acknowledgments for the visit of Sze Fang. Fang's visit was that in p. 3.

[The Chuen here relates an incident, of which it is difficult to see the drift:— "A daughter of the House of Ts'ao had been married to [the viscount of] Ts'oo. [This year] T'ao-kang (a son of king Ch'uang, named Woo) minister of War to Ts'oo, paid a friendly visit to Ts'ao, to inquire after her mother in the viscountess's behalf. This was according to rule.]

Thirteenth year.

十有三年春公自晉。夏取郛。秋九月庚辰楚子審卒。冬城防。

左傳曰：十年春，公至自晉。孟獻子書勞於廟，禮也。夏，郛亂，分爲二師，牧郛，遂取之。凡書取，二易也。用大師焉，曰滅，弗地曰入。荀罃、士魴卒，荀侯薨於綿上，以治兵，使上勾將中軍，辭曰：伯游長，昔臣習於知伯，是以佐之，非能賢也。請從伯游。荀偃將中軍，上勾佐之。使韓起將上軍，辭以趙武。又使欒黶辭曰：臣不如韓起。韓起願上趙武，君其聽之。使趙武將上軍，韓起佐之。欒黶將下軍，魏絳佐之。新軍無帥，荀侯難其人，使其什吏率其卒乘官屬以從於下軍，禮也。晉國之民是以人和，諸侯遂睦。君了口，讓禮之士也。范宣子讓其下皆讓，欒黶爲汰，弗敢違也。晉國以平，數世賴之。刑善也夫。人刑善，自姓休和，可不務乎？書曰：一人有慶，兆民賴之。其寧惟永，其是之謂乎？周之興也，其詩曰：儀刑文士，萬邦作孚。言刑善也。及其衰也，其詩曰：大邦不均，我從事獨賢。言不讓也。世之治也，君子尙能而讓其下，小人農力以事其上，是以上下有禮，而讒慝刪遠，由不爭也。謂之懿德，及其亂也，君子稱其功以加小人，小人伐其技以馮君了，是以上下無禮，亂虐並生，由爭善也。謂之昏德，國家之敝，恒必由之。楚子疾告大夫曰：不穀不德，少社稷，生十年而喪先君，未及習師保之教訓，而應受多福，是以不德而亡師於鄢，以辱社稷，爲人大變，其弘多矣。若以人大之靈，獲保首領，以沒於地，唯是春秋寃罔之事，所以從先君於廟廟者，請爲靈若厲，人大擇焉。莫對。及五命，乃許。秋，楚共卒，了囊謀謚，人大曰：君有命矣。了囊曰：君命以具，若之何毀之？赫赫楚國，而君臨之，撫有蠻夷，奄征南海，以屬諸夏，而知其過，可不謂具乎？請謚之具。大大從之。

○吳侵楚，養山且奔命。了庚以師繼之。養叔曰：吳乘我喪，謂我不能師也，必易我而不戒。

子爲三覆以待我，我請勝之。子庚從之，戰於庸浦。大敗吳師，獲公子黨。君子以吳爲不弔，詩曰：不弔昊天，亂靡有定。冬，城防渚。事時也。於是將早城，臧武仲請俟畢農事，禮也。

○鄭良霄，大宰石與，猶在楚。石與言於子囊曰：先王卜征五年，而歲習其祥。祥習則行，不習則增修德而改卜。今楚實不競，行人何罪？止鄭一卿，以除其偏，使睦而疾楚，以固於晉。焉用之？使歸而廢其使，怨其君，以疾其大夫，而相牽引也，不猶愈乎？楚人歸之。

- XIII 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin  
 2 In summer, we took She.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on K'ang-shin, Shin, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 4 In winter, we walled Fang

Par 1 The Chuen says — When the duke arrived from Tsin, M'ang Hsien tze caused a record of his successful services to be made in the ancestral temple; — which was according to rule. See the Chuen on II. II. 9 about the force of

至 in such paragraphs as this. Too Yu goes at length into the matter here. — Under the 2d year of duke Hwan, the Chuen says, "The duke arrived from T'ang and announced his doing so in the temple. Whenever the duke set out on a journey he announced it in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had his service recorded in the tablets. This was the rule. In the 16th year of Hwan, it says, "The duke came from the invasion of Ch'ing and observed the ceremony of drinking on his arrival in the temple." It appears then (from those two passages and the present), that if any one of the three ceremonies, — the announcement in the temple, the drinking to celebrate the arrival, and the record in the tablets, — was observed, the notice of arrival was made; but if they were all neglected, there was no such notice.

Par 2 For 鄆 Kung yang has 詩. She was a small State, near Loo, — in the present Tsin (濟寧) Chow dep. Yen-chow. It was now incorporated with Loo. The Chuen says — In summer She was dismembered into three by disorders [which prevailed]. A force from Loo succoured She, and took the opportunity to take it. Too of Loo, on this, that, while the Chuen speaks of a force from Loo, the text does not use that term, intimating that the troops employed did not really amount to a 師 or 2,500 men. Too also subjoins his canons regarding the force of several terms: — "Taking (取) is used, when the thing was done with ease. "extinguishing (滅), when it required

a large force; "entering (入)," when the territory was not retained. There is difficulty found, however in the application of these canons; and some critics, as L'au Ch'ang call them in question altogether.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin: — Seun Ying and Sze Fang died, and the marquis of Tsin died his troops in M'ien-shang that he might order and regulate them. He appointed Sze Kao to the command of the army of the centre but Kao declined, saying, "Pih y'ew (Seun Yen) is my senior. Formerly from my acquaintance with, and knowledge of, Che Pih, I was assistant-commander under him; but I cannot [be regarded as] superior [to Yen]. I beg you to follow [my advice, and appoint] Pih y'ew. Seun Yen was then made commander of the army of the centre, and Sze Kao was assistant-commander under him. [The marquis] appointed Han K'e to the command of the 1st army; but he wished to decline in favour of Chao Woo. The marquis how offered the command to Lwan Yen, who also declined it, saying, "I am not equal to Han K'e, and as he wishes Chao Woo to be above him, your lordship should hearken to him." Chao Woo was then made commander of the 1st army with Han K'e as assistant-commander. Lwan Yen was continued as commander of the 3d army, and Wei K'eng was made assistant-commander of it. Neither commander nor assistant-commander was appointed to the new army; but the marquis, finding it difficult to meet with proper men, ordered the officers of tens to lead their footmen and chariot-men, and all the other officers, to follow the 3d army — which was right. On this, a great harmony prevailed among the people of Tsin, and the States cultivated their friendly relations with it.

The superior man will say, "Modesty is an essential point in the great virtues. Fan Seuen tze (Kao) having declined the command [offered to him], those below him did the same, and

even Lwän Yen, naturally forward, did not dare to act differently. The State of Ts'in was thus made tranquil, and the effect extended through several generations—such was the force of a good example! Is not this a thing to be earnestly sought,—the good example of one man, securing the quiet and harmony of the people? The language of the Shoo (V 13) is applicable to this,—‘When the one man is good, all the people look to him as their dependence, and the repose of such a State will be perpetual.’ Of the rise and prosperity of Chow, the ode (She, III 1 ode I 7) says—

‘Take your pattern from king Wän,  
And the myriad regions will repose confidence  
in you,’

showing a pattern of excellence. But in the decline of Chow, the ode (She, II vi ode I 2) says—

‘The great officers are unfair,  
I am made to serve, I alone am deemed worthy,’

showing how [at that time] they would not yield to one another. In an age of good government, men in high stations prefer ability, and give place to those who are below them, and the lesser people labour vigorously at their husbandry to serve their superiors. In this way all the rules of propriety are observed both by high and low, and slanderers and evil men fall into disrepute and disappear. Such a state of things arises from their not quarrelling about superiority,—it is what we call a state of admirable virtue. But in an age of disorder, men in high stations proclaim their merit in order to impose their will on those who are below them, and the lesser people boast of their arts to encroach on their superiors. In this way the rules of propriety are observed by neither high nor low, and disorders and oppressions grow up together. Such a state of things arises from contentions about superiority,—it is what we call a state where virtue is all-obscured. The ruin of a State is sure to result from it.”

Par 3 This was king Kung (公) He was succeeded by his son Ch'au, known as king K'ang (康王昭). The Chuen says—‘The viscount of Ts'oo was ill, and addressed his great officers, saying, “I, the unworthy, was called when young to preside over the altars. At the age of ten, I lost my father, and the dignity of the State fell to my lot before I had been trained by the instructions of the tutor and guardian. Thus it was that I lost my army at Yen (see VIII 1 vi 6), to the very great disgrace of our altars, and the very great sorrow of you. If by your influence I am able to preserve my head, and die a natural death, for the business of sacrifice and interment, whereby I shall take the place after my predecessors in the temple proper to me, I beg you will call me by such an epithet as Ling (靈) or Le (厲), according as you shall choose.” They gave him no reply, till he had charged them five times, when they consented.

‘In the autumn, he—king Kung—died, and Tsze-nang was consulting about the posthumous epithet for him, when the great officers said, “We have his own charge about it.” Tsze-nang said, “His charge was marked by humble

reverence. Why should we use any other epithet but that which is expressive of that quality? He came to the charge of this glorious State of Ts'oo, he tranquillized, and got the dominion of, the Man and the E, his expeditions went rapidly forth along the sea of the south, and he subjected the great States. And yet he knew his errors,—may he not be pronounced humbly reverent (之)? Let us call him by the epithet of Kung.” The great officers agreed.’

[The Chuen appends here—‘Woo made a raid upon Ts'oo. Yang Yew-ke hurried away with a charge [to resist the enemy], followed by Tsze-käng with a [larger] force. Yang Shuh said, “Woo is taking advantage of the death of our king, thinking we shall not be able to take the field. They are sure to slight us, and not use proper caution. Do you place three ambushments, and wait for the result of my measures, giving me leave to decoy them.” Tsze-käng having agreed to this, a battle was fought at Yung-poo, when the troops of Woo received a great defeat, and the Kung-tsze Tang was taken. The superior man will say, “Woo was un pitying,—[as] the ode (She, II iv. ode VII 6) says,

‘Great Heaven has no compassion,  
And there is no end to the disorders.’”

Par 4 Fang—see I ix 6. The city was granted, probably about this time, to the Tsangsun family. The Chuen says—‘This text shows the seasonableness of the proceeding [from the state of other business]. They had wished to wall the city earlier, but Tsang Woo-chung begged to wait till the labours of husbandry were finished,—which was right.’

[The Chuen here takes up the narrative under xi 10—‘Liang S'auou of Ch'ing, and the grand-superintendent Shih Ch'oh, were still in Ts'oo. Shih Ch'oh said to Tsze-nang, “The ancient kings divined about their progresses for five years, year by year seeking for a favourable response. When they found that repeated so many times, then they set out. If such a response was not repeated, they cultivated their virtue with increased assiduity, and divined again. Now Ts'oo cannot maintain its struggle with Ts'in, but what is the offence of [Ch'ing's] messenger? You here detain one of its high ministers, relieving its court of the pressure [of its ministers on one another], making the others more harmonious and adhere firmly to Ts'in, with a hatred of Ts'oo,—what is the use of such a measure? If you send him back, and thus frustrate the object of his mission, he will resent the conduct of his ruler, and be at enmity with the great officers, so that they will begin to draw different ways,—would not this be a better course?” On this the people of Ts'oo sent them both back.]’

## Fourteenth year

一有四年春，卜，止月。季孫宿、叔老會晉、  
二勾、齊人、宋人、衛人、鄭公孫蠆、曹人、呂人、邾  
三人、滕人、薛人、杞人、小邾人會吳、丁未。  
四一月乙未朔，日有食之。  
五夏四月，叔孫豹會晉荀偃、齊人、宋人、衛北  
六宮括、鄭公孫蠆、曹人、呂人、邾人、滕人、薛人、  
七杞人、小邾人伐秦。己未，衛侯出奔齊。  
八呂人侵我東鄙。秋，楚公子貞帥師伐吳。  
九冬，季孫宿會晉、宋、衛、齊、鄭、衛、孫林父、鄭  
十公孫蠆、呂人、邾人、丁未。

左傳曰：十四年春，吳告敗於晉，會于向，爲吳謀楚故也。范宣子數吳之不德也，以退吳人。執莒公子務婁，以其通楚使也。將執戎子駒支，范宣子親數諸朝曰：來姜戎氏，昔秦人迫逐乃祖吾離於瓜州，乃祖吾離被苫蓋蒙荆棘，以來歸我。先君我先君惠公有不腆之田與汝剖分而食之，今諸侯之事我寡君，不如昔者。蓋言臨淵洩則戰，汝之由詰朝之事，爾無與焉。與將執女，對曰：昔秦人負恃其衆，貪於土地，逐我諸戎，惠公蠲其大德，謂我諸戎是四鄰之裔，胄也，毋是而



乎。蔡伯曰：以其汰乎對曰：然。樂毅汰虐已甚，猶可以免，其在盈乎。蔡伯曰：何故對曰：武子之德在民，如周人之思召公焉，愛其甘棠，況其子乎。樂毅死，盈之善未能及人，武子所施沒矣，而驕之怨實重，將於是乎在。蔡伯以爲知言，爲之請於晉而復之。

衛獻公戒孫文子甯惠子食，皆服而朝。日旰不召，而射鴻於囿。二子從之，不釋皮冠而與之言。二子怒，孫文子如戚孫蒯入使，公飲之酒，使犬師歌巧言之卒章。犬師辭，師曹請爲之初，公有嬖妾，使師曹晦之琴，師曹鞭之，公怒，鞭師曹三百。故師曹欲歌之以怒孫子，以報公。公使歌之，遂誦之。蒯懼，告文子。文子曰：君忌我矣，弗先，必死并帑於戚，而入見。蘧伯玉曰：君之暴虐，子所知也。大懼社稷之傾覆，將若之何對曰：君制其國，臣敢奸之，雖奸之，庸知愈乎。遂行。從近關出，公使子蟺、子伯子皮與孫子盟於丘官。孫子皆殺之。四月己未，子展奔齊。齊公如郵，使子行於孫子，孫子又殺之。公出奔齊。孫氏追之，敗公徒於阿澤。鄆人執之初，尹公佗學射於庚公，差學射於公孫丁，二子追公。公孫丁御，公子魚曰：射爲晉師，不射爲戮。射爲禮乎。射兩駒而還。尹公佗曰：子爲師，我則遠矣。乃反之。公孫丁授公轡而射之，賈贐子鮮從公，及竟，公使祝宗告亡，且告無罪。定姜曰：無神何告。若有，不可誣也。有罪，若何告無。舍大臣而與小臣謀，一罪也。先君有蒙卿，以爲師保而蔑之，二罪也。余以巾櫛事先君，而暴妾使余，三罪也。告亡而已，無告無罪。公使厚成叔甲於衛，曰：寡君使瘠，聞君不撫社稷，而越在他竟，若之何不弔，以同盟之故，使瘠敢私於執事。曰：有君不弔，有臣不敏，君不赦宥，臣亦不帥職，增淫發洩，其若之何。衛人使犬叔儀對曰：寡臣不佞，得罪於寡君，寡君不以卽刑而悼棄之，以爲君憂，君不忘先君之好，辱甲羣臣，又重恤之，敢拜君命之辱。重拜大貺，厚孫歸復命，語臧武仲曰：衛君其必歸乎。有犬叔儀以守，有母弟驪以出，或撫其內，或營其外，能無歸乎。齊人以邾寄衛侯及其復也，以邾糧歸。右宰穀從而逃歸。衛人將殺之，辭曰：余不說初矣。余狐裘而羔袖，乃赦之。衛人立公孫剽。孫林父甯殖相之，以聽命於諸侯。衛侯在邾，臧紇如齊。

也民歸也，患不衛將忘患，子必言卒還○人而羽  
所于詩，民謂社死，增君謂城，子謂郢，子死，伐子，始弗施  
望周曰，之患稷，不其斃，子郢，子死，伐子，始弗施  
患萬行望乎，可忘名，不斃君庚，遣吳，齊齊

- XIV 1 In the [dukes] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ke-sun Suh, and Shuh Laou, along with Sze Kae of Tsin, officers of Ts'e, Sung, and Wei, the Kung sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'auou, Keu, Choo, T'ang, Seeh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting with Woo in H'ang
- 2 In the second month, on Yih we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Shuh-sun P'au joined Seun Yen of Tsin, officers of Ts'e and Sung, Pih kung Kwoh of Wei, the Kung sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'auou, Keu, Ch'oo, T'ang, Seeh, Ke, and Little Choo, in invading Ts'in
- 4 On Ke-we, the marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'e.
- 5 A body of men from Keu made a raid upon our eastern borders.
- 6 In autumn, the Kung tsze Chung of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo
- 7 In winter, Ke-sun Suh had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin, Hwa Yueh of Sung, Sun Lin foo of Wei, the Kung sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Keu and Choo, in Ts'eh

Par 1 The defeat of Woo by Ts'oo is related in the Chuen appended to par 3 of last year. Tso-cho supposes that this meeting at H'ang (the H'ang in dia. of H'was-yuen; see on I II 2) was held in consequence of an application from Woo to Tsin for help; but, as Woo Ch'ing has remarked, the text, where representatives of Tsin and the other States all go to meet Woo, would rather indicate that the meeting was called by Tsin for its own purposes, to make use of Woo, instead of giving help to it.

Here and below Kung yang has 公陽 for 公. At this meeting we have two officers, both ministers, present on the part of Loo—Ke-sun Suh and Shuh Laou (a son of Kung-sun Ying ts'e, and grandson of Shuh heh, mentioned VII xvii. 7). There were always two officers sent by the States to these meetings, a principal and an assistant (一正一介), but the second was inferior in rank, and only the principal took part in conference. Loo departed from the ordinary rule in this case probably to flatter Tsin, and Tsin accepted the adulation by admitting two envoys to the meeting.

The Chuen says:—This spring Woo announced to Tsin the defeat [which it had sustained from Ts'oo] and a meeting was held at H'ang to consult about measures against

Ts'oo, in the interest of Woo. Fan Suen-tzu, however, pointed out Woo's act of misconduct, and sent away its representative. Ho [also] caused the Kung tsze Woo-low of Keu to be seized, because of Keu's interchanging communications with Ts'oo. He wished [for this] to seize Keu-che viscount of the Jung and accused him, himself, in the court [which had been established in H'ang] saying: "Come, you chief of the H'ang Jung! Formerly the people of Tsin drove Woo-ke, one of your ancestors, to Kwa-chow when he came clothed with rushes and forcing his way through briars and thorns, and threw himself on our ruler duke Hwuy who cut off from Tsin some poor lands, and gave them to you to afford you a subsistence. The States do not now yield to our ruler the service which they formerly did, because of reports leaking [out from Tsin],—all through you. You must not be, at that the business of to-morrow morning; if you are, I will cause you to be seized. The account replied, Formerly the people of Tsin, relying on their multitudes, and covetous of territory drove out us Jung. Then [your] duke Hwuy displayed his great kindness; and considering that we Jung were the descendants of the [chief of the] four mountains (see the Shoo, I 11), and were not to be entirely cut off and abandoned

he gave us the lands on his southern border. The territory was one where jackals dwelt and wolves howled, but we Jung extirpated the briars and thorns from it, drove away the jackals and wolves, and considered ourselves his subjects, who should not make inroads on his State, nor rebel. Nor to the present day have we swerved from our allegiance. Formerly, when duke Wän and Ts'in invaded Ch'ing (see V xxxv), the people of Ts'in stealthily made a covenant with Ch'ing, and left some troops as a guard in its territory, which led to the battle of Heaou (V xxxiii 3). There Ts'in met the enemy in front, and we Jung withstood him in the rear. That the army of Ts'in did not return to their State was owing to our services. As in the pursuit of a stag, the people of Ts'in took Ts'in by the horns, and we took it by the feet, and along with Ts'in, we laid it prostrate on the ground,—might we not expect to escape [such a charge as you bring against us]? From that time to the present, in all the expeditions of Ts'in we Jung have taken part, one after another, as they occurred, following its leaders, without ever daring to keep ourselves apart from them. And now when the troops of your officers have indeed committed some errors which are separating the States from you, you try to throw the blame on us. Our drink, our food, our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States, we do not interchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts, their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them—what evil is it possible for us to have done? Not to be present at the meeting will not be a grief to me." He then sang the Ts'ing ying (She, II vii ode VI), and withdrew. Seuen-tsze acknowledged his error, made the viscount be present at the business of the meeting, and proved himself "the gentle and harmonious superior" [of that ode].

'At this time Tsze-shuh Ts'e-tsze (Shuh Laou) was the assistant of Ke Woo-tsze and attended the meeting. From this time Ts'in made the contributions of Loo lighter, and gave more respect to its messengers.'

The above Chuen is interesting, as showing how the chiefs of the various ruder tribes might be present at the meetings of the States, though there be no record of such a thing in the text.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo.—Choo-fan, viscount of Woo, when the mourning [for his father] was [so far] completed (see the death of the former viscount, xii 4), wished to raise his younger brother Chah to be lord of the State, but Chah declined the dignity, saying, 'When duke Seuen of Ts'anou died (see VIII xiii 4, 6), the States and the people of Ts'anou, disapproving of the new ruler, wished to raise Tsze-tsang in Seuen's room. Tsze-tsang, however, left Ts'anou, and would not be [earl of it], thus establishing the position of the [actual] ruler. Superior men say of him that he could maintain in purity his position. You are the rightful heir, who will dare to be false to you? I cannot possess the State in my position. Devoid as I am of ability, I wish rather to follow the example of Tsze-tsang, so as not to lose my purity.' When the thing was still pressed upon him, he abandoned his house, and took to ploughing, on which his brother let him alone.]

Par 2. This eclipse took place on the 8th of January, B.C. 558.

Par 3. The Chuen says—"In summer, the great officers of the States followed the marquis of Ts'in to invade Ts'in, in return for the affair at Leih (see on xi 11). The marquis waited on the borders of the State, and sent his six ministers forward with the forces of the States. When the armies reached the King, they [were unwilling] to cross it, but Shuh-heang (Yang-shih Heih, the Shuh-heih of the Chuen on xi 8) having seen Shuh-sun Muh-tsze (P'au), the latter sang the P'au, *jew k'oo yeh* (She, I. ii ode IX), on which Shuh-hëang withdrew and prepared boats for crossing the stream. The men of Loo and Keu were the first to cross. Tsze-keou of Ch'ing, seeing Pih-kung E-tsze of Wei, said to him, "If we take a side and do not adhere firmly to it, we shall bring on ourselves the greatest evils. What will be the consequences to our altars?" The other was pleased, and they united in advising the forces of the States to cross the King. This was done and the army then halted, but the people of Ts'in had put poison into the stream higher up, in consequence of which many of the soldiers died. Tsze Këaou, minister of War of Ch'ing, led its forces forward, and was followed by those of the other States to Yih-lin.

"[When they were there], they still did not succeed in bringing Ts'in to terms, and Seun Yen issued an order that at cock-crow they should yoke their chariots, fill up the wells, level their furnaces, and look only at his horses' heads, [and follow him]." Lwan Yen said, "Such an order as this was never given out by the State of Ts'in. My horses' heads wish to go to the east," and with this he turned back, followed by the third army. The historiographer of the Left said to Wei Chwang-tsze (Wei Këang), "Will you not wait for Chung-hang Pih (Seun Yen)?" but Chwang-tsze said, "He ordered us to follow our leaders. Lwan Pih is my leader, I will follow him, and in this way wait for the general." [On learning this], Pih-yëw (Seun Yen) said, "I committed an error, and repentance for it will not now avail. We shall leave many prisoners in the hands of Ts'in." On this he commanded a great retreat, and the people of Ts'in called the whole affair "The campaign of changes and delays."

"Lwan Këen said, "This service was to repay the affair of Leih, and it proves itself to be a failure,—to the disgrace of Ts'in. And there are two of us [he was a brother of Lwan Yen] in the expedition,—can I but feel the disgrace?" He then dashed with Sze Yang against the army of Ts'in and was killed, Sze Yang [escaping and] returning. Lwan Yen said to Sze Kue, "My brother did not wish to go forward, and your son invited him to do so. My brother died, while your son has returned. He is answerable for my brother's death, and if you do not drive him away, I will kill him." On this Sze Yang fled to Ts'in.

'Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, and Hwa Yueh and Chung Këang of Sung, were engaged in this expedition, but their names do not appear in the text, because they were remiss. For the same reason they are not mentioned in the account of the meeting at Heang. Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei does not appear at that meeting, but he is men-

tioned here, because he was here more attentive to his duty.

The earl of Ts'in asked Sze Yang which of the great officers of Ts'in would first go to ruin, and was answered, "Probably the Lwan." "Because of their excessive arrogance?" asked the earl. "Yes, was the reply. "The arrogance and violence of Lwan Yen are extreme, but still he may escape an evil end. The thing will happen to Ying." "Why so?" pursued the earl. Yang answered, "The good officers of Woo-tze (Yen's father) to the people [have made them think of them] as the people of Chow thought of the duke of Shao. If they loved the sweet pear tree [of the duke] (see the Shao, I. li. ode v.), how much more must the people now regard the son [of Woo-tze]! When Lwan Yen dies, and the goodness of Ying does not extend to the people, the favours of Woo-tze will be forgotten, and the wrongs done by Yen will be clearly seen, and then the doom will come. The earl was impressed with the wisdom of his remarks, appealed in his behalf to Ts'in, and got him restored to that State. With this Expedition of changes and delays the strife between Ts'in and Ts'in came to a long intermission. The two States were about equally matched. The resources of Ts'in were more fully developed, but they did not exceed those of its neighbour to such a degree as to enable it to maintain a permanent superiority over Ts'in.

Mao lays down canons about the names of some officers which are in the text, just the contrary of those laid down by Tao—showing how uncertain all such criticism is.

#### Par 4. Kung-yang has 衍 the marginals

name, after 衛侯. The Chuen says:— Duke Hsien of Wei had given an invitation to Sun Wan-tze (Sun Lin foo) and Ning Hwuy tze (Ning Chih) to eat with him, and the two officers dressed themselves, and went to court accordingly. The duke, however, had sent them no [subsequent] summons [to the feast], even when the day was getting late, but was shooting wild geese in the park. Thither they followed him, when he spoke to them, without taking off his skin cap. They were offended, and Wan tze repaid to [his city of] Ts'ieh, from which he sent [his son] Sun Kwae to the court. The duke called for spirits to drink with Kwae and ordered the chief musician to sing the last stanza of the K'ao yen (Shao, II. v. ode IV.). That officer declined to do so, and his subordinate Ts'au asked leave to sing it. Before this, the duke had employed this Ts'au to teach a favourite concubine the lute, and he had whipped the lady which so enraged the duke that he had given the musician 800 blows. It was in consequence of this that Ts'au wished to sing the stanza, that he might thereby enrage Sun-tze, and obtain his own revenge upon the duke. The duke ordered him to sing the words, and further to intimate his meaning in them. Kwae was afraid, and told the whole thing to his father who said, "The duke suspects me. If I do not take the initiative, I shall die. On this he brought his son also to Ts'ieh, and went [to the capital] to see Keu Pih yuh, and said to him, "You are well aware of the cruel and jealous of our ruler; I am very much afraid lest our altars be overthrown—what is to be done?" Pih yuh replied, "The ruler's authority is supreme; who

will dare to oppose him? And though we should oppose him, do we know that we should find a better?" And after this interview he left the State by the nearest gate on the borders.

The duke then sent Tze-k'iao, Tze-pih, and Tze-p'ie to make a covenant in K'uei kung with Sun-tze, who put them all to death. In the 4th month, on Ke-we, Tze-chen fled to Ts'ie; and the duke went to K'uei, from which he sent Tze-hang to Sun-tze, who put him also to death. The duke then left the State, and fled towards Ts'ie, pursued by the Sun, who defeated his followers at the marsh of O. The people of K'uei also took some of them prisoners. Yin kung To and Yu kung Ch'ao continued the pursuit of the duke. To had learned archery from Ch'ao, whose own instructor in the art had been the Kung-sun Ting. Ting was now driving the duke's chariot, and Tze-yu (Yu-kung Ch'ao) said, "If I shoot, I do violence to my instructor; and if I do not shoot, I shall be killed;—had I not better shoot in ceremony only? Accordingly he shot twice, [merely] hitting the yoke over the horses' necks, and returned. [By and by] Yin-kung To said, "He was your master, but I am farther removed from him, and therefore he turned again in pursuit. The Kung-sun Ting gave the reins to the duke, and sent an arrow through the upper part of To's arm.

Tze-chen followed the duke, who sent the director of prayers back from the borders of the State to announce his flight [in the ancestral temple] and to announce that he was free from guilt. [His father's proper wife], Ting K'ang said [on this] "If there be no spirits, what is the use of such an announcement? If there be, they are not to be imposed upon—guilty as he is, how can he announce that he is free from guilt? He neglected the great officers, and took counsel with his small officers—that was one act of guilt. He treated with contempt the chief ministers of his father who had been appointed tutor and guardian to him; that was a second. He was presumptuous, as to a concubine, to me, who with towel and comb had served his father; that was a third. He might announce his flight; but nothing more; how could he announce that he was free from guilt?"

The marginals [of Loo] sent Hw Ch'ing-shuh on a visit of condolence to Wei, who said, "My ruler has sent me (Ts'ieh was Ch'ing-shuh's name), having heard that your ruler was no longer watching over your altars, but had crossed your borders into another State. In such circumstances, how could he but send his condolences? Considering how he had covenanted with your ruler he has sent me privately to you, the officers of Wei, to say 'Your ruler showed no sympathy, and his ministers were not earnest and intelligent. He did not forgive [their offences], and they did not perform their duties. His excesses were increased, and they gave vent to their resentments. What is to be done in such a case?' The people of Wei appointed T'ao-shuh E to reply to him, who said, "We officers, in our want of ability offended our ruler. He did not proceed to punish us, but in grief has left the State, causing sorrow to your ruler. Misdeed of the friendship between the former princes of Wei and Loo, your ruler has condescended to send his condolences to us, and to show us his great pity. We venture to acknowledge the condescension of his message;

we thank him deeply for his great gift." When How-sun returned, and reported the execution of his mission, he said to Tsang Woo-chung, "The ruler of Wei will yet return, I apprehend, to his State. There is Tae-shuh E to keep guard in it, there is his own brother Chuon (Tsze-sēn), who has left it with him. With the former watching over his interests in the State, and the latter to build him up out of it, is it possible he should not be restored?"

'The people of Ts'e assigned Lue to the marquis as his residence, and when he returned to Wei, he took with him the provisions that were in it. Kuh, commandant of the right, had followed the marquis on his flight, but afterwards stole away from him, and returned to Wei, where the people wished to put him to death. He pleaded, however, that he had not gone away at first with a good will and that he might be compared to a robe of fox-skin with sleeves of lamb's fur. On this they forgave him, and raised P'eaou, a grandson of duke Muh to the vacant seat. To him Sun Lin-foo and Ning Chih acted as chief ministers, awaiting his recognition by the States.

'While the marquis of Wei was in Lue, Tsang Heih went to Ts'e, and paid him a visit of condolence, when he spoke in so violent a way, that, when Heih retired, he said to his followers that the marquis would not be able to enter the state again. "His words," said he, "are dirt. His exile has wrought no change in him. How is it possible that he should return?" Tsze-chen and Tsze-seen heard this, and visited Heih, when their discourse was so marked by right principle, that he said to his people, "The ruler of Wei is sure to return to his State. With the one of these officers to pull him forward, and the other to keep him back, though he wished not to enter it, he could not keep from doing so."

The K'ang-he editors observe on this paragraph—'In the account of the exit of the marquis of Wei, the Ch'ün Ts'ew does not mention the traitors who drove him out, but ascribes his flight to himself. In consequence of this, Loo Yu and K'ung Ying-tah held that the style was condemnatory of the ruler, in which view they were followed by Hoo Gan-kwah. But this is not the idea of the text. There is no greater crime than the expulsion of a ruler by a minister, and is it to be supposed that the sage would indicate his condemnation of the ruler only? Wang Ts'eaou and Yen K'e-lung have therefore both disputed this view.' This method of settling a point on the critic's *a priori* view of the author's character and intention will not pass current out of China. With the account in the text there has to be taken the statement of Ning Chih on his deathbed, as given in the Chuon at the end of the 20th year, that it was recorded in the tablets (策書), of the States, that 'Ning Chih drove out his ruler.' Maou contends that there were, besides those tablets, others (簡書) in a different style, and that Confucius made his text from the latter. This distinction of tablets again is vehemently controverted, and even if it were granted, the point of real interest in regard to the merits of Confucius as a historian would not be affected by it—We look for truth as to the things which he relates, and we do not get it. It is to be observed, however, that only in the case of the

murder of a ruler is the name of the traitor given in the Ch'ün Ts'ew, and even not always then. Records of expulsions are in the style of the text here, with the addition generally of the name of the fugitive prince,—as in II xv 1. The omission of the name in the text, however, is not to be considered important.

[The Chuon takes us now, in two narratives to Ts'in—1st 'When his armies returned from the invasion of Ts'in, the marquis of Ts'in disbanded the new army,—which was according to rule. The armies of a large State could only be half those of the Son of Heaven. Chow had six armies, and the greatest of the States might have three. At this time, Che Soh (知朔), belonging to a branch of the Seun or Chung-liang clan) had died after the birth of [?] his brother] Ying Woo-tze, [their father], also died when Ying was only six years old. Cho K'ew (彘莖, a brother of Ian Kae, belonging to the Fan or Sze clan) was also still young. Neither of them was competent for office. There was thus no leader for the new army, and it was given up.'

2d 'The music-master Kwang being by the side of the marquis of Ts'in, the marquis said to him, 'Have not the people of Wei done very wrong in expelling their ruler?' Kwang replied, "Perhaps the ruler had done very wrong. A good ruler will reward the virtuous and punish the vicious, he will nourish his people as his children, overshadowing them as heaven, and supporting them as the earth. Then the people will maintain their ruler, love him as a parent, look up to him as the sun and moon, revere him as they do spiritual Beings, and stand in awe of him as of thunder,—could such a ruler be expelled? Now, the ruler is the host of the spirits, and the hope of the people. If he make the life of the people to be straitened and the spirits to want their sacrifices (Read 若困民之牛, 毀神之祀), then the hope of the people is cut off, and the altars are without a host,—of what use is he, and what should they do but send him away? Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to act as their superintendents and pastors, so that they should not lose their proper nature. For the rulers there are assigned their assistants to act as tutors and guardians to them, so that they should not go beyond their proper limits. Therefore the son of Heaven has his dukes, princes of States have their high ministers, ministers have [the Heads of] their collateral families, great officers have the members of the secondary branches of their families, inferior officers have their friends, and the common people, mechanics, merchants, police runners, shepherds and grooms, all have their relatives and acquaintances to aid and assist them. These stimulate and honour those [to whom they stand in such a relation], when they are good, and correct them when they do wrong. They rescue them in calamity and try to put away their errors. From the king downwards, every one has his father, elder brothers, sons and younger brothers, to supply [the defects] and watch over [the character of] his government. The historiographers make their records, the blind make their poems, the musicians re-

cite their satires and remonstrances: the great officers admonish and instruct, and inferior officers report to these what they hear; the common people utter their complaints; the merchants [display their wares] in the market places; the hundred artificers exhibit their skillful contrivances. Hence in one of the Books of Hsüa (Shoo III. iv. 3) it is said, "The herald with his wooden tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming: 'Ye officers, able to instruct be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subject of your business. In the first month, at the beginning of spring this was done. It was done, least remonstrances should not be regularly presented. Heaven's love for the people is very great;—would it allow the one man to take his will and way over them, so indulging his excessive desires and discarding the [kindly] nature of Heaven and Earth? Such a thing could not be.'" The reader will not wonder that the K'ang he editors should condemn these radical sentiments of the music master.]

Par 5. Too says this was in retaliation for Loo's capture of Yun, in the 12th year. It was only a continuation of the aggressions of Keu, in defiance not only of Loo, but also of Tsin.

Par 6. Tso-she says this attack was ordered by the viscount of Ts'oo, in consequence of Woo's invasion of Ts'oo the previous year which ended with the battle of Yung-poo (see the Chuen after xiii. 3); adding, Tso-nang took post with his army at Tsang, intending to attack Woo; and when Woo would not come forth he withdrew. He brought up the rear himself and did not take precautions thinking Woo could do nothing. A body of men, however advancing through the defile of Kaou-chow intercepted and fell upon him where the troops of Ts'oo could not help one another. They defeated Tso-nang and took the Kung-tze E-kuh prisoner.

[The Chuen appends here:—"The king sent duke Ting of Lëw to deliver the following charge to the marquis of Ts'ë:—"Formerly our great kinsman (duke Ts'ao was father in law to king Woo; hence the 舅), [your ancestor], duke Ts'ao, aided our ancient kings, and was as a limb to the House of Chow a tutor and guardian to the myriads of the people; and his services as the grand tutor were recompensed

with the distinction conferred on him by the eastern sea, descending to his posterity. That the royal House was not overthrown was owing to him. Now I give charge to you Hwan to follow the rules of our [great] kinsman, and to continue the services of your ancestors, bringing no disgrace on them. Be reverent. Do not neglect my charge!"]

Par 7. Tseih—see VI. L. 9. This meeting had relation to the affairs of Wei, and from the presence at it of Han Lin foo, we can understand how its councils were likely to incline.

The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tsin consulted Chuang-hang Hsien-tze (Ssun Yen) about the affairs of Wei, when that minister replied, "Our best plan is to accede to its present circumstances, and settle it accordingly. Wei has a ruler. If we attack it, we may not succeed as we should desire and we shall be troubling the States. The historiographer Yih said: Add stability to the heavy. Chuang-hway said, Deal summarily with States that are going to ruin, and take their States from the disorderly. To overthrow the perishing and strengthen what is being pre- is the way in which to administer a State. Let your lordship now settle Wei, and wait the time [for a different course]. In winter a meeting was held at Tseih, to consult about the settlement of Wei. Fan Sen-tze was invited from Ts'ao's [banner with variegated] feathers and ox tails, and did not return it; in consequence of which the people of Ts'ao began to be disaffected.

[The Chuen appends here a short narrative about Ts'ao:—When Tso-nang of Ts'oo returned from the invasion of Woo, he died. When he was about to die, he left word that Tso-kang should fortify Ying. The superior man will say that Tso-nang was [indeed a] faithful [minister]. When his ruler died, he did not forget to make him remembered by a good name (see on xiii. 3) when he was about to die himself he did not forget to defend the altars [of the State]. Ought he not to be pronounced faithful? To the faithful the people look. The words of the ode (She, II. viii. ode L1),

If we could now go back to Chow  
These would be admirably looked to by  
all the people."

have respect to the faithfulness [of the officers spoken of.] ]

### Fifteenth year

救成牟遇。北鄙。夏齊侯伐我。劉夏逆卜后。及。來聘。宋公使。有五年春。

氏歸之奪月，復而攻人里，實也以鄉，可懷曰，  
 諸妻堵鄭十其後之，爲使諸子請納以璧小  
 范而狗人二所使富之王其罕死此越不人

- XV 1 In the [dukes] fifteenth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hsäng Seuh to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries, [and] in the second month, on Ke-hae, [the duke] made a covenant with him at Lăw
- 2 Hsâ of Lăw met the king's bride in Ts'ê.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Ts'ê invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing. The duke went as far as Yu to relieve Ch'ing.
- 4 K'ê-sun Suh and Shuh-sun P'au led a force and walled round the suburbs of Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting sze, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 A body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders.
- 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei hae, Chow, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par 1. Too oke. as that this mission of Hsäng Seuh was in return for that of Shuh-sun P'au to Sung in the duke's 2d year and to renew the covenant at Poh in the 11th year. He says nothing about the site of Lăw from which Ying tsh infers that it was a place near the capital, though outside it. For the duke to *ex* went at all with the messenger was below his dignity; to go outside the city to do it was still more unbecoming. Wan Ch'ung-tsung (萬充宗; of the pres. dyn.) ingeniously supposes that 于劉 are an addition to the text overlooked by the next paragraph's beginning with 劉. The Chuen says:—Hsäng Seuh of Sung came on a friendly mission; and to renew the [existing] covenant. Visiting Mêng Hsên-tze, he *en*ed him about his house, saying, "I did not expect that a man of your great reputation would have so beautiful a house." Hsên-tze replied, "My elder brother did it, when I was in Tsin. To have taken it down again would have been a great labour and I did not wish to find fault with him."

Par 2. The negol' *him* for the king's marriage with a princess of Ts'ê is related in the Chuen appended to xii. 5. For the occasion in conveying a king's bride to Chow see on II. viii. 6. Those ceremonies appear not to have been actually observed on the occasion here spoken of. The Lăw Hsâ of the text is no doubt, the duke Ting of Lăw mentioned in the Chuen appended to par 6 of last year. But his appearing by his name here shows, according to the rules for the use of titles, designation and names, that he was not yet a high minister or duke of the court, and not even a great officer; yet here he is employed to receive the queen and convey her to Chow—a duty for which only a high minister was competent. What Tso-she says on the subject is too brief to be intelligible.—An officer following duke Tsin of

Shen, met the queen in Ts'ê. That a minister did not go on this duty was contrary to rule.

[The Chuen gives two narratives here about the affairs of Ts'oo and of Ch'ing. 1st. The Kung tze Woo of Ts'oo was made chief minister (in room of Tzeo-nang); the Kung-tze P'ien-jung director of the Right; Wei Tze-p'ing grand marshal; the Kung-tze T'oh-sze, marshal of the Right; the Kung tze Ch'ing marshal of the Left; K'ueh Tzeo, the Mch-gaou; the Kung tze Chuy-shoo, director of Remonstrances; K'ueh Tang joint-director; Yang Yêw ke, director of the palace stables—and thus the people of the State were composed. The superior man will say that Ts'oo was able to put the right men in the right offices. Such allotment of offices is an *urg* necessity of a State; when it is done, the minds of the people have nothing more to desire. The words of the ode (She, L. i. ode III. 1),

Alas! I think of the men,  
 Who can be placed in all the offices,"

refer to the subject of being able to give offices to *per* men. "All the offices" there refers to the occupancy of their places by the king, the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, knights, the lords of the Tze, the Ts'ê, the Wei, and their great of ficers.

2d. "After the insurrection of the Wei and Sze families in Ch'ing (see on x. 8), the ruler who escaped [took refuge] in Sung, to which the people of Ch'ing, out of regard to Tzeo-so, Pih-yêw and Tze-ch'an, sent a bribe of 100 horses, and the minister Fei and Hway; and in the 3rd month, the Kung-sun Hih also went [to Sung] as a hostage. Tze-han, [Sung's] minister of Works, on this, delivered up Chay (80 *sh*) is here, and should formerly have been, read) Joo-foo, Wei P'ien, and Sze Ts'ê; but thinking well of Sze Shin, he let him escape to the protection of Kô Woo-tze [in Loo] who placed





叔老會鄭伯、管、荀偃、衛甯殖、宋人伐許、秋齊侯伐我北鄙、圍郕、人零、冬叔孫豹如首。

左傳曰：十六年春，葬晉悼公，平公即位，羊舌肸爲傅，張君臣爲中軍司馬，祁奚、韓襄、欒盈、士鞅爲公族大夫，臧丘轡爲乘馬御，改服脩官，蒸於曲沃，誓于而下會於濮，梁命歸侵田，以我故執邾宣公，莒犁比公，且曰：通齊楚之使，晉侯與諸侯宴於溫，使諸大夫舞，曰：歌詩必類齊高厚之詩，不類荀偃怒，且曰：諸侯有異志矣，使諸大夫盟高厚，高厚逃歸，於是叔孫豹、晉荀偃、宋向戌、衛甯殖、鄭公孫彊、小邾之大夫盟曰：同討不庭。

許男歸遷於晉，諸侯遂遷許，許大夫不可，晉人歸諸侯，鄭子驁聞將伐許，遂相鄭伯以從諸侯之師，穆叔從公，齊子帥師會晉荀偃，書曰：會鄭伯爲夷故也。夏六月，次於械林，庚寅伐許，次於函氏，晉荀偃、欒黶帥師伐楚，以報朱揚梁之役，楚公子格帥師及晉師戰於湛阪，楚師敗績，晉師遂侵方城之外，復伐許而還。

秋，齊侯聞郕孟孺子速微之，齊侯曰：是好勇去之以爲之名，速遂塞海陘而還。

冬，穆叔如晉聘，且言齊故，晉人曰：以寡君之未禘祀，與民之未息，不然不敢忘，穆叔曰：以齊人之朝夕釋憾於敝邑之地，是以大請敝邑之急，朝不及夕，引領西望曰：許幾平，比執事之閒恐無及也，見中行獻子賦：所父獻子曰：偃知罪矣，敢不從執事以同恤社稷而使魯及此，見范宣子賦：鴻鴈之卒羣，宣子曰：句在此，敢使魯無鳩乎。

- XVI 1 In the [dukes] sixteenth year, in spring, in the kings first month, there was the burial of duke Tuou of Ts'in
- 2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the [new] marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis

- of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Choo and Keu, the earls of Seeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in Keih-leang. On Mow-yin [their] great officers made a covenant
- 3 The people of Tsin seized the viscounts of Keu and Choo, and carried them back [to Tsin]
  - 4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders.
  - 5 In summer, the duke came from the meeting
  - 6 In the fifth month, on Keah-tsze, there was an earthquake.
  - 7 Shuh Laou joined the earl of Ch'ing, Seun Yen of Ts'e, Ning Chih of Wei, and an officer of Sung, in invading Heu
  - 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing.
  - 9 We had a grand sacrifice for rain
  - 10 In winter, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Tsin

Par 1 This interment was hurried on,—probably because of the urgency of public affairs, that the new marquis might be able to attend the meeting in the next par

Par 2, 3 Keih-leang might be translated 'bridge or dam of Keih' The place is referred to the present dis of Tse-yuen (濟源), dep Hwae-k'ing, near mount Yuen (原山), on the Pih-keen river (白澗水) The Chuen says —'On the burial of duke Taou, duke P'ing took his place Yang-shieh Heih (appears formerly as Shuh-heang) was made [grand-] tutor, Chang Keun-chun (son of Chang Laou), marshal of the army of the centre, K'e He, Han S'ang, Lwan Ying, and Sze Yang, great officers of the ducal kindred, and Yu K'w-shoo, charioteer to the duke, who changed his mourning, arranged all the offices, and offered the winter sacrifice in K'ueh-yuh Having carefully arranged for the keeping of the State, he descended [eastwards], and met the States at Keih-l'ang He ordered them to return the lands which they had taken from one another in their incursions, and on our account he seized duke Seuen of Choo and duke Le-pe of Keu, charging them moreover with maintaining a friendly intercourse with Ts'e and Ts'oo The marquis feasted with the other princes in W'än, and made their great officers dance before them, telling them that the odes which they sang must be befitting the occasion That sung by Kaou How of Ts'e was not so, which enraged Seun Yen, so that he said, "The States are cherishing a disaffected spirit," and proposed that all the great officers should make a covenant with Kaou How, who, however, staid away back to Ts'e On this, Shuh-sun P'aou, Seun Yen of Tsin, Heang Seuh of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, the Kung-sun Chae of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, made a covenant, engaging that they should together punish the State which did not appear at the court [of Tsin]'

Kung-yang and Kuh leang argue from the 2d par, where the princes meet but only the

great officers covenant, that it supplies evidence of how the power of the States was being engrossed by the latter, and this view was followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and Choo He The Chuen, however, supplies a better ground for the covenanting in this case being confined to the great officers

Par 4 Ts'e would seem to have now determined to set Tsin at defiance

Par 7 Shuh Laou,—see xiv 1 The Chuen says —'The baron of Heu asked leave from Tsin to remove his capital (see VIII & 11, where Heu moves its capital to be near Ts'oo, while now it wants to move back towards Tsin) The States accordingly [assembled to] superintend the removal, which the great officers of Heu then refused to sanction The commanders of Tsin sent the princes back to their States, but Tse-leaou of Ch'ing, hearing that it was intended to invade Heu, kept in attendance on the earl, and followed the armies [which had been detained for the expedition] Muhi-shuh (Shuh-sun P'aou), however, went back to Loo with the duke, while Ts'e-tsze (Shuh Laou) joined Seun Yen of Tsin with a force The text says that "he joined the earl of Ch'ing," the earl's rank requiring this style, [though in reality Seun Yen commanded in the expedition] In summer, in the 6th month, they halted at Yih-hin, and on K'ang-yin they attacked [the capital of] Heu, halting at Han-she

'[Then] Seun Yen and Lwan Yen of Tsin led a force and invaded Ts'oo, in return for the expedition [by Ts'oo] to Yang-leang of Sung (see on xii 5) The Kung-tsze Kih came with a force, and fought with that of Tsin at Chan-fan, where he received a great defeat The army of Tsin then overran the country outside Ts'oo's barrier wall, and returned to the attack of Heu, and thence back to Tsin'

According to this Chuen, an invasion of Heu and an invasion of Ts'oo were confusedly mixed up together, though the text only speaks of the former Many critics contend that Seun Yen should appear before the earl of Ch'ing, as he, representing Tsin, was director of all the forces, and Maou contends that the order of the names proves that the invasion of Heu was really from

Ch'ing, and not from Tsin—contrary to the Chuen.

Par 8. Tso-she has 郕 for 成 The Chuen says:—In autumn, the marquess of Ts'e laid siege to Ch'ing, when Mang Suh, [styled] Yu tze, (a son of Mang H'ien-tze) came suddenly upon him. "This," said the marquess, "is a man of daring let us leave the place, and so make his name famous." Suh then shut up the ravine by the sea, and returned.

Par 10. The Chuen says:—In winter Muh shuh went to Tsin on a visit of friendly inquiries, and also to speak about Tate. The people of Tsin said, "[The reason of our inaction is] that our ruler has not yet offered the sacrifice (See on IV II 2), and that the people have not yet rested [from their toils against Ts'oo and Hien] But for these things, we should not

have dared to forget [your distress] Muh shuh said, "Because the people of Ts'e morning and evening vent their indignation on our poor State, therefore we press our request [for help] Such is the urgency of our distress, that in the morning we cannot be confident there will be the evening and with necks outstretched we look to the west, and say Perhaps [Tsin] is coming. When your officers have leisure, I am afraid the help may be too late. When he saw Chung hang H'ien tze (Seun Yen), he sang the K'ie-foo (She II iv ode I) and H'ien-tze said, "I know my guilt. How dared I not to follow your officers, and along with them care for your altars, causing Loo to come to this distress?" When he saw Fan Seuen tze he sang the last stanza of the Hung yen (She II III ode II) and Seuen-tze said, "Here am I Kae Dare I allow the people of Loo to be scattered about?"

Seventeenth year

冬<sup>十一</sup>宋<sup>六</sup>九月<sup>五</sup>伐<sup>五</sup>我<sup>五</sup>北<sup>五</sup>鄙<sup>五</sup>圍<sup>四</sup>桃<sup>四</sup>齊<sup>四</sup>侯<sup>四</sup>伐<sup>四</sup>我<sup>四</sup>北<sup>四</sup>鄙<sup>四</sup>秋<sup>四</sup>石<sup>四</sup>賈<sup>四</sup>帥<sup>四</sup>師<sup>四</sup>伐<sup>四</sup>曹<sup>四</sup>宋<sup>二</sup>人<sup>二</sup>伐<sup>二</sup>陳<sup>二</sup>夏<sup>二</sup>衛<sup>二</sup>月<sup>二</sup>庚<sup>二</sup>午<sup>二</sup>邾<sup>二</sup>子<sup>二</sup>貜<sup>二</sup>卒<sup>二</sup>有<sup>一</sup>七<sup>一</sup>年<sup>一</sup>春<sup>一</sup>

左傳曰十七年春宋莊朝伐陳獲司徒  
印卑宋也  
衛孫蒯田於曹隧飲馬於重丘毀其瓶  
重丘人閉門而詢之曰親逐而君爾父  
爲厲是之不憂而何以田爲夏衛石賈  
孫蒯伐曹取重丘曹人愬於晉  
齊人以其未得志於我故秋齊侯伐我  
北鄙圍桃高厚圍臧紇於防師自陽關  
逆臧孫至於旅松鄆叔紇臧囂臧賈帥  
甲三百宵犯齊師送之而復齊師去之  
齊人獲臧堅齊侯使夙沙衛唁之且曰  
無死堅稽首曰拜命之辱抑君賜不終  
姑又使其刑臣禮於士以杙抉其傷而  
死  
宋華閱卒華臣弱舉比之室使賊殺其  
宰華吳賊六人以鉞殺諸盧門合左師  
之後左師懼曰老夫無罪賊曰舉比私  
有討於吳遂幽其妻曰畀余而大璧宋

公聞之曰：臣也不唯其宗室是暴，大亂宋國之政，必逐之。左師曰：臣也亦卿也。人臣不順國之恥也，不如蓋之。乃舍之。左師爲己短策，苟過華臣之門，必聘。十月甲午，國人逐獫狁，獫狁入於華臣氏。國人從之，華臣懼，遂奔陳。冬，邾人伐我南鄙，爲齊故也。

○宋皇國父爲大宰，爲平公築臺，妨於農收。了平請俟農功之畢，公弗許。築者謳曰：澤門之皙，實與我役，邑中之黔，實慰我心。了平聞之，親執扑以行，築者而扶其不勉者曰：台，齊小人，皆有闔廬，以辟燥溼寒暑。今君爲臺而不速成，何以爲役？謳者乃止。或問其故，了平曰：宋國區區而有詛有祝，禍之本也。

○齊晏桓了平，晏嬰、羆縶斬首經帶，杖菅屨，食鬻，居倚廬，寢苦枕草。其老曰：非大人之禮也。曰：唯卿爲人夫。

- XVII 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on K'ang-woo, K'ang, viscount of Choo, died
- 2 A body of men from Sung invaded Ch'in
- 3 In summer, Shih Mac of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.
- 4 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to T'aou. Kaou How of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Fang
- 5 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 6 Hwa Shin of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in
- 7 In winter, a body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders

Par 1 This was duke Seuen (宣公) He had been carried as a prisoner to Ts'in from the meeting at Keih leang in the previous year, but must have been liberated and returned to Choo. He was succeeded by his son Hwa (華), known as

duke Taou (悼公) Kuh makes the name 瞞

Par 2 The marquis of Ch'in, it was seen, stole away from the meeting of the northern States at Wei, in the 7th year, and from that time Ch'in had kept aloof from the northern alliance, and been confederate with Ts'oo. It was this, no doubt, which led to the present action of Sung against it. The Chuen says — 'This spring, Chwang Chaou of Sung invaded Ch'in and took prisoner its minister of Instruction Gang, — through his making too light of [the force of] Sung.'

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'Sun Kwae (son of Sun Lin-foo) of Wei was hunting in Su of Ts'aou, and, while giving his horses drink near Ch'ung-k'ew, broke the pitcher [of the well]. The people of Ch'ung-k'ew shut their gate against him, and reviled him, saying, "You drove out your ruler, your father is a devil. How is it that, without taking these things to

heart, you occupy yourself with hunting?" In summer, Shih Mac of Wei and Sun Kwae invaded Ts'aou, and took Ch'ung-k'ew. The people of Ts'aou complained to Ts'in.'

Par 4 T'aou (K'ung-yang has 洮) is wrongly identified by Too with a T'aou-hieu (桃廬), in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, which was on the east of Loo. Its place is to be found in a T'aou-heang (桃鄉), 40 *le* north-east of the district city of W'än-shang. Tso-she omits the 齊 before 局厚. The Chuen says — 'The people of Ts'e having been disappointed of their aim in regard to us, in autumn the marquis invaded our northern border, and laid siege to T'aou, while Kaou How besieged Tsang Heih in Fang. [In the meantime], an army advanced from the pass of Yang to Leu-sung, to meet Heih [and bring him off]. Shih-heih (Confucius' father) commandant of Tsow, Tsang Ch'ow, and Tsang K'ea, led forth 300 men-at-arms, made a night-attack on the army of Ts'e, escorted him [to Leu-sung], and then returned themselves to the city. The army of Ts'e then left the place, but

they had taken Tsang K'ên. The marquis of Ts'ê sent Shuh-sha Wei to comfort him and tell him that he should not die. K'ên bowed his head to the ground, and said, "Thanks for the condescension of this message, but your ruler's gift is not complete. How is it that he sent his castrated minister (Wei was a eunuch) on a visit of courtesy to an officer? On this he drove a stake into his wound, and died."

Par 6. The Chuen says:—On the death of Hwa Yuch of Sung [his brother] Hwa Shih, despising the weakness of [Yueh's son] Kao-p'ê, employed some ruffians to kill his steward Hwa Woo. There were six of them, and they did the deed with a long spear near the Lo gate, behind the house of the master of the Left,—him of Hoh. The master of the Left was afraid, and said to them, "The old man has committed no crime" but they replied that Kao-p'ê for some private reasons wanted to take Woo off. [Shih] then kept Woo's wife in confinement, and required her to give him her large *poâ*. When the duke of Sung heard of these things, he said, "Shih is not only tyrannizing over the members of his own house but he is throwing the government of the State into great confusion,—he must be driven out." The master of the Left, however, said "But Shih is also a minister. If the great ministers are [seen to be thus] insubordinate it will be a disgrace to the State. You had better cover the matter up." Shih accordingly was let alone but the master of the Left made himself a short whip, and, whenever he passed Hwa Shih's gate made his horses gallop. In the 11th month, the people were pursuing a mad dog, which ran into Shih's house. They followed it there, and Hwa Shih, in terror left the State and fled to Chin.

Par 7. Tso-sho says this movement of Choo was in the interest of Ts'ê.

[The Chuen adds here two narratives:—1st. In Sung Hwang Kwoh-foo, being grand-administrator was building a tower for duke Ping. As the work interfered with the labours of harvest Tze-han requested that it might be deferred till that was finished. The duke, however refused the request, and the builders sang:—

"The White of the Tall gate  
Laid on us this task  
The Black in the city's midst  
Would comfort our hearts."

Tze-han, hearing of this, took a stick, and went round among them, and chastised those who were not diligent, saying, "We the small people, all have our cottages where we can sit ourselves up, and escape the burning sun, and the wet the cold and the heat. Now our ruler is building a single tower; if you do not quickly finish it, how can you be regarded as doing work?" On this the singers stopped. When some one asked Tze-han the reason of his conduct, he said "The State of Sung is very small. To have them blessing one in it and cursing another would lead to calamity." 2d. When Gan Hwan-tsoo of Ts'ê died, [his son] Gan Ying had his unhemmed mourning clothes of coarse sack-cloth. His head band and girdle were still coarse; he carried a bamboo stick for a staff; and wore grass shoes. He lived on congee, and occupied the mourning shed, sleeping on rushes, with a pillow of grass. His old servant said to him: "These are not the observances proper to a great officer;" but he replied, "Only a minister should do as the great officers [now do]."

### Eighteenth year

楚公負芻卒。師伐鄭。  
伯五小邾。同圍齊。  
公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒  
冬四齊師伐我北鄙。  
秋三有八年春。白狄來。

左傳曰：十八年春，白狄始來。

夏，晉人執衛行人石買於長子，執孫蒯於純留，爲曹故也。

秋，齊侯伐我北鄙，中行獻子將伐齊，夢與厲公訟，弗勝，公以戈擊之，首隊於前，跪而戴之，奉之以走，見梗陽之坐，皇他日見諸道，與之言曰：「同坐。」曰：「今茲上必死，若有事於東方，則可以逞。」獻子許諾。首侯伐齊，將濟河，獻子以朱絲係卞，鼓而禱曰：「齊環怙恃其險，負其衆庶，棄好背盟，陵虐神上，曾臣彪將率諸侯以討焉，其官臣偃實先後之，苟捷有功，無作神羞，官臣偃無敢復濟。」咼爾有神裁之。沈卜而濟。冬十一月，會於魯濟，尋溴梁之言，同伐齊。齊侯禦諸平陰，軫防門而守之，廣甲、夙沙衛曰：「不能戰，莫如守險。」弗聽。諸侯之下門焉，齊人多死。范宣子告析文子曰：「吾知了，敢隱情乎？」魯人莒人皆請以申丁乘，自其鄉入，既許之矣。若入，君必失國了，盍圖之。」冢以告公，公恐，晏嬰聞之，曰：「君固無勇，而又聞是，弗能久矣。」齊侯登巫山以望，首師，首人使司馬斥山澤之險，雖所不至，必旆而疏陳之，使乘申者左，實右，僞以旆先，與曳柴而從之。齊侯見之，畏其衆也，乃脫歸。丙寅晦，齊師夜遁，師曠告首侯曰：「鳥鳥之聲樂，齊師其遁。」邢伯告中行伯曰：「有班馬之聲，齊師其遁。」叔向告首侯曰：「城上有鳥，齊師其遁。」十一月，丁卯朔，入平陰，遂從齊師，夙沙衛建大車以塞隧而殿，殖綽、郭最曰：「了殿國師，齊之辱也。」了姑先乎，乃代之殿，衛殺馬於隘以蹙道，首州綽及之，躬殖綽車肩，兩欠夾胆，曰：「止。」將爲軍獲，不止，將取其衷。顧曰：「爲私誓。」州綽曰：「有。」如日，乃弛弓而自後縛之，其右具內，亦舍兵而縛郭最，皆衿甲而縛，坐於中軍之鼓下。首人欲逐歸者，魯衛請攻險，己卯，荀偃、士刳以中軍克京茲，乙酉，魏絳、欒黶以下軍克郭，趙武、韓起以上軍圍廬，弗克。十一月戊戌，及余周伐雍門之款，范鞅門於雍門，其御追喜以戈殺犬於門中，孟莊子斬其綯，以爲公琴，己亥，焚雍門及西郭南郭，劉難、士弱卒諸侯之師，焚中池之竹木，丁寅，焚東郭北郭，范鞅門於揚門，州綽門於東閭，左驂迫，還於東門中，以枚數闔，齊侯駕將走郵棠，人了與郭榮扣馬曰：「師速而疾，略也將退矣。」君何懼。

焉，且社稷之主，不可以輕，輕則失衆，君必待之，將犯之，  
 犬子抽劍斷鞅，乃止甲辰，東侵及濰南及沂  
 鄭子孔欲去諸大夫，將叛晉而起楚師以去之，使告子  
 庚子庚弗許，楚子聞之，使揚豚尹宜告子庚曰：國人謂  
 不穀主社稷，而不出師死，不從禮，不穀即位於今五年  
 師徒不出，人其以不穀爲自逸，而忘先君之業矣。大夫  
 圖之，其若之何？子庚歎曰：君王其謂午懷安乎？吾以利  
 社稷也。見使者稽首而對曰：諸侯方睦於晉，臣請嘗之。  
 若可，君而繼之，不可，收師而退，可以無害。君亦無辱子  
 庚帥師治兵於汾，於是子蟠伯有子張從，鄭伯伐齊，子  
 孔、子展子西守二子知子孔之謀，完守入保，子孔不敢  
 會楚師。楚師伐鄭，入於魚陵。右師城上棘，遂涉潁，入於  
 旃然，薳子馮、公子格率銳師，侵費滑，荀偃戲于雍梁，右  
 回梅山，侵郕，東北至於潁，牢而反。子庚門於純門，信於  
 城下，而還涉於魚齒之下，甚雨及之。楚師多師，役徒幾  
 盡。晉人聞有楚師，師曠曰：不害。吾驟歌北風，又歌南風，  
 南風不競，多死聲。楚必無功。董叔曰：天道多在西北，南  
 師不時，必無功。叔向曰：在其君之德也。

- XVIII 1 In the [dukes] eighteenth year, in spring, [a representative of] the White Teih came to Loo  
 2 In summer, the people of Ts'in seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei.  
 3 In autumn, an army of Ts'ao invaded our northern borders  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'ueh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, and laid siege with them to [the capital] of Ts'ao.  
 5 Foo-ts'oo, earl of Ts'au, died in the army  
 6 The Kung tsze Woo of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing

Par 1. The White Teih,—see on VII viii. 6. This was the first time, acc. to Tso-she, that they sought any intercourse with Loo; nor are they again mentioned in the *ch'ien*. It is not said they came to the court of Loo (魯), because they knew nothing of the ceremonies due out among the States of China. Comp. the language in V xxix. 5.

Par 2. It would appear that Shih Mae and Sun Kwae, who led the attack on Ts'au in the

past year (see on xvii. 3), had now been sent on some commission to Ts'in; hence the name 行. Acc. to Tso-she, they were both seized by Ts'in, but only Shih Mae appears in the text, it being a rule of the Ch'uan Ts'ew not to mention assistant commissioners at meetings, &c.—see on xiv 1. The Chuen says:—In summer the people of Ts'in seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei, at Chang tsao, and they seized Sun Kwae at Tun ts'ao;—both on account of [their invasion of] Ts'au.

Par 3 For 齊師 Kuh-leang has 齊侯 These repeated attacks on the borders of Loo were intended, no doubt, to make it forsake the party of Tsin, and embrace that of Ts'e

Par 4 The phrase 同圍 is peculiar to this par 同會 occurs many times, but not 同圍 nor 同伐 The 同 must show here the special interest which Loo had in the expedition The Chuen says — 'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e having invaded our northern border, Chung-hang Heen-tsze prepared to invade Ts'e [Just then] he dreamt that he was maintaining a suit with duke Le (see on VIII xviii 2 Heen-tsze had taken a principal part in the murder of duke Le), in which the case was going against him, when the duke struck him with a spear on his head, which fell down before him He took his head up, put it on his shoulders, and ran off, when he saw the wizard Kaou of K'ang-yang A day or two after, it happened that he did see this Kaou on the road, and told him his dream, and the wizard, who had had the same dream, said to him, "Your death is to happen about this time, but if you have business in the east, you will there be successful [first]" Heen-tsze accepted this interpretation

'When the marquis was proceeding to invade Ts'e, and was about to cross the Ho, Heen-tsze bound two pairs of gems together with a thread of red silk, and offered the following prayer, "Hwan of Ts'e, relying on his defiles and trusting in his multitudes, has cast away the bonds of friendship, broken his covenants, and treated cruelly [the people,—] the lords of the Spirits Your servant Pew is about to lead the States to punish him, and before Pew and behind Pew it is the business of me his officer to go If the enterprise be crowned with success, there will then be no disgrace to you, O Spirits, and I, Yen, will not presume to recross this river Do ye, O Spirits, decide in this case" He then dropt the gems into the river, and crossed it

'In winter, in the 10th month, there was a meeting on the Loo side of the Tse, when [the States] renewed their engagement at K'ih-l'ang, and undertook together to invade Ts'e The marquis of that State withstood them at P'ing-yin, where there was a dyke with a gate, in front of which he dug a moat a *le* wide Shuh-sha Wei said to him, "If you cannot fight, our best plan will be to [abandon this, and] guard our defiles," but the marquis would not listen to him. The soldiers of the States attacked the defences, and many of the men of Ts'e were killed Fan Seuen-tsze told Seih W'än-tsze (an officer of Ts'e), saying, "I know you, and will not keep back the truth from you Loo and Keu have asked to enter your State from their own territories with a thousand chariots, and liberty has been given to them to do so If they enter, your ruler is sure to lose his State. You had better consult for the emergency" Tse-k'ea (the above Seih W'än-tsze) reported this to the marquis, who was frightened at the intelligence When Gan Ying heard of this, he said, "Our ruler before had no courage, and now he has got this news,—he cannot long hold out"

'The marquis of Ts'e ascended mount Woo to look at the army of Tsin The commanders of it had made the marshals examine all the difficult places in the hills and marshes, and set up flags in them at some distance from one another, even though there were no troops occupying them They also sent forward their chariots with flags, only the man on the left being real, and the one on the right a figure These were followed by carts, dragging branches after them When the marquis saw all this, he was awed by the multitude, and returned, with all his insignia taken down

'(In P'ing-yin, the last day of the moon, the army of Ts'e withdrew during the night The music-master Kwang told the marquis of Tsin of it, saying, "The crows are crying joyfully The army of Ts'e must have retreated" Hing Pih told Chung-hang Pih of it, saying, "I hear the neighing of horses retreating The army of Ts'e must be withdrawing" Shuh-h'ang announced to the marquis, saying, "There are crows on the wall The army of Ts'e must have retreated" On 'ling-maou, the 1st day of the month, the army of Tsin entered P'ing-yin, and went on in pursuit of the army of Ts'e Suh-sha Wei placed several large carriages together to stop up a defile, and wished to bring up the rear, but Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy said to him, "For you to bring up the rear of the army would be a disgrace to Ts'e Please go on in front" Accordingly they took his place in the rear, and Wei killed a number of horses in the narrowest part of the way to shut it up [against them] [Soon after], Chow Ch'oh of Tsin came up, and shot Chih Ch'oh in the shoulder, two arrows lodging, one on each side of his neck, crying out, "Stop and you shall be kept a prisoner in the army If you do not stop, I will shoot you through your heart" The other looked round, and said to him, "Make me an oath [to that effect]" "I swear to you by the sun," replied Chow Ch'oh, and with this he unstrung his bow, and bound his hands behind him himself His spearman Keu Ping also laid aside his weapon, and bound Kwoh Tsuy Both of them were bound in the same way with their buff coats on, and sat down at the foot of the drum of the army of the centre The men of Tsin wanted to pursue the fugitives who were making for the capitals, while Loo and Wei asked leave to attack the [various] defiles

'On Ke-maou, Seun Yen and Sze Kae, with the army of the centre, reduced King-ts'e On Yih-yew, Wei Keang and Lwan Ying, with the third army, reduced She Chaou Woo and Han K'e, with the first army, invested Leu, and could not take it, but in the 12th month, on Mow-seuh, they arrived at Tsin-chow, and cut down the [fields of] southernwood about the Yung gate [of the capital] Fan Yang made an attack on that gate, and his charioteer, Chuy He, killed a dog in it with a spear, while M'ang Chwang-tsze hewed down the *ch'un* trees about it, to make lutes for our duke On Ke-hae they burned the Yung gate, with the western and southern suburbs Lew Nan and Sze Joh led the armies of the States, and burned down the bamboos and other trees about the Shin pond On Jin-yin they burned the eastern and northern suburbs, while Fan Yang attacked the Yang gate, and Chih Ch'oh that on the east There his outside horse on the left turned



wildly round, but Ch'oh with his switch [quietly] numbered [the nails at the top of] the leaves of the gale.

The marquises of Ts'ao had the horses put to his chariot intending to flee to Y'ow t'ang when his eldest son and Kw'oh Yung laid hold of them, saying: "The haste and vehemence of the enemy only show in what a hurry they are. They will [soon] retire. What have you to fear? And moreover as the lord of the altars you should not be lightly moved. If you are, the multitudes will fall off from you. You must remain here, and await the result. The marquises was notwithstanding going to drive on when his eldest son drew his sword, and cut the traces, on which he stopped. On K'eh-shin, the allies made an incursion eastwards to the south of the Wei and to the E.

Par 5 In the army;—*i.e.*, during the expedition against Ts'ao. Kung and Kuh foolishly suppose that the notice indicates the author's pity—it is simply a record of the event.

Par 6. The Chuen says:—"Tse-k'ung (the Kung tse K'ea) wanted to remove all the great officers. Intending to revolt from Ts'in and that he might raise an army of Ts'oo, and so remove them, he sent and informed Tse-k'ung (the Kung tse Woo, chief minister of Ts'oo), who however declined to move in the affair. The vicount of Ts'oo heard of it, and sent E, the commandant of Yang t'un, with this message to Tse-k'ung: "The people say that I, occupying my position as lord of the altars, and not going out to war will do without following the rules [of our former kings]. It is now 5 years since I succeeded to my father and during that time our troops have not [yet] gone forth. People may well suppose that I am indulging myself, and forgetful of the inheritance of my fathers. Do you take the case into consideration, and consider what should be done. Tse-k'ung sighed, and said to himself: "Does the king think that I am seeking my own ease? I acted as I did for the benefit of the State." He then saw the messenger bowed himself to the ground

and said, "The States are now in friendly harmony with Ts'in, but I will make trial of their feeling. If I find an attempt feasible the king can follow me. If I do not, I will withdraw with the army. In this way no harm will be incurred, and the king will have no disgrace."

Accordingly Tse-k'ung led out an army and marshalled it at Fan. At this time Tse K'eaou, Ph y'ow and Tse-chang were in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing in the invasion of Ts'ao, while Tse-k'ung, Tse-chen, and Tse-se, had charge of the State. These two other officers were aware of the scheme of Tse-k'ung, carefully completed their watch and brought the people within the outer defences, so that Tse-k'ung did not dare to have any meeting with the army of Ts'oo, which had now entered the State, and was halting at Yu ling. The master of the Left raised a wall at Sh' g keih, after which he crossed the Ying, and halted at Chen-jen. Wei Tse-p'ing and the Kung tse Kih led thence a body of light-armed troops, and made incursions on Po, Hwah, Seu mei, H'een-yu, and Yung h'ang, going round by the right of mount Mei, and extending their raid to the north-east of Ch'ing as far as Ch'ung laou. When they returned, Tse-k'ung made an attack on the Shun gate, passed two nights at the foot of the wall, and then withdrew crossing the river at the foot of [the hill] Yu-ch'ie. Heavy rains then overtook him, and many of the soldiers suffered so from cold that the followers of the camp nearly all perished.

The army of Ts'ao having heard of this expedition of Ts'oo, the music-master Kwang said [to the marquises], "It will do no harm. I was longing a northern air and a southern, and the latter was not strong, and gave the notes of many deaths. Ts'oo will accomplish nothing." Tung-shuh [also] said to him: "The course of Heaven lies now mainly in the north west. The time is unfavourable to a southern expedition. It will have no success." Shuh h'ang said, "All depends on the virtue of the ruler."

### Nineteenth year

卯	伐	夏	外	季	取	公	曾	月	一
齊	齊	衛	曹	孫	邾	牟	人	諸	有
侯	齊	孫	成	宿	田	自	執	侯	九
環	秋	林	公	如	自	伐	邾	盟	年
平	七	父		晉	水	齊	了	祝	春
	月	帥						柯	卜
	辛	師						止	

九章

晉上句帥師伐齊，卒。

穀聞齊侯卒，乃還。

十章

八月丙辰，仲孫蔑卒。

十一章

齊殺其人大高厚。

十二章

鄭殺其人大公子嘉。

十三章

冬葬齊靈公。

十四章

城西郭。

十五章

叔孫豹會晉上句。

柯。

十六章

城武城。

左傳曰：十九年春，諸侯薳自沂上，盟於督揚，曰：人毋侵小。執邾悼公，以其伐我故。

遂次於泗上，驅我田，取邾田，自漣水，歸之於我。晉侯先歸，公享晉人，卿於蒲圃，賜之命之服。軍尉司馬司空與尉候奄皆受命之服。賄荀偃束錦，加璧，乘馬，先吳壽夢之鼎，荀偃痺疽，生瘍於頭，濟河，及著雍，病目出，人大先歸者皆反，上句請見弗內，請後，曰：鄭甥，可一月甲寅，卒而視，不可舍。晉了盟而撫之，曰：事吳，敢不如事！猶視，變懷了，曰：其爲人，卒事於齊故也乎？乃復撫之，曰：上句終，所不嗣事於齊者，有如河。乃眼，受舍。宣了出，曰：吾淺之爲丈大也。

晉欒魴帥師從衛孫文了伐齊。

○季武了以所得於齊之兵，作林鐘，而銘魯功焉。臧武仲謂季孫曰：非禮也。大銘，入了令德，諸侯曰：時計功，人大稱伐，今稱伐，則下等也。計功，則借人也。三時，則妨民多矣。何以爲銘？曰：大夫伐小，取其所得，以作彝器，銘其功烈，以示了孫，昭明德而懲無禮也。今將借人之力量，以救其死，名之何銘之？小國幸於人國，而昭所獲焉，以怒之，亡之道也。

齊侯娶於魯，曰顏懿姬，無子。其姪慶聲姬生光，以爲犬子。諸子：仲子、戎子、戎子嬖、仲子生牙。屬諸戎子，戎子請以爲犬子。許之。仲子曰：「不可，廢常不祥。」問諸侯。難光之立也。列於諸侯矣。今無故而廢之，是專黜諸侯而以難犯不祥也。君必悔之。」公曰：「在我而已。」遂取犬子光，使高厚傅牙，以爲犬子。夙沙衛爲少傅。齊侯疾，桓杼微逆光，疾病而立之。光殺戎子尸諸朝，非禮也。婦人無刑，雖有刑不在朝。市夏五月壬辰晦，齊靈公卒。莊公卽位，執公子牙於句瀆之丘，以夙沙衛易己。衛奔高唐以叛。晉士匄侵齊，及穀，聞喪而還禮也。

○四月丁未，鄭公孫彊卒，赴於晉大夫。范宣子言於晉侯，以其善於伐秦也。六月，晉侯請於王，王追賜之大路，使以行禮也。

秋八月，齊崔杼殺高厚於灑臺，而兼其室。書曰：「齊殺其大夫。」從君於昏也。

鄭子孔之爲政也，專國人患之。乃討西宮之難，與純門之師。子孔當罪，以其甲及子革、子良氏之甲守甲辰。子展子西帥國人伐之，殺子孔而分其室。書曰：「鄭殺其大夫。」專也。子然，子孔宋子之子也。士子孔，圭嬖之子也。圭嬖之班亞宋子，而相親也。士子孔亦相親也。僖之四年，子然卒，簡之元年，士子孔卒。司徒孔實相子革、子良之室。三室如一，故及於難。子革、子良，出奔楚。子革爲右尹，鄭人使子展當國。子西聽政，立子產爲卿。

○齊慶封圍高唐，弗克。冬十一月，齊侯圍之。見衛在城上，號之。乃下問守備焉，以無備告。揖之，乃登聞師將傅食。高唐人殖綽工僕，會夜緹納師，醢衛於軍。城西郭懼齊也。

齊及晉平盟於大隧，故穆叔會范宣子於柯。穆叔見叔向，賦「戰戰之四章」。叔向曰：「肸敢不承命。」穆叔歸，曰：「齊猶未也，不可以不懼。」乃城武城。

其宗。不木，斲是了孔，不悼了石。○  
有必其謂曰，成哀了卒，其衛

- XIX 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the princes made a covenant in Chuh-ko  
2 The people of Tsin seized and held the viscount of Choo.  
3 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
4 We took the lands of Choo as far as from the K'oh-water.  
5 Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
6 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ts'aou.  
7 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'e  
8 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-maou, Hwan, marquis of Ts'e, died  
9 Sze Kae of Tsin led a force to make an invasion into Ts'e, and had arrived at Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquis, on which he returned.  
10 In the eighth month, on Ping-shin, Chung-sun Meeh died  
11 Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kaou How  
12 Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Kéa  
13 In winter there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'e  
14 We walled round our western suburbs  
15 Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin in Ko  
16 We walled Woo-shing

Par 1 Chuh-ko (Kung-yang has 阿 for 柯) was in Ts'e,—in the pres dis of Chang-ts'ing (長清), dep Tse-nan We see from the Chuen that it was also called Tuh-yang. The princes in the text are those who had been engaged in the campaign against Ts'e. The Chuen says,—“The princes returned from the country about the E (see the Chuen on xviii 4, at the end), and made a covenant in Tuh-yang, to the effect that the great States should make no raids on the small.” The news from Ch'ing of its being invaded by Ts'oo had rendered it necessary to give up further operations against Ts'e.

Par 2 “They seized,” says Tso she, “duke Taou of Choo, because he had invaded us (see xvii 8).” His father had been seized for the same reason in the duke's 16th year, and we are astonished both at the persistent hostility of Choo and Keu to Loo in defiance of Tsin, and at Loo's inability to defend itself.

Par 3 The critics have much to say on its being stated here that the duke came from the ‘invasion,’ and not from the siege of the capital of Ts'e, but the truth seems simply to be that the siege was merely an incident of the invasion.

Par 4 The K'oh ran through Choo, and flowing along the south of Loo, fell into the Sze (泗),—in the pres dis of Yu-t'ne. Comp VIII n 7, but the phrase,—‘lands of Choo,’ would indicate that they had never belonged to Loo, though the Chuen seems to say so. It is a con-

tinuation of that on par 2, and says —“They then halted near the Sze, and defined the boundary of our lands, taking those of Choo from the K'oh-water, and giving them (衛之) back to us.” The marquis of Tsin then returned before (his army) to his capital, and the duke gave an entertainment to the six generals of Tsin in the P'oo orchard, giving to each of them the robes of a minister of three degrees, while to the controller of the army, the marshal, the superintendent of entrenchments, the master of carriages, and the scoutmaster, he gave the robes of an officer of one degree (see the Chuen after VIII n 4). On Seun Yen he further conferred a bundle of silks, a *peih*, and 4 horses, followed by the tripod which Loo had received from Show-mung of Wei.

“Seun Yen was now suffering from an ulcer, which grew upon his head, and after crossing the Ho as far as Choo-yung, he was quite ill, and his eyes protruded. The great officers who had returned before him all came back, and Sze Kae begged an interview with him which he did not grant. He then begged to know who should be his successor, and Yen said, ‘My son by the daughter of Ch'ing.’ In the 2d month, on Kéah-yin, he died with his eyes protruding, and his teeth firmly closed. Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae), washed [his face], and stroked it, saying, ‘Shall I not serve Woo (Yen's son) as I have served you?’ but still he stared. Lwan Hwan-tsze (Ying) said, ‘Is it because he did not complete his undertaking against Ts'e?’ And he also stroked [his face], saying, ‘If you are indeed dead, let the Ho witness if I do not carry

on your undertaking against T'ai' The eyes of the *coo-poo* then closed, and the [customary] gem was put between the teeth. When Seuen-tze left the apartment, he said, "I am but a shallow creature (with reference to what he had said to the *coo-poo*)."

Par 5. The Chuen says:—Ke Woo-tze went to Tain, to give thank for the expedition [against T'ai'], when the marquise entertained him. Fan Seuen-tze, who was [now] principal minister among the Shoo miao (Sho, II. viii. ode III). Ke Woo-tze rose up, bowed twice with his head to the ground, and said, "The small States depend on your great State as all the kinds of grain depend on the fattening rains. If you will always dispense such a cherishing influence the whole kingdom will harmoniously unite under you, and not our poor State only!" He then sang the Luh Yueh (Sho, II. iii. ode III).

Par 7. Sun Liu-too had a reason for attacking Ing T'e, because Kung whom he had driven from Wei, had taken refuge there. It would appear however that Tsin also took part in this expedition. The Chuen says:—Lwan Fang of Tsin led a force, and followed Sun Wan-tze in an incursion into T'ai'. Lwan Fang was sent on this expedition. It is supposed, through the influence of Lwan Ying, to fulfil the oath which he had sworn to the corpse of Seuen Yen.

[The Chuen appends here—Ke Woo-tze had a bell, toned to the second note of the chromatic scale, cast from the weapons which he had acquired in T'ai', and had the services performed by Loo engraved upon it. Tsang Woo-chung said to him, "This is contrary to rule. What should be engraved [on such articles] is—for the son of Heaven, his admirable virtue; for the prince of a State, a record of his services estimated according to the season in which they have been performed; for a great officer, his deeds worthy of being mentioned. And such deeds are the lowest degree [of merit so commemoated] If we speak of the time [of this expedition] it very much interfered with [the harmony of] the people—what was there in it worthy of being engraved? Moreover, when a great State attacks a small one, and takes the spoils to make an article, the regular furniture [of the ancestral temple], it engraves on it its successful achievement to show them to posterity at once to manifest its own bright virtue and to hold up to condemnation the offences of the other. But how should anything be made of our getting the help of others to save ourselves from death? A small State, we were fortunate against a great one but to display our spoils in this manner so as to excite its rage, is the way to ruin!"]

Par 8. For 環 Kung yang has 環 The Chuen says:—The marquise of T'ai' had married Yen-e, a daughter of Loo, but she bore him no son. Her niece Tsung-shing however bore him Kwang, who was declared his eldest son and

— Among his concubines were two daughters of Sung, Chung Tze and Jung Tze. The latter was his favourite and when Chung Tze bore a son Ya, the child was given to Jung Tze, who begged that he might be made succ. or to his father. The marquise agreed to this; but the child's mother objected, saying

To abrogate in his favour the regular order [of succession] will be inauspicious. It is hard moreover to interfere with the other princes.

Since Kwang was declared your succ. & he has been numbered among them; and now to displace him without any cause is to take it on yourself to degrade a prince. Your lordship will be sure to repent of incurring, in such a difficult matter the charge of doing what is inauspicious." The marquise replied that the thing rested entirely with himself, and sent Kwang away to the east. At the same time he appointed Kao Hsi grand tutor to Ya, whom he declared to be his succ. or with Suh-sha Wei as assistant-tutor.

When the marquise was ill, Ts'uy Ch'oo privately brought Kwang back to the capital; and when the marquise became very ill, Ch'oo raised Kwang to be his successor. Kwang then put Jung Tze to death and exposed her body in the court,—which was contrary to rule. A wife should not be subjected to the [ordinary] punishments and if it be necessary to punish her the thing should not be done in the court or the market place.

In summer in the 5th month, on Jiu-shin the last day of the moon, duke Ling of T'ai' died. Duke Chwang (Kwang) took his place and seized Ya on the mound of Kow-tow. As he held that the substitution of him in his own place had been owing to Suh-sha Wei, Wei fled to Kao-t'ang and held it in revolt.

Par 9. The Chuen says:—Kao Kae of Tsin was making an incursion into T'ai', and had got as far as Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquise and returned,—which was according to rule. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, et al.

[The Chuen says:—In the 4th month on Ting we, the Kung-sun Ch'ao of Ch'ing died and the news of his death was sent to the great officers of Tain. Fan Seuen-tze (Kao Kae) spoke to the marquise about how well Ch'ao had behaved in the invasion of Tain, on which the marquise made a request to the king and obtained for him the posthumous gift of a carriage which was used at the performance of his [funeral] rites.]

Par 10. Chung-sun Mieh, or Mieh Hsien-tze, had long sustained an important position in Loo. He was succeeded by his son Suh (速), or Mieh Chwang tze (莊子).

Par 11. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month Ts'uy Ch'oo of T'ai' killed Kao Hsi in Shao-lan, and took to himself all his property. The text, in ascribing his death to the State, intimates that he had followed his ruler in his abandoned blindness to what was right.

Par 12. For 嘉 Kung yang has 嘉. The Chuen says:—Tsu K'ang of Ch'ing, in his government of the State, acted on his own exclusive authority to the distress of the people. At the punishment of the troubles in the western palace (see on x.8), and in the attempt [of T'ai'] on the Shun gao (in the year before this), he had acted criminally; but he guarded himself with his own men-at-arms, and with those of the 6 miles of Tze-khi and Tze-hing. On K'eh-shin, Tze-chien and Tze-se attacked him at the head of the people put him to death, and divided his property between them &c. The text ascribes his death to the State because of the exclusive authority which he had arrogated. Tze-jen and Tze-kung were sons [of duke Muh] by [a daughter of Sung]—Sung Tze and Sze Tze-kung was his son by [a daughter of

Ch'in], Kwei Kwei Kwei Kwei's rank was inferior to Sung Tsze's, but they were fond of each other. Sze Tsze-k'ung was also on friendly terms with them. Tsze-jen died in the 4th year of He (the 6th year of duke Seang of Loo), and Sze Tsze-kung in Keen's (duke Muh's) first year, (S'ang's 8th year), and the minister of Instruction K'ung looked after the households of Tsze-kih and Tsze-leang. The three families indeed were as one, and hence they came together to trouble. Tsze-kih and Tsze-leang fled to Ts'oo, where the former became director of the Left. The people of Ch'ing made Tsze-chen manager of the State, with Tsze-se as administrator of the government, and Tsze-ch'an a high minister.

Par 13 [The Chuen appends here — 'K'ing Fung of Ts'e laid siege to Kaou-t'ang, but could not reduce it. In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis joined the siege, and seeing [Shu-sha] Wei on the top of the wall, he called out to him. Wei came down, and the marquis asked him if he was well prepared for defence. He replied that he was not, and the marquis bowed to him, when he ascended the wall again. Hearing that the army [of the marquis] was coming [to the siege, Wei] gave out food to the men of Kaou-t'ang, but [two officers of Ts'e], Chih Ch'oh and Kung Laou, agreed to bring the soldiers by night

up the wall by means of cords (the text here is probably defective). Wei was made pickle of in the army.]

Par 14 This was done, says Tso, 'through fear of Ts'e.'

Par 15 This Ko is different from the place in Ts'e of the same name, and was probably in Wei,—in the pres dep of Ta-ming. The Chuen says — 'Ts'e and Tsin concluded a peace, and made a covenant in Ta-suy. In consequence, Muh-shuh had a meeting with Fan Seuen-tsze in Ko. Having an interview with Shuh-heang, he sang the 4th stanza of the Tsac ch'e (She, I iv ode X). Shuh-heang said, "I dare not but receive your command."

Par 16 Woo-shing was a city of Loo,—90 *le* to the south-west of the pres dis city of Pe, dep E-chow.

The Chuen says — 'On his return to Loo, Muh-shuh said, "Ts'e is not yet [reconciled to us], we must not dismiss our apprehensions." Accordingly we fortified Woo-shing.'

[The Chuen adds here — 'On the death of Shih Kung-tsze (Shih Mae) of Wei, [his son], Taou-tsze manifested no grief. K'ung Ch'ing-tsze said, "Here is a case of the falling tree tearing up its roots. Taou-tsze will certainly not long possess his ancestral temple."']

*Twentieth year*

二十一年春正月辛亥仲孫速會  
莒人盟于向。  
夏六月庚申公會晉侯齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子盟于澶淵。  
秋公至自會。仲孫速帥師伐邾。蔡殺其大夫公子燮。蔡公子履出奔楚。陳侯之弟黃出奔楚。  
冬十月丙辰朔日有食之。季孫宿如宋。

左傳曰：二十年春，及莒平。孟莊子會莒人盟于向，督揚之盟故也。夏盟于濶淵，齊成故也。

邾人驟至，以諸侯之事弗能報也。秋，孟莊子伐邾，以報之。

蔡公子變，欲以蔡之晉，蔡人殺之。公子履其母弟也，故出奔楚。

陳慶虎、慶寅畏公子黃之偏，愬諸楚。曰：與蔡司馬同謀，楚人以為

討公子黃，出奔楚。初，蔡文侯欲事晉，曰：先君與於踐土之盟，晉不

可棄，且兄弟也。畏楚，不能行。而卒，楚人使蔡無常公子變求從先

君，以利蔡不能而死，書曰：蔡殺其大夫公子變，言不與民同欲也。

陳侯之弟黃出奔楚，言非其罪也。公子黃將出，奔呼於國，曰：慶氏

無道，求專陳國，暴蔑其君，而去其親，五年不滅，是無天也。

齊子初聘於齊，禮也。

冬季，武子如宋，報向戌之聘也。褚師段逆之，以受享，賦常棣之七

章以卒。宋人重賄之，歸復命。公享之，賦魚麗之卒章。公賦南山有

臺，武子去所曰：臣不堪也。

○衛甯惠子疾，召悼子曰：吾得罪於君，悔而無及也。名藏，在諸侯

之策。曰：孫林父，甯殖出其君，君入則掩之，若能掩之，則吾子也。若

不能，猶有鬼神，吾有餒而已，不來食矣。悼子許諾，惠子遂卒。

- XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring in the king's first month, on Sin hae, Chung-sun Suh had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant [with him] in Hsäng
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on K'ang shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsai and Ts'ao, the duke of Sung the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'ao, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ing, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, when they made a covenant in Shen yuen
- 3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting
- 4 Chung sun Suh led a force and invaded Choo
- 5 Ts'ao put to death its great officer, duke [Chwang's] son S'eh His brother, Lo, fled to Ts'oo
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, fled from that State to Ts'oo
- 7 Shuh Laou went to Ts'ao.

- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed
- 9 Ke-sun Suh went to Sung.

Par 1 Here, and afterwards, Kung-yang has 激 for 速. As to the individual, see on par. 10 of last year Hēang,—see on I u 2 The Chuen says —“We were [now] at peace with Keu, and Māng Chwang-tsze had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant in Hēang,—in consequence of the covenant at Tuh-yang (see on xix 1)’

Par 2 Shen-yuen was a river, called also the 浮水, and gave its name to the city in the text,—25 *le* north-west from the pres K'ae Chow (開州), dep Ta-ming. It belonged to Wei. This meeting and covenant were to celebrate the good understanding which now existed between Tsui and Ts'ue (齊成故也)

Par 4 This shows strikingly the little value of those covenants. Loo, moreover, might have been satisfied with the lands of Choo which had been assigned to it after the expedition against Ts'ue

The Chuen says —‘Troops from Choo had repeatedly attacked us, and we had not been able to retaliate in consequence of the business of the States; but this autumn, Māng Chwang-tsze did so, and invaded Choo’

Par 5, 6 For 變 Kuh-lēang has 濕. This Sēeh and Le were sons of duke Chwang of Ts'ae, and brothers consequently of duke Wān, whose father had been present at the meeting of Tsēen-t'oo in the 28th year of duke He. The Chuen says —‘The Kung-tsze Sēeh of Ts'ae wished to carry that State over to Tsui, on which the people put him to death, and his full brother Le fled to Ts'oo’

Par. 6 Kung and Kuh have 光 instead of 黃. The Chuen says —‘K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin, being afraid of the pressure on them of the Kung-tsze Hwang, accused him to Ts'oo, saying that he was confederate in the design of the minister of war of Ts'ae (Sēeh of the last par). The people of Ts'oo thought this was sufficient ground for reprimanding Hwang, who therefore fled to that State, [to clear himself]. At an earlier period, duke Wān of Ts'ae had wished to serve Tsui, saying, “My predecessor took part in the covenant of Tsēen-t'oo. Tsui should not be abandoned, and moreover, its rulers and we are brethren.” Through fear of Ts'oo, however, he died without being able to carry his purpose into effect (in the 17th year of duke Sēuen). After this, the people of Ts'oo laid their requirements on Ts'ae without regard to any rule,

and the Kung-tsze Sēeh wished to carry out the design of the former ruler for the benefit of the State, but, unable to effect his purpose, he died. The text in p 5, that “Ts'ae put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Sēeh,” intimates that his wishes did not coincide with those of the people. And the account in this, that “Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, left the State, and fled to Ts'oo,” intimates that his flight was from no crime of his. When Hwang was about to flee, he cried out in the capital, “Those K'ings, in violation of what is right, are seeking to monopolize the government of Ch'in, tyrannizing over their ruler, and getting his relatives out of the way. If within 5 years they are not exterminated, there can be no Heaven.”

Par 7. The Chuen says —‘Ts'ue-tsze (Shuh Laou) went [now] for the 1st time on a friendly mission to Ts'ue,—which was proper.’ It was to be hoped that the animosity which had so long prevailed between Ts'ue and Loo would now give place to friendly sentiments.

Par 8 This eclipse took place at noon, on the 25th August, B.C. 552.

Par 9 The Chuen says —‘In winter, Ke Woo-tsze went to Sung, to return the friendly visit of Hēang Sēeh (see xv 1). Choo Sze-twan met him to conduct him to an entertainment, where he sang the 7th and last stanzas of the Chang-te, (She, II 1, ode IV). The people of Sung gave him large gifts, and when he returned, and gave in the report of his mission, the duke entertained him. He then sang the last stanza of the Yu le (She, II u ode III). The duke responded with the Nan shan jēw t'ao (She, II u ode VII), at which Woo-tsze left his place, and said, “I am not worthy [of such praise]”’

[The Chuen calls the reader here to a narrative about Wei —‘Ning Hwuy-tsze of Wei was ill, and called to him his son, Taou-tsze, “I trespassed,” said he to him, “against my ruler (see on xiv 4), and subsequent repentance was of no avail. My name is in the tablets of the States, to the effect that “Sun Lin-foo and Ning Chih drove out their ruler.” If the ruler re-enter, that may hide my crime, and if you can so hide it, you are my son. If you cannot do so, and I continue to exist as a Spirit, I will starve in that condition, and will not come to partake of your sacrifices.” Taou-tsze made him a promise, and soon afterwards he died.]’



## Twenty first year

一

一有年春王正月

公如晉。

邾庶其以漆聞斤來介。

夏公至自晉。秋晉欒

盈出奔楚。九月庚戌

朔日有食之。冬十一月

庚辰朔日有食之。

曹伯來朝。公會晉侯

齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹

伯呂子邾子商仁。

左傳曰二十一年春公如晉拜師及取邾田也

邾庶其以漆聞斤來介其以漆聞丘來奔季武子以公姑姊妻之皆有賜於其從者於是魯多盜季孫謂臧武仲曰子盍詰盜武仲曰不可詰也紇又不能季孫曰我有四封而詰其盜何故不可子爲司寇將盜是務法若之何不能武仲曰子召外盜而大禮焉何以止吾盜子爲正卿而來外盜使紇去之將何以能庶其竊邑於邾以來子以姬氏妻之而與之邑其從者皆有賜焉若大盜禮焉以君之姑姊與其大邑其次阜牧輿馬其小者衣裳劍帶是實盜也實而去之其或難焉紇也聞之在上位者酒濯其心壹以待人軌度其信可明徵也而後可以治人夫上之所爲民之歸也上所不爲而民或爲之是以加刑罰焉而莫敢不懲若上之所爲而民亦爲之乃其所也又可禁乎夏書曰念茲在茲釋茲在茲名言茲在茲允出茲在茲惟帝念功將謂由己壹也信由己壹而後功可念也庶其非卿也以地來雖賤必書重地也

○齊侯使慶佐爲大夫復討公子牙之獄執公子買於句瀆之丘公子鉏來奔叔孫還奔燕

○夏楚子庚卒楚子使薳子馮爲令尹訪於申叔豫叔豫曰

國多寵而士弱，國不可爲也。遂以疾辭。方暑，闕地，下冰而牀焉，重繭衣裘，齎食而寢。楚子使醫視之，復曰：「瘠則甚矣，而血氣未動。」乃使子南爲令尹。

欒桓子娶於范宣子，生懷子。范鞅以其亡也，怨欒氏，故與欒盈爲公族大夫，而不相能。桓子卒，欒祁與其老州賓通，幾亡室矣。懷子患之，祁懼其討也，愬諸宣子曰：「盈將爲亂，以范氏爲死桓子，而專政矣。」曰：「吾父逐鞅也，不怒，而以寵報之，又與吾同官而專之，吾父死而益富，死吾父而專於國，有死而已。」台蔑從之矣。其謀如是，懼害於上，吾不敢不。范鞅爲之徵，懷子好施，一多歸之。宣子畏其多一也，信之。懷子爲下卿，宣子使城著，而遂逐之。秋，欒盈出奔楚。宣子殺箕，遺黃淵、嘉父、司空靖、祁豫、董叔、祁師、申書、羊舌虎、叔熊、囚伯平、叔向、籍偃。人謂叔向曰：「離於罪，其爲不知乎？」叔向曰：「與其死亡，若何？」詩曰：「優哉游哉，聊以卒歲。」知也。樂一鮒見叔向曰：「吾爲了請，叔向弗應，出不拜，其人皆咎叔向。」叔向曰：「必祁人大。」室老聞之曰：「樂一鮒一於君，無不行，求赦吾了，吾了不許，祁大夫所不能也，而曰必由之，何也？」叔向曰：「樂一鮒從君者也，何能行？」祁大夫外舉不棄讐，內舉不失親，其獨遺我乎？」詩曰：「有覺德行，四國順之。」大了覺者也。晉侯問叔向之罪於樂一鮒，對曰：「不棄其親，其有焉。」於是祁奚老矣，聞之，乘駟而見宣子曰：「詩曰：『患我無疆。』了孫保之，書曰：『甲有懲勳，明徵定保。』人謀而鯀過，患訓不倦者，叔向有焉。社稷之固也，猶將卜世宥之，以勸能者，今帝不免其身，以棄社稷，不亦惑乎？鯀殛而禹興，伊尹放，大甲而相之，卒無怨色，管蔡爲戮，周公名一，若之何其以虎也。乘社稷了爲善，誰敢不勉，多殺何爲？」宣子說，與之乘，以言諸公而免之。不見叔向而歸。叔向亦不告免焉而朝。初，叔向之母，妬叔虎之母，入而不使，其了皆諫其母，其母曰：「深山大澤，實牛龍蛇，彼夫余懼其生龍蛇以禍女，敝族也。」國多人龍，不仁人閒之，不亦難乎？余何愛焉？使往視寢，牛叔虎入而有勇力，變懷了嬖之，故羊舌氏之族及於難。欒盈過於周，周西鄙掠之，辭於行人，曰：「人了陪臣，盈得罪於一之守臣，將逃罪，罪重於郊甸，無所伏貳，敢布其死。」昌陪臣書，能輸力於一室，一施忠

焉。其子驢，不能保任其父之勞，大君若不棄書之力，亡臣猶有所逃。若棄書之力而思賤之罪，臣戮餘也。將歸死於尉氏，不敢還矣。敢布四體，唯大君命焉。王曰：尤而效之，其又甚焉。使司徒禁掠藥氏者，歸所取焉。使侯出諸輶轅。

冬，曹武公來朝，始見也。

會于商任，錮藥氏也。齊侯衛侯不敬，叔向曰：二君者必不免。會朝禮之經也，禮政之興也，政身之守也。怠禮失政，失政不立，是以亂也。知起中行，喜州綽，邢蒯出奔齊，皆藥氏之黨也。樂王鮒謂范宣子曰：盍反州綽，邢蒯，勇士也。宣子曰：彼藥氏之勇也，余何獲焉？王鮒曰：子爲彼藥氏，乃亦子之勇也。齊莊公朝，指殖綽，郭最曰：是寡人之雄也。州綽曰：君以爲雄，誰敢不雄？然臣不敏，平陰之役，先二子鳴，莊公爲勇爵，殖綽郭最欲與焉。州綽曰：東閭之役，臣左驂迫，遽於門中，識其枚數，其可以與於此乎？公曰：子爲晉君也，對曰：臣爲隳新然二子者，譬於禽獸，臣食其肉而寢處其皮矣。

- XXI 1 In his twenty first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Tsin
- 2 Shoo-k'e of Choo came a fugitive to Loo, with [the cities of] Ts'eih and Leu k'üw
- 3 In summer, the duke arrived from Tsin
- 4 In autumn, Lwan Ying of Tsin fled from that State to Ts'oo
- 5 In the ninth month, on Käng seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed
- 6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Käng shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 7 The earl of Ts'au came to the court of Loo
- 8 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, and the viscounts of Keu and Choo, in Shang-jin

Par 1 The duke now went to Tsin, to make his acknowledgments, says Tsao-she, for the expedition [against Ts'e], and for his receiving the lands of Choo (xviii. 4; xix. 4). Wang K'ih kwan bitterly contrasts the duty thus, and on other occasions, paid by the princes of Loo to the leading State, and their general neglect of the duty they owed to the king.

Par 2 Shoo-k'e was a great officer of Choo, possessed of the cities in the text. Rebelling against his govt., and unable to maintain himself against it, he fled to Loo, surrendering to it

the cities in question. Had he not so thrown himself on Loo, the text would have been—**邾**

**庶其以漆間丘叛** Comp. X. v 4 xxxi. 6. Of course it was wrong in Loo to receive, as it did, such a fugitive. Both the cities were in the northern part of the pres. dis. of Tsao dept. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—Shoo-k'e of Choo having come as a fugitive, and surrendering to Loo his cities of Ts'eih and Leu k'üw. Ke Woo-tze gave him to wife the

[widowed] aunt and sister of the duke, and gave gifts to all his followers. On this Loo became pestered with a multitude of robbers, and Woo-tsze asked Tsang Woo-chung why he did not deal effectually with them. "They cannot be so dealt with," was the reply. "I am not able to do it." Woo-tsze urged, "We have our four boundaries well defined, how is it that robbers cannot be put down? And you are the minister of Crime. Your chief business should be to remove all such criminals, how is it that you are unable to do so?" Woo-chung said, "You call the robbers of other States, and treat them with the greatest ceremony, how can I in such a case repress our own robbers? You are the principal minister of our State, and you bring into it robbers from abroad, and would have me put them away, how should I be able to do so? Shoo-k'e stole from Choo its cities, and came here with them, and you have given him to wife ladies of our ducal House, and have conferred on him [those] cities. To all his followers you have given gifts. Now, since to the great robber you have shown such ceremony, giving him our ruler's aunt and sister, and those great cities, and to the robbers of the next degree you have given runners, herdsmen, carriage-men and grooms, the least gifts being robes, swords, and girdles,—you thus reward robbers. To reward them, and at the same time put them away, should be a difficult thing, I think. I have heard this, that when men in high positions cleanse their hearts, treating others with an uniform consistency, and regulating their good faith by such laws that it is clearly demonstrated, then men can be properly ruled by them. For the way which their superiors take is that to which men [naturally] turn. When they do that which their superiors do not do, there are pains and penalties for them, which we may not presume not to inflict. If the people, however, do that which their superiors do as well, it is what is to be expected, and cannot be prevented. It is said in one of the Books of Hsa (Shoo, II ii 10) "Think whether this thing can be laid on this man. If you would put it away from this man, it depends on [putting] the thing [away from yourself]. When you name or speak of this thing, [let it be fit] for this man. Your sincerity must proceed from this, and be in this. Think, O emperor, of the work thus to be achieved." This tells how the result must come from one's own uniform endeavour. Let one's sincerity be uniform and undivided, and then successful results may be anticipated."

"Shoo-k'e was not a minister, [though he is here named]. But coming with territory, of low rank as he was, it was necessary to record the thing as in the text, from the importance belonging to the territory."

[The Chuen gives here two narratives about the affairs of Ts'e and Ts'oo.—1st "The marquis of Ts'e appointed King Tso a great officer, and proceeded to further (see on xix 8) measures against the partisans of his brother Ya. He seized the Kung-tsze Mae on the mound of Kow-tow. The Kung-tsze Ts'oo fled to Loo, and Shuh-sun Seuen to Yen."

2d "In summer, Tsze-k'ang of Ts'oo died, and the viscount wished to appoint Wei Tsze-p'ing to his office of chief minister. Wei consulted Shm Shuh-yu who said, "There are many favourites in the State, and the ruler is

young. The administration will be impracticable." On this he declined the appointment, alleging that he was ill. The season being warm, he dug a hole in the ground, filled it with ice, and placed his bed over it, and there he lay, with two coverings stuffed with silk, and in a robe of fur, taking very little food. The viscount sent his physician to see him, who reported that he was very thin, but that there was yet no [irregular] motion of his pulse. Tsze-nan (the Kung-tsze Chuy-shoo) was then made chief minister."

Par 4 Here is the verification of Sze Yang's prediction about the downfall of the Lwan family towards the conclusion of the Chuen on xiv 3. The Chuen here says—"Lwan Hwan-tsze (Lwan Yen, 樂 嬖) had married a daughter of Fan Seuen-tsze (Fan or Sze Kae, 樊 釐), who bore him Hwae-tsze (the Ying of the text). Fan Yang (Seuen-tsze's son), because of his banishment [to Ts'in], had a grudge against the Lwan family, and though he and Lwan Ying were both great officers of the ducal kindred, they could not bear each other (see the Chuen on xiv 3). After the death of Hwan-tsze, Lwan K'e (his wife, Seuen-tsze's daughter) had an intrigue with the old [steward of the family], Chow P'in, which had almost led to the ruin of the House. Hwae-tsze was distressed about it, and his mother, afraid of his taking severe measures, accused him to Seuen-tsze, saying, "Ying is about to raise an insurrection on the ground that, since the death of his father Hwan, the Fan family is monopolizing the government. 'My father,' he says, 'drove out Yang, but [Seuen-tsze] instead of being angry [with his son], rewards him with [additional] favour. He has also given him a similar office to mine, and throws the power into his hands. Since my father's death, [the family] is more wealthy. By that death they have got the monopoly of the government. I will die sooner than follow them.' Such are his designs, and afraid of his injuring you, my father, I dare not but tell them to you." Fan Yang confirmed what she said by his own testimony."

"Hwae-tsze was fond of showing his liberality, and had thereby attached to himself many officers,—so many, that Seuen-tsze was afraid of them, and though he believed what was told him, [he hesitated to take action]. Hwae-tsze, [moreover], was the [assistant-] commander of the 3d army. [At last], Seuen-tsze sent him to fortify Choo, and thereby took occasion to drive him from the State, so that in the autumn he fled from it to Ts'oo. Seuen-tsze then put to death Ke E, Hwang Yuen, K'ea Foo, Sze-k'ung Tsang, Ping Yu, Tung Shuh, Ping Sze, Shm Shoo, Yang-sheh Hoo, and Shuh-p'e, and imprisoned Pih-hwa, Shuh-h'ang, and I'seh Yen. People said to Shuh-heang, "Was it from want of wisdom that you let yourself be involved in this affair?" He replied, "Is this imprisonment not better than death? The ode says (She, II vii ode VIII 5, but the quotation is doubtful),

"How easily, how happily,  
They complete their years!"

Here is my wisdom." Yoh Wang-foo had an interview with Shuh-heang, and said to him, "I

will intercede for you," but the prisoner gave him no answer nor did he make him any acknowledgment when he went out. His friends all blamed Shuh-héang for this but he said "My liberation must be effected by the great officer K'e. When the steward of his house heard this, he said to him, "Whatever Yoh Wang-foo tells him, our ruler is sure to do. He offered to ask for your pardon, and you would not allow him to do so. It was more than the great officer K'e could accomplish, and yet you say that your liberation must come from him;—what is your meaning?" Shuh-héang replied, "Yoh Wang-foo is but a parasite of our ruler;—what could he do? The great officer K'e recommended to office one not of his own family though he was his enemy nor did he fail to recommend his relative to it, though he was his own son (see the Chuen after III. 4)—shall I alone be forgotten by him? The ode says (Sho, III. III. ode II. 2),

To an evident virtuous conduct  
All in the State render their obedient  
homage.

Such a manifestly virtuous man is K'e."

The marquis of Tsin asked about the guilt of Shuh-héang from Yoh Wang-foo, who replied "He would not abandon his relatives, and probably shares in their guilt." At this time K'e He was old, [and living in retirement] but when he heard what was going on, he came, posting from stage to stage, to see Shuen-tze, and said to him, "The ode says (She, IV. I. [I.] ode IV.),

Your favours to me are unbounded,  
And my posterity shall preserve [our  
inheritance].

The Shoo says (III. iv. 3). The sage, with their counsel and merit, ought clearly to be established and praised. Now in Shuh-héang we have one whose counsels have seldom been in error and whose kindly lessons have been unwearied. He is a strength to our altars. His posterity for ten generations should be pardoned [if they did wrong], for the encouragement of men of ability; and now for one offence [of his brother] he is not to get off with his life. It is an abandoning of our altars;—is there not a mistake in the matter? When K'wán was put to death Yu was raised to office. E Yin kept T'ae-k'eh in confinement, and acted as minister to him but in the end [the sovereign] had not a resentful look. K'wán and T'ae were put to death by the duke of Chow but he himself was the king's helper. Why are you now on account of Hoo (Shuh-héang's brother), forfeiting your duty to our altars? Do that which is good and who is there that will not feel stimulated? But what is the use of putting many to death? Shuen-tze was pleased, and they went in the same carriage to speak with the marquis, so that Shuh-héang was pardoned. K'e He then went home without seeing Shuh-héang, who, on his part, sent no word to him of his being liberated, but went to court.

At an earlier period, Shuh-héang's mother being jealous of the beauty of Shuh-hoo's mother did not allow her to be with their husband. Her sons all remonstrated with her, when she said, "Deep hills and great marshes produce the dragon and the serpent. Because of her beauty

I am afraid she may bring forth a dragon or a serpent that will bring calamity upon you. You are but a feeble clan, and in the State there are many great nobles. If unfriendly persons were setting them against you, would not your case be hard? On what [other] ground should I grudge her our husband's favours?" She then sent the lady to her husband's couch; and the result was the birth of Shuh-hoo. He was remarkable for his beauty, courage, and strength, and became a favourite with Hwae-tze, and thus it was that the Yang-sheli clan became involved in [the present] difficulties.

When Lwan Ying was passing by Chow the people in its western borders plundered him, in which he complained to a messenger [from the king], saying "I Ying a servant of the son of Heaven, belonging to another State, offended the king's servant, who is its guardian. Trying to escape from the consequences of my guilt, I have trespassed again in your borders. Nowhere can I hide; nowhere can I fly; let me venture to set forth the question of my death. Formerly Your Majesty's servant, [my grand father],<sup>1</sup> was able to contribute his strength to the royal House and the king bestowed favours on him. His son Yen was not able to [do so] and continue the services of Shoo; and now O great ruler if you have not forgotten the zealous duty of Shoo, then there will be a way of escape for me. If you have forgotten that, and think of the guilt of Yen, I am but the fragment of a doomed man. I will go [to the capital] and die under the hand of the officer Wei; I dare not go back. I have presumed to declare every thing;—it is for you, O great ruler to issue your command. The king said "To go on thus to wrong him as [Tsin] has done would be acting worse than Tsin. He then made the minister of Instruction prohibit all plundering of Lwan Ying and require the people to return what they had taken away. He also made the officer of escort conduct him through the Hwan-yuen pass."

Part 5. The former of these eclipses took place at noon, on August 15th, a.c. 551. The record of the second is an error. There was on the day mentioned no eclipse of the sun; there could be none. How the error and the similar one in the 24th year originated, cannot be ascertained. The critics have vexed themselves with the question in vain. See in the Explanations of the Classics by scholars of the present dynasty ch. 58 pp. 4, 5, and ch. 207 p. 6; and what has been said in the section on eclipses in the prolegomena. Yang Sze-hou (楊士助) the glossarist of Kuh-héang of the Tang dynasty (in the 7th cent.), says — In this year and the 24th year we have the record of eclipses in successive months. According to modern chronologists such a thing could not be but perhaps it did occur in ancient times! See also the note by the K'ang ho editors on the birth of Confucius, at the end of this year.

Part 7. This earl—duke Woo (武公)—succeeded to the State of T'raon on the death of his father as related xviii. 5. He now came, as Tse-she says, to Loo, to have a first interview with the duke.

Part 8. Where Shang Jín was is not known. The Chuen says:—The meeting at Shang Jín was to prevent Lwan [Ying] from being har-

○左傳曰，二十二年，春，臧武仲如晉，雨，過御叔，御叔在其邑，將飲酒，曰：「焉用聖人？我將飲酒而已。」雨行，何以聖？爲穆叔聞之，曰：「不可使也，而傲使人，國之誡也。」令倍其賦。

○夏，晉人徵師於鄭，鄭人使少正公孫僑對曰：「在晉先君悼公九年，我寡君於是即位，即位八月，而我先大夫子駟從寡君以朝於執事，執事不禮於寡君，寡君懼，因是行也。我二年六月，朝於楚，晉是以有戲之役，楚人猶競，而中禮於敝邑。敝邑欲從執事，而懼爲大，九曰：「晉其謂我不共有禮，是以不敢攜貳於楚。」我四年三月，先大夫子蟠又從寡君以觀戮於楚，晉於是乎有滄魚之役，謂我敝邑。邇在晉國，晉諸草木吾臭味也，而何敢差池？楚亦不競，寡君盡其土，實重之以宗器，以受齊盟。遂帥羣臣隨於執事，以會歲終，民於楚者，子侯、石孟歸而討之。誤梁之明年，子蟠老矣，公孫夏從寡君以朝於君，見於嘗，耐與執燔焉。問二年間，君將靖東夏，四月又朝以聽事，期不朝之間，無歲不聘，無役不從，以大國政令之無常，國家靡病不虞，荐至無日不惕，豈敢忘職？大國若安定之，其朝夕在庭，何辱命焉？若不恤其患，而以爲口實，其無乃不堪任命而前爲仇讐？敝邑是懼，其敢忘君命，委諸執事，執事實重圖之。」

○秋，欒黶自楚適齊，晏平仲言於齊侯曰：「商任之會，受命於晉，今納欒氏，將安用之？小所以事大，信也，失信不立，君其圖之。」弗聽，退告陳文子曰：「君人執信，臣人執共，忠信篤敬，上下同之，天之道也。君自棄也，弗能久矣。」

○九月，鄭公孫黑肱有疾，歸邑於公。召室老宗人立段，而使鬻官，薄祭祭以特羊，殷以少牢，足以共祀，盡歸其餘邑。曰：「吾聞之，生於亂世，貴而能貧，民無求焉，可以後亡。敬共事君，與二三子生在敬戒，不在富也。」己巳，伯張卒。君子曰：「善戒。」詩曰：「慎爾侯度，用戒不虞。」鄭子張其有焉。

冬，會于沙隨，復錮欒氏也。欒黶猶在齊，晏子曰：「禍將作矣。」齊將伐晉，不可以不懼。

楚觀起有寵於令尹子南，未益祿而有馬數十乘，楚人患之。王將討焉，子南之子乘疾爲王御，士王每見之，必

泣。乘疾曰：君泣臣矣，敢問誰之罪也？上曰：令尹之不能，爾所知也。國將討焉，爾其居乎？對曰：父戮了居，君焉用之？洩命重刑，臣亦不為士，遂殺了南於朝。轅觀起於四竟了南之臣，謂乘疾請徙了尸於朝。曰：君臣有禮，唯一了日。乘疾請尸，王許之。既葬，其徒曰：行乎？曰：吾與殺吾父，行將焉入？曰：然則臣十乎？曰：乘父事讐，吾弗忍也。遂縊而死。復使遽了馮為令尹，公子駒為司馬，屈建為莫敖。有寵於遽了者八人，皆無祿而多馬。他日朝，與申叔豫言，弗應而退。從之入於人中，又從之，遂歸。退朝見之，曰：困我於朝，吾懼，不敢不見。吾過了姑告我，何疾我也？對曰：吾不免是懼，何敢告了？曰：何故？對曰：昔觀起有寵於了南，了南得罪，觀起車裂，何故不懼？自御而歸，不能富道，今謂八人者曰：台見申叔了，所謂牛死而肉骨也。知我者如人了，則可不，不然，請止。辭八人者，而後一安之。

○十一月，鄭游暇將如晉，未出竟，遭逆妻者，奪之，以館於焉。了已，其夫攻了明，殺之，以其妻行了展廢良，而古尺叔曰：國卿君之貳也，民之士也，不可以苟，請舍了明之類，求已妻者，使復其所，使游氏勿怨，曰：無昭忠也。

- XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-yew, Shuh Laou died  
 4 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, the earls of Seeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in Sha-suy  
 5 The duke arrived from the meeting  
 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer Chuy-shoo

Par 1 [The Chuen introduces here — 'This spring, Tsang Woo-chung was going to Tsin, and was passing by [the city of] Yu Shuh (=Shuh of Yu), when it rained. Shuh was then in the city, and about to set to drinking. He said, "What occasion is there for employing a sage? I will do nothing but drink. Travelling thus in the rain, what sageness can he be possessed of?" When Muh-shuh (Shuh-sun P'aou) heard of this, he said, "[This Yu Shuh] is not fit to be sent on any mission. Carrying himself so proudly to our messenger, he is one of the vermin of the State." He then ordered that his contribution to the State should be doubled.]'

Par 2 [We have here in the Chuen the following narrative about the relations of Tsin and Ch'ing — 'In summer, the people of Tsin summoned [the earl of] Ch'ing to appear at their court, when the people of Ch'ing employed the Shaou-ching, Kung-sun K'caou (Ts'ze ch'an), to reply, which he did as follows — "In the 9th year of duke Taou, the last ruler of Tsin (the 9th year of Seang), our ruler succeeded to the State, and eight months after, our late great officer, Taze-sze (the Kung-tsze Fei, 駹), followed him to the presence of your ministers in your court. They did not behave courteously to him, on which he was afraid and took his departure, and in the

6th month of his second year we went to the court of Ts'oo. In consequence of this, Tsin made the campaign of He (See on ix. 5). But Ts'oo was still strong and repeated its courteous treatment of our State. We wished to follow your ministers, but were afraid they would find great matter of offence in our conduct. Tsin, we thought will say that we do not respond respectfully to courtesy; and on this account we did not dare to separate from Ts'oo.

In our ruler's 4th year in the 3d month our late great officer Kéou (Kung-sun Ch'ae) attended him to Ts'oo, to see what would be proper for us to adopt; and on this Tsin made the campaign of Shao-yu (See on xi. 8). Then it said that our State was near to that of Tsin, and that they were like plants which had the same fragrance;—why then should they presume to be in unequal relations? At this time Ts'oo did not show strength, and our ruler brought forth all the productions of the State, and added to them the vessels of his ancestral temple, that he might enter into a common covenant. He then led his servants to follow your ministers, and was sent in your court at the end of the year. On his return, he punished Tze-hou and Shih Yu, who were inclined towards Ts'oo.

The year after [the meeting at] Keth-lōang (See xvi.), Tze-k'ao being old, Kung-sun Hōa attended our ruler to your court, when he had an audience at the summer sacrifice, and assisted in holding the offerings of flesh. When two years had intervened, hearing that your ruler was about to pacify the States of the east, he again went to your court in the 4th month, to ascertain the time for the enterprise. Between his appearances at your court, there has been no year in which he has not sent a mission of friendly inquiries, there has been no service in which he has not taken his share. Through the orders of your great State coming not at regular times our State has been wearied and distressed; at any time some unlooked for requirement might come; every day are we careful not to give offence;—how should we dare to forget our duty? If your great State will grant us stable rest morning and evening our ruler will be found in your court, without your having to condescend to send him any order to appear. But if you do not have pity on our distress, and fill your mouth with complaints against us, shall we not then be unable to endure your commands? You will be clipping our territory and we shall become enemies to each other. This is what our State is afraid of; how dare we be unfaithful of your ruler's order? We thus lay the case before his ministers let them consult about it as its importance requires.]

Par. 8. See on xiv. 1. Shih Leon was succeeded in the position of great officer by his son Kung (叔弓), known as Tze-shuh King-tzo (子叔敬子).

[The Chuen returns here to the affairs of Lwan Ying of Tsin:— In autumn, Lwan Ying went from Ts'oo to Ts'ao, on which occasion Gan P'ing-chung said to the marquis of Ts'ao, "At the meeting of Shang Jiu, you received the command of Tsin [not to harbour Lwan]; if you now receive him, where will be the use of that meeting? It is by good faith that a small State serves a large one. If its good faith be

lost, it cannot stand. Let your lordship consider it." The marquis would not listen to him, and P'ing-chung withdrew and told Ch'in Wan tze, saying, "Rulers should hold fast good faith, and their subjects reverent obedience. It is the rule of Heaven that high and low should all observe true-heartedness, good faith, honesty, and reverence. Our ruler is throwing himself away;—he cannot continue long."

We have then another narrative about an of ficer of Ch'ing:— In the 9th month, the Kung-sun Hih-kwāng of Ch'ing called to him the steward of his house, and his kinsmen who took part with him in his ancestral temple, and told them to support [his son] Twan in his place, requiring them to diminish the number of his officers and the style of his sacrifices. A single sheep would be sufficient at the seasonal services, and a sheep and a pig at the grand sacrifice once in 3 years. Retaining a sufficient number of towns to supply these sacrifices, he gave all the rest back to the duke, saying, "I have heard that when one is born in an age of disorder the best thing for him is to be able to be poor. When the people have nothing to require from him his family will endure longer than the families of others. Reverently and dutifully [said he to his son], "serve your ruler and the officers, [his ministers]. Your life will depend on your reverence and caution, and not on your riches." On Ke-sze, Pih-chang (Hih-kwāng) died. The superior man will say that he was wise in the cautions which he gave. What the ode says (Sbe, III. III. ode II. 5),

"Be careful of your duties as a prince;  
Be prepared for the dangers that may arise,

was exemplified by Tze-chia g of Ch'ing.]

Par. 4. Kung and Kuh have hero 勝子 after 叔弓. Sha-suy—see VIII. xvi. 8. The

Chuen says:— This meeting at Sha-suy was to take further measures to prevent the harbouring of Lwan [Ying]. He was still in Ts'ao, and Gan tze said, "Calamity is about to develop itself. Ts'ao will attack Tsin. There is ground for us to cherish apprehension."

Par. 6. See the Chuen after par. 4 of last year. The Chuen here says:— Kwan K'e of Ts'ao was a favourite of Tze-nan the chief minister, and while his emolument was yet but small, his teams of horses were numbered by tens. The people were distressed about it and the king determined to punish the minister. Tze-nan's son, K'e-tai, was charioteer to the king, who would fall a weeping whenever he saw him. K'e-tai said to him, "You have thrice wept at the sight of me;—let me ask whose crime makes you do this." The king said, "You know the inefficiency of the chief minister. The State is about to punish him and can you abide in your office after that?" "If I were to abide after my father has been put to death," replied the chariotier "how could you employ me? But to commit the great crime of disclosing what you have said is what I will not do." After this the king put Tze-nan to death in the court, and caused the four limbs of Kwan K'e to be torn from each other by chariots in four different directions. Tze-nan's servants then asked K'e-tai to beg leave to remove his father's body from the court. "It is



was dealt with as a criminal, and Kwan K'ei was torn in pieces by chariots. Is there not reason for me to be afraid?" [Wei-tsze] then drove home himself, but was not able to keep the road. When he arrived, he said to his favourites, "I have seen my master Shin Shuh. It may be said of him that he can give life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones. With a master who knows me as he does I am satisfied, but I had rather drop the acquaintance of one who does not do so." He then dismissed the eight men, and afterwards the king was satisfied with him.

[The Chuen appends the narrative of a strange and melancholy event in Ch'ing — "In the 12th month, Yew Pan of Ch'ing was proceeding to Tsin, and before he crossed the boundaries of the State, he met with a man and the bride whom he was conducting to his house. Yew Pan took the lady from him by force, and lodged her in a city [that he was passing]. On Ting-sze, her husband attacked T'sze-ming (Yew Pan), and killed him, and then went away with his [recovered] wife. T'sze-chün set aside Leang (Pan's son), and made T'ac-shui (Pan's younger brother) Head of the family, saying, "A minister of the State is only second to the ruler, and a lord of the people. He must not be allowed to act disorderly. I have taken it on me to set aside another who is like T'sze-ming." He also sought for the man who had lost his wife, made him return to his place, and would not allow the Yew family to resent what he had done, saying to them, "Do not make more manifest the wickedness [of T'sze-ming].""]

一 章 十有三年春王正月癸酉朔日有食之。  
 二 章 二月己巳杞伯剋卒。  
 三 章 夏邾界我來介。葬杞孝公。  
 四 章 陳殺其大夫麇虎及麇寅。  
 五 章 陳侯之弟黃自楚歸丁陳。  
 六 章 晉欒盈復人丁晉人丁曲沃。  
 七 章 秋齊侯伐衛遂伐晉。  
 八 章 八月叔孫豹帥師救晉次于雍榆。

十

己卯仲

孫速

十一

冬十月

乙亥臧

孫紇出

介邾

人殺

樂盈

齊侯襲

呂

左傳曰二十三年春杞孝公卒晉悼夫人喪之平公不徹樂非禮也禮爲鄰國闕陳侯如楚公子黃愬二慶於楚楚人召之使慶樂往殺之慶氏以陳叛夏屈建從陳侯圍陳陳人城板障而殺人殺人相命各殺其長遂殺麇虎慶寅楚人納公子黃君子謂慶氏不義不可肆也故書曰惟命不予常

晉將嫁女於吳齊侯使析歸父媵之以藩載樂盈及其士納諸曲沃樂盈夜見胥午而告之對曰不可天之所廢誰能興之子必不免吾非愛死也知不集也盈曰雖然因子而死吾無悔矣我實不天子無咎焉許諾伏之而觸曲沃人樂作午言曰今也得樂孺子何如對曰得主而爲之死猶不死也皆歎有泣者爵行又言皆曰得主何厭之有盈出徧拜之四月樂盈帥曲沃之甲因魏獻子以蠶入絳初樂盈佐魏莊子於下軍獻子私焉故因之趙氏以原屏之難怨樂氏韓趙方睦中行氏以伐秦之役怨樂氏而固與范氏和親知悼子少而聽於中行氏程鄭嬖於公唯魏氏及七輿大夫與之樂王鮒侍坐於范宣子或告曰樂氏至矣宣子懼桓子曰奉君以走固官必無害也且樂氏多怨子爲政樂氏自外子在位其利多矣既有利權又執民柄將何懼焉樂氏所得其唯魏氏乎而可驅取也夫克亂在權子無懈矣公有姻喪王鮒使宣子墨衰冒絰二婦人輦以如公奉公以如固官范鞅逆魏舒則成列既乘將逆樂氏矣趙盾曰樂氏帥賊以入鞅之父與二三子在君所矣使鞅逆吾子鞅請駟乘持帶遂超乘右撫劍左援帶命驅之出僕請鞅曰之公宣子逆諸階執其手路之以曲沃初斐豹隸也著於丹書樂氏之力臣曰督戎國人懼之斐豹謂宣子曰苟焚丹書我殺督戎宣子喜曰而殺之所不請於君焚丹書者有如日乃出豹而閉之督戎從之踰隱而待之督戎踰入豹自後擊而殺之范氏之徒在臺後

欒氏乘公門，宣了謂鞅曰：「久及君屋，死之。」鞅用劍以帥卒，欒氏退，攝車從之。遇欒樂，曰：「樂免之，死將訟汝於人。」樂射之不中，又注，則乘槐木而覆，或以戟鉤之，斷肘而死。欒魴傷，欒盈奔曲沃，晉人圍之。

秋，齊侯伐衛，先驅穀梁御，孫揮召揚爲右，中驅成秩，御莒恒，中鮒虞之傳，執爲右，曹開御戎，晏父戎爲右，貳廣上之登，御邢公，盧蒲癸爲右，啟牢成御，襄罷師，狼遽疏爲右，肱尚了申御，侯朝桓跳爲右，人嬖尚了游御，夏之御寇，崔如爲右，燭庸之越駟，乘自衛將遂伐，晉晏平仲曰：「君恃勇力以伐盟，若不濟，國之福也，不德而有功，憂必及君。」崔杼諫曰：「不可。」臣聞之，小國閒人國之敗，而毀焉，必受其咎，君其圖之。弗聽。陳文子見崔武子曰：「將如君何？」武子曰：「吾已於君，君弗聽也，以爲盟，而利其難，羣臣若急，君於何有？」姑止之。文子退，告其人曰：「崔將死乎？」謂君甚，而又過之，不得其死，過君以義，猶自抑也。況以忠乎？齊侯遂伐，晉取朝歌爲一隊，入孟門，登大行，張武軍於熒庭，戍鄆邵，封少水，以報平陰之役，乃還。趙勝帥東陽之師以追之，獲晏聲。

八月，叔孫豹帥師救晉，次于維榆，禮也。

季武子無適了，公彌長而愛悼了，欲立之，訪於中豐曰：「彌與紇，皆愛之，欲擇才焉而立之。」中豐趨退，歸，盡室將行。他日又訪焉，對曰：「具然，將貝敝申而行，乃止。」訪於臧紇，臧紇曰：「飲我酒，吾爲了立之。」季氏飲人夫酒，臧紇爲客，既獻，臧孫命北面，席，新樽絜之，召悼了，降逆之，人人皆起及旅，而召公鉏，使與之齒，季孫失色。季氏以公鉏爲馬止，愠而不出，閱了馬見之，曰：「了無然，禍福無門，唯人所召，爲人了者，患不孝，不患無所，敬其父命，何常之有？若能孝敬，富倍季氏，可也。」茲回不軌，禍倍下民，可也。公鉏然之，敬其朝夕，恪居官次，季孫喜，使飲已酒，而以貝往，盡舍旃，故公鉏氏富，又出爲公左宰。孟孫惡臧孫，季孫愛之，孟氏之御騶豐黜，好羯也，曰：「從余言，必爲孟孫。」冉二，羯從之。孟莊了疾，豐黜謂公鉏，句立，請讐臧氏。公鉏謂季孫曰：「孺了秩，回其所也。」若羯立，則季氏信有力於臧氏矣。弗應。己卯，孟孫卒，公鉏奉羯立於戶側，季孫至，入哭而出，曰：「秩焉在？」公鉏曰：「羯在此矣。」

季孫曰孺子長公鉏曰何畏之有，唯其才也。且夫子之命也，遂立羯，秩奔邾。臧孫入哭甚哀，多涕，出其御曰：孟孫之惡予也而哀如是，季孫若死，其若之何？臧孫曰：季孫之愛我疾疢也，孟孫之惡我藥石也。美疢不如惡石，夫石猶生我疢之美，其毒滋多；孟孫死，吾亡無日矣。

孟氏閉門告於季孫曰：臧氏將爲亂，不使我葬。季孫不信，臧孫聞之，戒冬十月，孟氏將幣藉除於臧氏。臧孫使正夫助之，除於東門甲從己而視之。孟氏又告季孫，季孫怒，命攻臧氏。乙亥，臧紇斬鹿門之關以出，奔邾。初，臧宣叔娶於歸，生賈及爲而死。繼室以其姪穆姜之姨子也，生紇，長於公宮。姜氏愛之，故立之。臧賈、臧爲出在歸，臧武仲自邾使告臧賈，且致大蔡焉。曰：紇不佞，失守宗祧，敢告不弔。紇之罪不及不祀，子以大蔡納請，其可？賈曰：是家之禍也，非子之過也。賈聞命矣，再拜受龜，便爲以納請，遂自爲也。臧孫如防，便來告曰：紇非能害也，知不足也，非敢私請。苟守先祀，無廢二勳，敢不辟邑。乃立臧爲臧紇，致防而奔齊。其人曰：其盟我乎？臧孫曰：無辭將盟臧氏。季孫召外史掌惡臣而問盟首焉，對曰：盟東門氏也。曰：毋或如東門遂不聽公命，殺適立庶。盟叔孫氏也。曰：毋或如叔孫僑如欲廢國常，爲覆公室。季孫曰：臧孫之罪，皆不及此。孟椒曰：盍以其犯門斬關？季孫用之。乃盟臧氏曰：無或如臧孫紇，干國之紀，犯門斬關。臧孫聞之，曰：國有人焉，誰居其孟椒乎？

晉人克欒黶於曲沃，盡殺欒氏之族黨，欒黶出奔宋。書曰：晉人殺欒黶，不言大夫，言自外也。

齊侯還自晉，不入遂，襲莒門於且于，傷股而退。明日將復戰，期於壽。舒杞殖、華還戰，甲夜入且于之隧，宿於莒郊。明日先遇莒子於蒲侯氏。莒子重賂之，使無死。曰：請有盟。華周對曰：貪貨棄命，亦君所惡也。昏而受命，日未中而棄之，何以事君？莒子親鼓之，從而伐之，獲杞梁。莒人行成，齊侯歸。遇杞梁之妻於郊，使弔之，辭曰：殖之有罪，何辱命焉？若免於罪，猶有先人之敝廬在。下妾不得與郊弔。齊侯弔諸其室。

○齊侯將爲臧紇田，臧孫聞之，見齊侯，與之言伐。晉對曰：多則多矣，抑君似鼠。夫鼠晝伏夜動，不穴於寢廟，畏

事。茲。夏。施。作。抑。容。之。有。知。田。如。之。焉。亂。君。人。  
 恕。在。苦。不。不。有。於。知。臧。之。仲。乃。非。寧。而。聞。故。  
 施。茲。曰。恕。順。山。魯。而。武。難。尼。弗。鼠。將。後。晉。也。  
 也。順。念。也。而。也。國。不。仲。也。曰。與。何。事。作。之。今。

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Kwei-yew the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed
- 2 In the third month, on Ke-sze, Kae, earl of Ke, died
- 3 In summer, Pe-go of Choo came a fugitive to Loo
- 4 There was the burial of duke Hēaou of Ke
- 5 Ch'in put to death its great officers, K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, returned from Ts'oo to Ch'in.
- 7 Lwan Ying of Tsin again entered Tsin, and entered K'ueh-yuh
- 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei, and took the opportunity to invade Tsin
- 9 In the eighth month, Shuh-sun P'au led a force to relieve Tsin, and halted at Yung-yu.
- 10 On Ke-maou Chung-sun Suh died
- 11 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Tsang-sun Heih fled to Choo
- 12 The people of Tsin put to death Lwan Ying
- 13 The marquis of Ts'e fell upon Keu by surprise.

Par 1 This eclipse was visible at sunrise on the 30th December, B.C. 550

Par 2 Earl Kae is known as duke Hēaou. Tso-she says, 'This spring, duke Hēaou of Ke died, and the widow of [duke] Taou of Tsin went into mourning for him (She was his sister). Duke P'ing, however, did not discontinue his usual music,—which was contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety require that such music should be intermitted on [the death of the ruler of] a neighbouring State.'

Par 3 For 男我 Kung and Kuh have 鼻

我 We are to suppose that Pe-go was a partizan of Shoo k'ie of xx 3, and came to Loo in the same way that the other had done

Par 5, 6 For the circumstances in which the prince Hwang had fled to Ts'oo see the Chuen on xx 6. The Chuen here says — 'The marquis of Ch'in went to [the court of] Ts'oo, when the Kung-tsze Hwang accused the two K'ing to Ts'oo, the people of which summoned them to it. [Instead of going themselves], they sent K'ing Loh, who was put to death. The K'ing clan upon this held the capital of Ch'in in revolt. In summer, K'ueh Keen (the *Aoh-gaou* of Ts'oo, see the Chuen on p 6 of last year) went with the marquis of Ch'in, and laid siege to it. The people were then repairing the wall, and one of the frame-planks falling down, [the K'ing] put the builder to death. The workmen then agreed together that they should

kill their overseers, and proceeded to put to death K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin. The people of Ts'oo re-instated the Kung-tsze Hwang. The superior man will pronounce that the K'ing acted unrighteously, and that such a course cannot be indulged in [with safety]. As it is said in the Shoo (V ix 23), 'The [favour] of Heaven is not constant.'

The death of the two K'ing serves to illustrate the latitude with which the statements of a State putting its officers to death may be interpreted. Confucius' text in itself gives no inkling of the real nature of the transaction here. Too Yu contends that the 及 is a mere connective, and must have no stress laid upon it. Acc. to a canon on the use of the conjunction, K'ing Hoo would be the proper criminal, involving Yin in the consequences of his guilt. But acc. to the Chuen here and xx. 6, they were equally criminal. Like all the other similar canons, this breaks down here and in other places. Comp., e.g., VI ix 7.

Par 7 Lwan Ying, it will be remembered, had found shelter in Ts'e,—see the Chuen introduced at par 3 of last year.

The Chuen says — '[The marquis of] Tsin being about to marry one of his daughters to [the viscount of] Woo, the marquis of Ts'e ordered Seih Kwei-foo to escort the appointed ladies of his House to accompany her, taking the opportunity to place Lwan Ying and his followers in enclosed carriages, and to convey

them to K'eh yuh. Ying had an interview at night with [the commandant of that city] Sen Woo, and told him [his plans]. "The thing," said Woo "is impracticable. Who can raise up him whom Heaven is overthrowing? You are sure to perish [in this attempt]. I do not grudge death [in your cause], but I know the enterprise will not succeed." Ying replied, "Granted, but if through your help I go to my death, I will not regret it. I may not have Heaven on my side, but you will be free from blame." Sen Woo agreed to his request, and, having concocted him invited the [principal] men of K'eh Yuh to a banquet. When the music struck up, he said to them, "If now we had got here the young Lwan, what would you do?" "If we had our lord here," they replied, "we should think dying for him to be no death." With this all sighed, and some wept. As the cup went round, he put the same question again, and they all said, "Only give us our lord, and there will be no swerving from our purpose." On this Ying came forward, and saluted them all round.

In the 4th month, Ying led on the men-at-arms from K'eh yuh, and, depending on the help of Wei Hien-tze, entered K'ang in the day time. Before this, Ying had been assistant commander of the 3d army under Wei Chwang-tze. In consequence of this, Hien-tze (Son of Chwang-tze) was secretly attached to Ying and the latter depended on his help. But the Chao clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of the misfortunes of [the lords of] Yuen and Ping (See the Chuen on VIII. viii. 6). The clans of Han and Chao [likewise] were now on friendly terms. The Chung-hang clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of what had occurred in the invasion of Tsin (see on xiv. 3); and Che Ch'oh-tze being young, his family was guided by the Chung-hang. Ch'ing Ch'ing was a favourite of the duke; and thus it was that only the Head of the Wei clan and the superintendent of the duke's carriages favoured Lwan Ying.

Yoh Wang foo was sitting with Fan Seuen-tze, when word was brought to them that Ying had arrived. Seuen-tze was afraid, but Hwan-tze (Wang foo) said to him, "Quickly support the marquis into the strong palace, and no harm will be sustained. The Lwan have many enemies; and the government is in your hands. Lwan Ying has come from without, and you are in your place—your advantages are many. Since you have such advantages and the power and boldness to handle the people, what have you to fear? And has Ying any friends but the chief of the Wei clan whom you may take by force? Disorder is to be repressed by prompt action for the exigency—do not you be remiss [in taking it]."

As they were in mourning at the duke's for their relative (the earl of Ke), Wang foo made Seuen-tze put on mourning clothes and head-band all blackened, and he pushed along in a lady's barrow by two females, and in this guise go to the duke, with whom he then proceeded to the strong palace.

[At the same time] Fan Yang went to meet Wei Shoo, whom he found with his carriages all drawn up and yoked, about to go to meet Lwan Ying. Hurrying forward, Yang said to him, "Lwan Ying with a body of rebels has en-

tered the city. My father and the great officers are all at the ruler's, and have sent me to meet you. All we need to take the third place in your carriage and to hold the strap. With this, he sprang into the carriage brandishing his sword in his right hand, and with his left hand holding the strap, while he ordered them to gallop along. As they issued from the gate, the driver asked where he should go to. "To the duke's," cried Yang. Seuen-tze met Wei Shoo at the steps, took him by the hand, and promised him K'eh yuh.

[Seuen-tze] had a slave Fei P'ao, one of those entered in the red book (Book of criminals). The strongest of Lwan Ying's followers was Tuh Jung, of whom all the people were afraid. Fei P'ao said to Seuen-tze "If you will burn the red book, I will kill Tuh Jung." Seuen-tze joyfully said to him, "I swear by the sun, that if you kill Tuh Jung I will beg your ruler to burn it." Accordingly he sent P'ao forth, and shut the gate behind him. Tuh Jung came to pursue him, and P'ao waited for him, concealed behind a low wall. Then, when Jung had jumped over it, P'ao killed him with a blow from behind.

The followers of Fan were all behind the tower and the Lwan swarmed up to the duke's gate. "The arrows reach the ruler's house," said Seuen-tze to Yang; "do your utmost, though you die." Yang led on his men with his sword drawn, and the Lwan withdrew. He was then pursuing them in his father's chariot, as if he were the commander in-chief, when he was met by Lwan Loh. "Get out of my way," [cried Yang], "O Loh. Though I die, I will dispute with you in heaven." Loh discharged an arrow at him and missed, and when he had got another on the string his carriage was overturned by the root of a cassia tree, when some one drew him from underneath with the hook of his spear, and cut off his arms, so that he died. Lwan Yang was wounded and Ying fled to K'eh yuh, where the troops of Tsin laid siege to him.

Of the two statements in the text, that Ying entered Tsin again, and entered K'eh-yuh, the second is to be understood of Ying's retreating to K'eh-yuh, after his attempt upon the capital of the State was defeated. Kung yang is in error as the K'ang he editors point out, in referring it to Ying's first entrance into K'eh-yuh, and then advancing from it to the capital.

The use of 入 is somewhat peculiar. Maou says:—入 is used instead of 叛 (rebelled), because in the first instance he entered and then rebelled,—he had not rebelled before he entered; and in the second instance, he entered after he had rebelled,—he did not enter and then hold the city in rebellion! He compares xxx. 7 and VIII. xviii. 6.

Par 8. The K'ang he editors remark that the invasion of Tsin by Tse following here the account of Lwan Ying's attempt, makes it plain that Ying had been aided and instigated by Tse; but it is from the Chuen and not from the text that we learn this. Wei had attacked Tse at the command of Tsin in the 10th year and the marquis would now first wreak his vengeance on it. The invasion of Tsin being so much the greater undertaking, the critics hesi-

tate, needlessly, it seems to me, to apply here the usual canon as to the significance of 遂

The Chuen says — 'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei. The van of the army was commanded by Wang-sun Hwuy, with Kuh Yung as charioteer, and Shaou Yang as spearman. The next column was commanded by Keu Häng, with Ch'ing Ch'ih as charioteer, and Foo-che, [son] of Shin Scen-yu, as spearman [In the centre], Ts'au K'ae was charioteer to the marquis, and Gan Foo-jung was spearman. The supporting force was commanded by Hing Kung, with Shang Che-täng as charioteer, and Loo P'oo-kwei as spearman. In the left wing, Säng P'e commanded, with Laou Ching as charioteer and Läng Keu-soo as spearman, in the right, How Chaou, with Shang Tsze-keu as charioteer, and Hwan T'äou as spearman. The army of the rear was commanded by H'ia Che-yu-k'ow with Shang Tsze-yu as charioteer, and Ts'uy Joo as spearman, Chuh-yung Che-yueh being in the same chariot.

'The intention being to go on from Wei to attack Ts'in, Gan P'ing-chung said, "The marquis means, in the confidence of his courage and strength, to attack the president of covenants. It will be well for the State if he do not succeed. If there be success without virtue, grief will [soon] come to him." Ts'uy Ch'oo remonstrated with the marquis, saying, "Do not [invade Ts'in]. I have heard that when a small State takes advantage of the troubles of a great one to do it further injury, it is sure to have to bear the blame. Let your lordship consider it." But remonstrance was of no use.

'[After this] Ch'ün Wän-tsze saw Ts'uy Woo-tze and said to him, "What is to be done with reference to our ruler?" "I remonstrated with him," was the reply, "and he would not listen to me. If we are all brought to straits by his taking advantage of the [present] distress of the president of covenants, what difficulty will there be in dealing with him? Forbear saying anything for the present." Wän-tsze retired, and said to his people, "Shall Ts'uy-tsze die peacefully? He speaks of the marquis's conduct as very bad, and his own will go beyond it. He will not have a peaceful death. When a man condemns his ruler in a righteous way, he still does so to his own damage, how much more must he do so, when he has wickedness in his mind!"

'The marquis accordingly invaded Ts'in, and took Chaou-ko. He then divided his forces into two bodies, entered the pass of Mäng, ascended the hill of 'I'ae-hang, formed an entrenched camp at Yung-t'ing, placed garrisons in Pe and Shou, raised a mound at Shaou-shwuy — all in retaliation for the affair at P'ing-yin (See on xviii 3). He then withdrew, and was pursued by Chaou Shing with the troops of Tung-yang, when Gan Le was taken prisoner.

Par 9 For 雍榆 Kung and Kuh have 雍榆 The place belonged to Ts'in, and was 18 *le* southwest from the present city of Seun (濬縣), dep Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that the action of the commander was 'proper'. Why it should be 'proper' to halt, it is difficult to understand, though it was no doubt proper in Loo to send an expedition to the relief

of Ts'in. Kung-yang and Ying-tah think the halting was to get orders from the marquis of Ts'in, while the K'ang-hie editors condemn it as an evidence of weakness. But see the reference to the expedition in the 國語, II in art 7.

Parr 10, 11 It will be found from the Chuen that there was a connection between these two events — 'Ke Woo-tsze had no son by his wife proper. Of [his other sons], Kung-mei was the eldest, but he loved Taou-tsze and wished to make him his successor. Consulting Shin Fung on the subject, he said to him, "I love both Mei and Heih (Taou-tsze), but I wish to select the abler of the two, and make him my successor." Shin Fung hurried away home, and intended to leave the State with all his family. Another day he consulted him again, and Lung replied, "If it must be so, I will get my carriage ready and leave the State," upon which he desisted from his purpose. Consulting T'ang Heih about it, however, that minister said, "Invite me to drink with you, and I will appoint him for you." Accordingly Ke gave a feast to all the great officers with Tsang Heih as the principal guest. When he had sent the pledge cup round, Tsang-sun ordered two mats to be placed in the northern part of the hall. He then took a new cup, and washed it, called for Taou-tsze, and went down the steps to meet him, while the great officers all rose up. When the general cup was going round, he also called for Kung-ts'oo (Kung-mei), and made him take a place after Taou-tsze. Ke-sun lost colour [on seeing what was done].

'[After this], Woo-tsze appointed Kung-ts'oo to be the superintendent of his stud, but he was indignant, and would not come forth. Min Tsze-ma visited the young man, and said to him, "You ought not to behave so. Happiness and misery have no gate by which they must enter, each man calls the one or the other for himself. A son should be distressed lest he should not be filial, and not about his proper place. Reverence and honour, your father's command, what invariableness attaches [to the order of succession]? If you maintain your filial reverence, you may become twice as rich as the Head of the Ke family, but if you play a villainous and lawless part, your misery may be double that of one of the lowest of the people." Kung-ts'oo took this advice, showing a reverent obedience to his father early and late, and sedulously filled his office. Ke-sun was delighted, and made himself be invited by him to a feast, to which he went, carrying with him all the apparatus for it and leaving it there. In this way Kung-ts'oo became rich, and [by-and-by] he went forth, and became administrator of the Left to the duke.

'Mäng-sun hated Tsang-sun, and Ke-sun liked him. Mäng-sun's charioteer, Ts'ow Fung-teen liked [his master's son] Keeh, and said to him, "If you will follow my advice, you will become your father's successor." After he had urged this several times, Keeh agreed to it, and when Chwang-tsze was ill, Fung-teen said to Kung-ts'oo, "If you will secure the succession of Keeh I will be an enemy to Tsang-sun." Kung-ts'oo then said to his father, "Yu-tsze Ch'ih (the elder brother of Keeh) ought indeed to succeed to his father, but if we raise Keeh to the place, we shall truly show ourselves stronger than Tsang-sun." Ke-sun gave him no reply, and

on Ke-sun, when M'ang-sun died, hung two tok h'eh, and placed him at the side of the door (in the chief mourner's place). Ke-sun came to the house, entered the apartment, and wept. When he was going out, he said: "Where is Ch'ih?" Hung too replied, "He is here." "But Ch'ih is the elder," said Ke-sun. "What have we to do with the elder?" was the reply. "We only require the able." And his father so command! Ch'ih was hereupon declared successor to M'ang Ch'wang-tze and Ch'ih fled to Choo.

When Ke-sun entered the apartment (of the dead), he wept very sore with many tears. When he went out, his charioteer said to him, "M'ang-sun hated you, and yet you thus lament him. If he-sun were to die how would you bear it?" Tsang-sun answered him, "The love of Ke-sun produced in me a feverish eruption. The hatred of M'ang-sun was like a medical stone to me. The good eruption was not so beneficial as the painful stone which brought me to life again, while the eruption increased its venom more and more. Now that M'ang-sun is dead, my exile is not distant." The [now] head of the M'ang family then shut his gate and sent word to Ke-sun that Tsang-sun was about to raise a disturbance and would not allow him to bury his father. Ke-sun did not believe it; but when Tsang-sun heard it, he took precautionary measures. In winter in the 10th month, M'ang-sun was about to prepare the grave, and borrowed labourers from Tsang-sun, who ordered the superintendent of them to render him a distance; and when they were clearing the road at the east gate he went himself with some men-at-arms to see them. M'ang-sun sent also information of this to Ke-sun, who was angry and gave orders to attack Tsang. In consequence on Yih-lue Tsang Heli cut down the barrier at the Luh gate made his escape, and fled to Choo.

[Well a father], Tsang Szeen-shuh had married a lady of Choo, who bore to him K'ea and Wei, and then died. He then raised to her place her niece (who had come with her to the h' rem)—a daughter of the younger sister of Hui K'eng (The mother of duke Ch'ing). This lady bore Heli, who grew up in the duke's palace; and being the object of the lawless K'ang's love, he was made successor to his father. When that took place his [half] brothers K'ea and Wei left the State and lived in Choo. Woo-chung [now] sent word from Choo to K'ea of what had befallen him, and sent him a large tortoise saying, "Through my want of ability I have lost the change of our ancestral temple and I venture to tell you of my pitiable case. My offence however is not of a character that should lead to the extinction of our sacrifices. Do you present to the duke this large tortoise and ask to be permitted to continue them—and it may be granted." K'ea replied, "What has happened is the misfortune of our family and not through a fault of yours. I have received your commands." He then bowed twice and received the tortoise which he entrusted to [his brother] Wei to present with the request which had been suggested. But Wei preferred the request in his own behalf. Tsang-sun went to Fang (the city of the Tsang clan), and sent a message from it to the duke saying, "It was not in my power to do any harm;—it was my

whom which failed me (Referring to his going with the men-at-arms to see the workmen). I do not presume to make any request for myself. But if you all will the maintenance of the sacrifices to my ancestors and do not forget the merits of my two predecessors, shall I not leave this city? Upon this Tsang Wei was made head of the family;—and Tsang Heli surrendered Fang and fled to T'ie. Some of his people said to him, "Will they make a covenant with reference to us?" "They have nothing to allege in doing so," said Heli. It was determined, however to do so, and Ke-sun called the historiographer of the Exterior and asked him how in dealing with the case of a guilty minister the viceroy should be headed. The historiographer replied, "In the covenant about the minister Tung-mun, it was said, 'Let no one act like Tung-mun Kuy who disregarded the order of the duke putting to death the rightful heir and raising the son of a concubine in his place.' In the covenant about the minister Shui-sun, it was said, 'Let no one act like Shui-sun K'ee-sun-joo, who wished to set aside the regular order of the State and overthrow our local House.' Ke-sun said, 'The guilt of Tsang-sun is not equal to that of either of these.'" M'ang Tsaoon suggested that the covenant should be grounded on his violence to the gate in breaking down the barrier. Ke-sun adopted the suggestion, and the covenant ran—"Let no one act like Tsang-sun Heli, who violated the rules of the State and broke through the gate cutting down the barrier. When Tsang-sun heard these terms, he said, 'There is a man in the State. Who was it? Was it not M'ang Tsaoon?'"

Par 12. The Chuen says:—The people of Tsai reduced K'eh yuh and took Lwan Ying when they put to death all the members and the partisans of the Lwan clan, Lwan Fang making his escape and flying to Sung. In the text there is no mention of Ying's being "a great officer of Tsai," because he had come [against it] from another State. Comp. the account of the death of L'ang Szeon in xxx. 7.

Par 13. The Chuen says:—When the marquis of T'ie returned from Tsai, without entering [his capital], he fell on K'ea by surprise and attacked the gate of T'ao yu. A wound in the thigh obliged him to retire; but next day he resolved to renew the fight, and fixed on Shou shoo as the place of engagement. [In the mean time] Ke Chih and Hwa Szeen passed during the night in their armour through a defile near T'ao yu, and reached the suburbs of the capital city. Next day before the marquis, they met with the viscount of K'ea at P'oo-how shu who offered them large bribes to induce them not to fight to the death, and begged them to make a covenant with him. Hwa Chow (Hwa Szeen) replied, "If coveting your bribes, we should cast away our orders your lordship would hate us. If before mid-day we could forget the orders which we received at dawn, whereas should we serve any ruler? On this the viscount himself



beat the drum, and urged on his men to attack them, when Ke L'ang (Ke Chih) was taken prisoner. After this the people of K'eu made submission.

'When the marquis of Ts'e was returning home, he met the wife of Ke L'ang in the suburbs, and sent an officer to present to her his condolences. But she declined them, saying, "If Chih committed any offence, why should you condescend to send me any message? If he escaped committing any offence, there is the cottage of his father. I cannot listen to any condolences in the fields." The marquis then sent his condolences to her house.'

[We have here a narrative about Tsang-sun Heih in Ts'e. — 'The marquis of Ts'e was intending to make a grant of lands to Tsang-sun Heih, when at an audience which Heih had with him, he spoke with him about his invasion of Tsin. Heih replied, "You say you accomplished much, and

let it be so, but your lordship was like a rat. Now a rat lies hid in the day-time, and moves about at night. It does not have its holes in bed-chambers nor in ancestral temples — from its fear of men. Now your lordship heard of the troubles in Tsin, and began your movements. If it had been quiet, you would have served it. If you were not a rat in this, what were you?"

'After this, the marquis did not give him any lands. Chung-ne said, "It is hard to be wise. There was the wise Tsang Woo-chung, and yet he was not allowed to remain in Loo. And there was reason for it. He did what was not accordant with right, and did not act on the principle of reciprocity. One of the Books of H'ea (Shoo II ii 10) says, "When you think of anything, be found yourself in that thing," meaning that one's conduct should be accordant with right, and his actions on the principle of reciprocity."']

*Twenty-fourth year.*

叔 孫 豹 如 京 師。 大 饑。	公 至 自 會。 陳 鍼 宜 咎 出 奔 楚。	冬 楚 子 紫 侯。 陳 侯 許 男 伐 鄭。	滕 子 薛 伯 杞 伯 小 邾 子 夷 儀。	侯 宋 公 衛 侯 鄭 伯 曹 伯 莒 子 邾 子。	八 月 癸 巳 朔 日 有 食 之。 公 會 晉	齊 崔 杼 帥 師 伐 莒。 人 水。	秋 七 月 甲 子 朔 日 有 食 之。 既。	仲 孫 粥 帥 師 侵 齊。 夏 楚 子 伐 吳。	十 有 四 年 春 叔 孫 豹 如 晉。
----------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------

左傳曰二十四年春，穆叔如晉，范宣子逆之，問焉，曰：「古人有言曰：『死而不朽，何謂也？』」穆叔未對，宣子曰：「昔句之祖，自虞以主爲陶唐氏，在夏爲御龍氏，在商爲豕韋氏，在周爲唐杜氏，晉主夏盟爲范氏，其是之謂乎？」穆叔曰：「以豹所聞，此之謂世祿，非不朽也。魯有先大夫曰臧文仲，既沒，其言立，其是之謂乎？」豹聞之，犬上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，雖久不廢，此之謂不朽。若夫保姓受氏，以守宗祧，世不絕祀，無國無之，祿之大者，不可謂不朽。」

⑤范宣子爲政，諸侯之幣重，鄭人病之。二月，鄭伯如晉，子產寓書於子西，以告宣子曰：「子爲晉國，四鄰諸侯，不聞令德，而聞重幣，僑也惑之。僑聞君子長國家者，非無貽之患，而無令名之難。夫諸侯之貽，聚於公室，則諸侯貽，若吾子賴之，則晉國貽，諸侯貽，則晉國壞。晉國貽，則子之家壞，何沒沒也？將焉用貽？夫令名，德之興也。德，國家之基也。有基無壞，無亦是務乎？有德則樂，樂則能久。詩云：『樂只君子，邦家之基。』有令德也。夫上帝臨汝，無貽爾心，有令名也。夫恕思以明德，則令名載而行之，是以遠至邇安。毋寧使人謂子，子實生我，而謂子浚我以生乎？象有齒以焚其身，貽也。宣子諱乃輕幣，是行也。鄭伯朝晉，爲重幣故，且請伐陳也。鄭伯稽首，宣子辭，子西相曰：『以陳國之介恃大國，而陵虐於敝邑，寡君是以請罪焉，敢不稽首。』」

孟孝伯侵齊晉故也。

夏，楚子爲舟師以伐吳，不爲軍政，無功而還。

齊侯既伐晉而懼，將欲見楚子。楚子使薳啟疆如齊聘，且請期齊社。薳軍實，使客觀之。陳文子曰：「齊將有寇，吾聞之，兵不戢，必取其族。秋，齊侯聞將有晉師，使陳無宇從薳啟疆如楚辭，且乞師。崔杼帥師送之，遂伐莒，侵介根。」

會于夷儀，將以伐齊，水不克。

冬，楚子伐鄭以救齊，門於東門，次於棘澤。諸侯還救鄭，管侯使張骼輔  
 躒致楚師，求御於鄭。鄭人卜宛射犬，吉。子人叔戒之曰：「大國之人，不可  
 與也。」對曰：「無有眾寡，其上一也。」大叔曰：「不然。」鄧婁無松栢，二了。在幄坐  
 射犬於外，既食而後食之，使御廣車而行，皆乘乘車。將及楚師，而後  
 從之。乘皆踞轉而鼓琴，近不告而馳之，皆取冒於囊而胄，入壘皆下，搏  
 人以投，收禽挾囚，弗待而出，皆超乘，抽弓而射，既免，復踞轉而鼓琴。曰：「公  
 孫同乘，兄弟也，胡冉不謀？」對曰：「曩者志入而已，今則怯也。」皆笑。曰：「公  
 孫之恥也。」楚了自棘澤還，使薳啟疆帥師送陳無宇，吳人爲楚舟師之  
 役故，召舒鳩人，舒鳩人叛楚，楚了帥於荒浦，使沈尹筮與師祁犁讓之，  
 舒鳩了敬逆三了，而告無之，日請受盟。了復命，上欲伐之，還了曰：「不  
 可，彼告不叛，且請受盟，而又伐之，伐無罪也。」姑歸息民，以待其卒，卒而  
 不貳，台又何求？若猶叛我，無辭，有庸乃還。

陳人復討慶氏之黨，鍼官咎川介楚。

齊人城邾，穆叔如周聘，且賀城。上嘉其有禮也，賜之入路。

⑤ 管侯嬖程鄭，使佐下軍。鄭行人公孫揮如晉聘，程鄭問焉，曰：「敢問降  
 階何山？」了羽不能對，歸以詔然明。然明曰：「是將死矣，不然將亡，貴而知  
 懼，懼而思降，乃得其階，下人而已，又何問焉？」日人既登而求降階者，知  
 人也，不在程鄭，其有心釁乎？不然，其有感歟？將死而憂也。」

- XXIV 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, Shuh-sun P'au went to Tsin
- 2 Chung-sun Keeh led a force and made an incursion into Ts'e
- 3 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Woo
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Keah-tsze, the first day of the moon, the sun was completely eclipsed.
- 5 Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.
- 6 There were great floods
- 7 In the eighth month, on Kwei-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 8 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Seeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e

- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, and the baron of Hsu, invaded Ch'ing.
- 10 The duke arrived from the meeting [at E-e].
- 11 K'üen E-küw of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 12 Shuh-sun P'aou went to the capital.
- 13 There was a great famine.

Par 1 The object of this was probably, as Too says, to commemorate the marquis of Ts'in on the quelling of the Lwan revolt. The Chuen says, When Muh-shuh (P'aou) went to Ts'in, Fan S'uen-tze met him, and asked the meaning of the saying of the ancients, "They died but suffered no decay" and, before he had replied, went on to say "Anciently the ancestor of the S'uen, anterior to the time of Yu (Shun), was the prince of Ts'ao and T'ang (Yao); so on the Shoo, III. III. 7). In the time of Hsia, their ancestors were the Yu lung (see the Chuen after X. xix. 4). In the time of Shang they were the [lords of] Ch'e-wel. In the beginning of Chow they were the [lords of] T'ang and T'oo. When Ts'in obtained the presidency of covenants, we became the [lords of] Fan.—Is this what is meant by the saying? Muh-shuh said, "According to what I have heard, this is what is called hereditary dignity but it is not that not decaying. There was a former great officer of Loo, called Tsang Wan-chung, the excellence of whose words was known after his death. This may be what the saying intended. I have heard that the highest meaning of it is when there is established [an example of] virtue; the second, when there is established [an example of] successful service; and the third, when there is established [an example of wise] speech. When these examples are not forgotten with length of time, this is what is meant by the saying—"They do not decay. As to the continuation of the surname and the giving off clan branches, by which the ancestral temples are preserved, and the sacrifices continued without interruption from age to age, where is the State in which we have not that? The preservation of the greatest dignity cannot be called that freedom from decay.

[There follows here the following narrative:—Fan S'uen tze was chief minister of Ts'in, and the offerings required from the different States became [constantly] more heavy so that the people of Ch'ing were distressed about it. In the 2d month [of this year], the earl of Ch'ing was going to Ts'in, and Tze-ch'ian entrusted to Tze-se a letter for Fan S'uen tze, in which he said, "The administration of the government of Ts'in is in your hands. The neighbouring States all about do not hear of any display of admirable virtue, but they hear of the great offerings which are required from them—and this perplexes me. I have heard that to a superior man presiding over a State there is no trouble about the want of gifts, but his difficulty is lest he should not be obtaining a good name.

"Now when the offerings of the different princes are largely accumulated in your duke's house, those princes will become alienated from him. And if you, my master put your confidence in these things, the State of Ts'in will become alienated from you. If the States be-

come alienated from it, Ts'in will go to ruin, and if Ts'in become alienated from you, your family will go to ruin. In what a fatal course are you proceeding! Of what use would the gifts be then?

A good name is the carriage in which virtue is conveyed about; and virtue is the [sure] foundation of a State. When there is a foundation, there is no crumbling to ruin;—is not this then of paramount importance? With virtue there is joyful satisfaction, a satisfaction that is permanent. The ode (She, II. II. ode VII. 1) says,

Objects of joyful complacency are these officers,  
The foundations of my State;

—with reference to the effect of admirable virtue [And another ode (She, III. I. ode I. 7) says]

God is with you,  
Have no doubts in your heart;

—with reference to the effect of a good name. Strive with all your heart to make your virtue illustrious, and a good name will then carry the fame of it abroad; and in this way the remote will come to you and the near will repose in you. Had you not better cause men to say of you that you nourish them, than to say that you take from them to nourish yourself? The elephant has tusks to the destruction of its body;—because of their use as gifts." S'uen-tze was pleased and made the offerings [required from the States] lighter.

On this visit, the earl of Ch'ing appeared at the court of Ts'in, on account of the great offerings which were required, and to ask leave to invade Ch'in. He bowed with his head to the ground [before the marquis], and when S'uen-tze wished to decline such an act of homage, Tze-se, who was in attendance on the earl, said, "Through its reliance on the great State [of Ts'oo], Ch'in exercises an insolent oppression of our poor State. On this account our ruler asks leave to call it to account for the offence;—how dare he but bow his head to the earth?"

Par 2. The appointment of K'eh to be successor to his father as a minister of Loo and head of the Chung-sun clan, is given in the Chuen on par 10 of last year. He is known as M'ang H'ou-pi (孟孝伯). Tze-se observes that the incursion in the text was made in behalf of Ts'in. Kung yang gives his name as 羯裨 and 偏.

Par 3. The Chuen says:—In summer the viscount of T'oo invaded Woo with a naval squadron; but through the neglect of the rules of war it returned without accomplishing anything.

Parr 4, 7 The former of these eclipses is correctly recorded. It took place, and was total, about 1 h 15 m P M, on June 12th, B C 548. The record of the second is a mistake, for which we cannot account any more than for the similar mistake in XXI 6.

Par 5 The Chuen says — 'The marquis of Ts'e being under apprehension because of his invasion of Tsin, wished to have an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo, who sent Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'e on a friendly visit, and to be informed as to the time of meeting. The marquis was sacrificing at the altar of the land, and inspected his munitions of war, that the visitor might see them. This made Ch'in W'än-tsze remark that there would soon be rebellion in Ts'e. "I have heard," said he, "that when weapons are not kept in their place, a prince will bring his own clans against himself."

'In autumn, having heard that Tsin was contemplating an expedition against him, the marquis sent Ch'in Woo-yu after Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'oo, to put off the meeting, and to beg the assistance of an army. Ts'uy Ch'oo escorted him with a force, and took the opportunity to invade Keu, making an incursion to Keae-kin.'

It was stated in the Chuen on the last par of last year that Keu and Ts'e had made peace. We have here another instance of the little value of truces between the States of those days.

Par 6 See II i 5, *et al.* From the Chuen on next par it appears that this flood extended beyond Loo.

Par 8 E-e,—see on V i 3, and III xxxi 7. 'This meeting,' says Tso, 'was with the intention of attacking Ts'e, but in consequence of the floods, the purpose was not carried out.' Here, as always, instead of 夷儀, Kung-yang

has 陳儀. Recent critics are severe on Tso, for throwing the failure of this meeting on 'the floods,' and what is said in the Chuen on the next par gives some colour to their strictures.

Par 9 The Chuen says — 'In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, in order to relieve Ts'e, and attacked the eastern gate of its capital. He then halted at the marsh of Keih, while the States returned [from E-e] to relieve Ch'ing. The marquis of Tsin ordered Chang Loh and Foo Leih to flout the army of Ts'oo, when they begged Ch'ing to supply them with a charioteer. The people of Ch'ing consulted the tortoise-shell about the matter, and it was indicated that the appointment of Yuen Shih-k'ueu would be fortunate. Tsze-t'ae shuh admonished him that he should not put himself on an equality with the officers of the great State, but he replied, "Whether they belong to a populous State or a small one, those above me are of the same degree." "Not so," said T'ae-shuh. "Small hillocks have no fir trees nor cypresses on them."

'The two officers sat in their tent, while Yuen Shih-k'ueu waited outside. They took their food first, and then gave to him. They made him precede them in a wide war chariot, while they followed in an easy one. It was not till they approached the army of Ts'oo that they entered his carriage, and then they squatted on a cross board at the back, playing a couple of lutes. When they came quite near, Yuen dashed on without telling them. They took their helmets from the bowcase and put them on,

and when they entered the entrenchments, they descended from the carriage, seized each a man and dashed him to the ground, seized each another, and carried him off under his arm. The chariot had drawn off out of the entrenchments, without waiting for them, but they sprang into it, took their bows, and began shooting. When they had got off, they resumed their squatting, playing upon their lutes. "Kung-sun," said they [to their charioteer], "being in the same carriage, we are brothers, why did you act twice without consulting us?" "The first time," he replied, "I was thinking of nothing but entering [the camp], just now I was afraid." What a hasty temper Kung-sun has!" responded they, laughing.

'The viscount of Ts'oo withdrew from the marsh of Keih and returned, when he sent Wei K'e-k'ang with a force to escort Ch'in Woo-yu [to Ts'e].

'The people of Woo, in consequence of the naval attack on them by Ts'oo (par 3), invited the people of Shoo-kew to join them, and they agreed to revolt from Ts'oo. The viscount was then with his army in Hwang-p'oo, and sent Show, commandant of Shin, and Sze K'e-le to reprove them. The viscount of Shoo-kew met the two officers reverently, and assured them there was no such thing, requesting also to be allowed a covenant. When they returned with this report to the king, he [still] wanted to attack the place, but Wei-tsze said, "No. They say they are not revolting, and they ask us to impose a covenant on them. If you now go on to attack them, you are attacking the guiltless. Let us return for a time, and give the people rest, to wait for the issue. If the issue be that they show no disaffection, we have nothing more to ask of them. If after all they do revolt, they will have no excuse, and we can take successful action." Accordingly [the army of Ts'oo] returned.'

Par 11 The Chuen says — 'The people of Ch'in were taking further measures against the partizans of the K'ing (See xxiii 5), and K'een E-kew fled from it to Ts'oo.

Par 12 The Chuen says — 'The people of Ts'e had [for the king] rebuilt the wall of Keah (The Keah-juh of the Chuen on VII iii 4). Muh-shuh went to Chow on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to congratulate the court on the rebuilding of the wall. The king admired his courteous deportment, and gave him a great carriage.'

The floods mentioned in par 6 had extended to the capital, and the wall of the king's city had been thrown down. Ts'e had rebuilt it, wishing, in its differences with Tsin, to conciliate the king's favour. The critics observe that this was the first mission which S'ang had sent to the court, though he had been 5 times to Tsin, since his accession, and been 13 times present at meetings of the States.

Par 13 There was a 饑 twice in the time of duke Seuen,—see VII x 18, xv 10. Here we have the record of a great *ke*. Kuh-leang says here — 'When one of the [five] grains does not ripen, there is said to be a *k'een* (慳, a deficiency), when two, a *ke* (饑), when three, a *kin* (饑), when four, a *k'ang* (康), when the

whole five, a great *ts'ui* (侵), or a great *ku*. In a great *ts'ui* the rules were that the king should not have two dishes at once, nor plaster his towers and terraces; that he should discontinue his archery feasts, and leave the road in the archery ground uncared for; that different offices should be mal + ined, but nothing done in them; and that the Spirits should be prayed to, but no sacrifices offered.

According to the rules of *ku* *ts'ui*, duke Szang should have been prepared for such a season with the accumulations of eight years' superabundance; but it is assumed to have come on the State without any such provision for it.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative:— The marquis of Tsai had appointed a favourite, called Ch'ing Ch'ing, to be assistant-commander of the third army. When Kung

sun Hwuy the messenger of Ch'ing, was at Tsai on a friendly mission, Ch'ing Ch'ing asked him, saying "I venture to inquire what is the meaning of descending the steps [to meet a guest]? Tze-yu (Hwuy) was not able to reply but on his return he told Jen ming of the circumstance. Jen-ming said, "He is going to die, or he is going to become a fugitive. Men of high rank know to be apprehensive; being apprehensive, they think of showing humility; and so there are those steps. They are simply emblematic of condescending to others: what is there to be asked about them? To desire to descend, when one has ascended high, is the part of a wise man. Ch'ing Ch'ing is not capable of it. Is he to be banished for something? Or if not, is he out of his mind with some perplexity and feeling the sorrow of approaching death?""]

*Twenty fifth year*

十	九	八	六	五	四	三	二
冬	楚	公	秋	八月	鄭	公會	鄆
有	屈	卒	八月	己巳	公孫	侯	有
月	建	自	己巳	舍	宋	宋	五年
哭	帥	會	諸	之	公	公	春
了	師	衛	侯	帥	衛	齊	齊
遏	滅	侯	同	師	侯	崔	杼
伐	舒	入	盟	入	鄭	杼	帥
楚	鳩	夷	車	陳	伯	弑	師
門		儀	斤		曹	其	伐
巢					伯	君	我
卒					呂	光	比

左傳曰：十五年春，齊崔杼帥師伐我北鄙，以報孝伯之師也。公患之，使告於晉。孟公綽曰：崔子將有人志，不在病我，必速歸。何患焉？其來也不寇，使民不嚴，異於他日。齊師徒歸。

齊棠公之妻，東郭偃之姊也。東郭偃，臣崔武了，棠公死，偃御武了以弔焉。見棠姜而失之，使偃取之。偃曰：男女辨姓，今君出自丁，臣出自桓，不可。武了絃之，遇困之人過，史皆曰：吉。示陳文了，文了曰：人從風，風隕，妻不可娶也。日其繇，困于石，據于蒺藜，入其宮，不見其妻，凶。困于石，往不濟也。據于蒺藜，所恃傷也。入其宮，不見其妻，凶，無所歸也。崔了曰：嫫也，何害？先夫當之矣。遂取之。莊公通焉，驟如崔氏，以崔了之冠賜人。侍者曰：不可。公曰：不爲崔了，其無冠乎？崔了因是，又以其閒伐晉也，曰：晉必將報，欲弑公以說於晉，而不獲間。公鞭侍人賈舉，而又近之，乃爲崔了閒公。夏五月，莒爲日之役故，莒子朝於齊，甲戌，饗諸北郭。崔了稱疾，不視事。乙亥，公問崔子，遂從姜氏。姜入於室，與崔了自側戶出，公拊楹而歌。侍人賈舉，什衆從者而入，閉門，叩興，公登臺而請弗許，請盟，弗許，請自刃於廟，弗許，皆曰：君之臣杼疾病，不能聽命，近於公宮，陪臣丁橄有淫者，不知一命。公踰牆，又射之，中股，反隊，遂弑之。賈舉、州綽、邴師、公孫敖封具，鐸父、襄伊、偃坪皆死。祝佗父祭於高唐，不復命，不詭介而死於崔氏。申蒯侍漁者，退謂其宰曰：爾以帑免，我將死。其宰曰：免是反了之義也，與之皆死。崔氏殺驪茂於平陰，晏了立於崔氏之門外。其人曰：死乎？曰：獨吾君也乎哉？吾死也。曰：行乎？曰：吾罪也乎哉？吾死也。曰：歸乎？曰：君死安歸？君民者，豈以陵民？社稷是主。臣君者，豈爲其口實？社稷是食。故君爲社稷死，則死之；爲社稷亡，則亡之。若爲己死，而爲己亡，非其私暱，誰敢任之？且人有君而弑之，吾焉得死之，而焉得亡之？將庸何歸？門啟而入，枕尸股而哭，踊而出。人謂崔了，必殺之。崔了曰：民之望也，舍之得民。盧蒲癸介晉，一何介昌。叔孫宣伯之在齊也，叔孫還納其女於靈公，嬖生景公。丁丑，崔杼立而相之，慶封爲左相，盟國人於大宮。曰：所不與崔慶者，晏了仰人歎曰：嬰所不唯忠於君利社稷者，是與。有如上帝，乃歆。辛巳，公與人大，及昌了盟。大史書曰：崔杼

弑其君，崔子殺之，其弟嗣書而死者二人，其弟又書，乃舍之。南史氏聞犬史盡死，執簡以往，聞既書矣，乃還問丘嬰以帷縛其妻而戰之，與申鮮虞乘而出，鮮虞推而下之，曰：「君昏，不能匡危，不能救死，不能死，而知匿其醜，其離納之行及奔中，將舍嬰曰：『崔慶其追我。』」鮮虞曰：「一與一，誰能懼我？遂舍枕轡而寢，食馬而食，駕而行，出奔中，謂嬰曰：『速驅之。』」崔慶之衆不可當也，遂來奔。崔氏側莊公於北郭丁亥，葬諸士孫之里，四嬰不驛下車七乘，不以兵甲。

晉侯濟自泮，會于夷儀，伐齊，以報朝歌之役。齊人以莊公說，使隰鉏請成，慶封如師，男女以班，賂晉侯以宗器。樂器自六正五吏三十帥三軍之大夫百官之正長師旅及處守者皆有賂。晉侯許之，使叔向告於諸侯。公使子服惠伯對曰：「君舍有罪，以靖小國，君之惠也。」寡君聞命矣。

○晉侯使魏舒、宛馭逆衛侯，將使衛與之夷儀。崔子止其帑，以求五鹿。

初，陳侯會楚子伐鄭，當陳隧者井，埋木刊，鄭人怨之。六月，鄭子展子產帥車七百乘伐陳，宵突陳城，遂入之。陳侯扶其犬子偃師奔墓，遇司馬桓子曰：「賊余曰：『將巡城，遇買獲，載其母妻下之。』」而授公車。公曰：「舍而毋辭。」曰：「不祥與其妻扶其母，以奔墓，亦免于展命，師無入公宮，與子產親御諸門。」陳侯使司馬桓子賂以宗器，陳侯免，擁社使其衆男女別而繫以待於朝。子展執紼而見，再拜稽首承飲而進。獻子夷入數俘而出，視祓社，司徒致民，司馬致節，司空致地，乃還。

秋七月己巳，同盟于重丘，齊成故也。

○趙文子爲政，令薄諸侯之幣，而重其禮。穆叔見之，謂穆叔曰：「自今以往，兵其少弭矣。」齊崔慶新得政，將求善於諸侯，武也。知楚令尹若敬行其禮，道之以文辭，以靖諸侯，兵可以弭。衛獻公入于夷儀。



①楚子以滅舒鳩賞子木辭曰先大夫薳子之功也以與薳掩

②晉程鄭卒子產始知然明問爲政焉對曰視民如子見不仁者誅之如鷹鷂之逐鳥雀也子產喜以語子犬叔且曰他日吾見蔑之面而已今吾見其心矣子犬叔問政於子產子產曰政如農功日夜思之思其始而成其終朝夕而行之行無越思如農之有畔其過鮮矣

③衛獻公自夷儀使與甯喜言甯喜許之犬叔文子聞之曰烏乎詩所謂我躬不說皇恤我後者甯子可謂不恤其後矣將可乎哉殆必不可君子之行思其終也思其復也書曰慎始而敬終終以不困詩曰夙夜匪解以事一人今甯子視君不如奕棋其何以免乎奕者舉棋不定不勝其耦而況置君而弗定乎必不免矣九世之卿族一舉而滅之可哀也哉

④會于夷儀之歲齊人城郊其五月秦晉爲成晉韓起如秦蒞盟秦伯車如晉蒞盟成而不結

- XXV 1 In the [dukes] twenty fifth year in spring, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and attacked our northern borders.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih hao, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e murdered his ruler Kwang
- 3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e.
- 4 In the sixth month, on Jin tsze, Kung-sun Shay-che of Ch'ing led a force, and entered [the capital of] Ch'in
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-sze, the States made a covenant together in Ch'ung k'üw
- 6 The duke arrived from the meeting
- 7 The marquis of Wei entered into E-e
- 8 K'ueh K'een of Ts'oo led a force, and extinguished Shoo-k'üw
- 9 In winter, Kung sun H'ea of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Ch'in
- 10 In the twelfth month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou

Par 1 The Chuen says:— This was in retaliation for the expedition of M'ang H'eaou pih (See par 2 of last year). The duke was distressed about it, and [was going to] send information to Tsin, when M'ang Kung-ch'oh said to him, "Ts'uy tze has a greater object in his mind. He is not set on troubling us; he is

sure to return back soon—why need you be distressed? His coming this time is without injuring us, and he does not treat the people with cruelty. It is very different from other invasions." The army of Ts'e turned empty handed.

Par 2 The Chuen says — 'The wife of the commandant of Tang of Ts'e was an elder sister of Fung-kwoh Yen, who was a minister of Ts'uy Woo-tsze. When the commandant died, Yen drove Woo-tsze [to his house] to offer his condolences. Woo-tsze then saw Tang K'ang (the wife of the commandant), and, admiring her beauty, wished Yen to give her to him for his wife. Yen said, "Husband and wife should be of different surnames. You are descended from [duke] Ting, and I from [duke] Hwan, the thing cannot be." Woo-tsze consulted the milfoil about it, and got the diagram K'w'än (䷗, 困), which then became the diagram

Ta-kwo (䷗, 人過), which the diviners all said was fortunate. He showed it to Ch'in W'än-tsze, but he said, "The [symbol for] a man [in K'w'än] is displaced by that for wind [in Ta-kwo]. Wind overthrows things. The woman ought not to be married. And moreover, [upon K'w'än] it is said, 'Distressed by rocks, holding to brambles, he enters his palace and does not see his wife. It is evil (see the Yih, on the third line of K'w'än)' 'Distressed by rocks,'—in vain does one attempt to go forward. 'Holding by brambles,'—that in which trust is placed wounds. 'He enters his palace and does not see his wife, it is evil'—there is nowhere to turn to." Ts'uy-tsze replied, "She is a widow,—what does all this matter? Her former husband bore the brunt of it." So he married her. Afterwards duke Chwang had an intrigue with her, and constantly went to Ts'uy's house. [On one occasion] he took Ts'uy's hat and gave it to another person, and when his attendants said that he should not do so, he remarked, 'Although he be not Ts'uy-tsze, should he therefore be without a hat?'

'Ts'uy-tsze [was enraged] by these things, and because the duke took occasion [of its troubles] to invade I-sin, thinking that I-sin would be sure to retaliate, he wished to murder the duke in order to please that State. He did not, however, find an opportunity, till the duke had whipt one of his attendants, called K'ea Keu, whom notwithstanding he kept near him. This man then watched the duke for Ts'uy-tsze.

'In summer, in the 5th month, on account of the affair at Ts'eu yu (See on xxiii 13) the viscount of Keu came to the court of Ts'e, and on Kea-seuh the duke entertained him in the north suburbs. Ts'uy-tsze gave out that he was ill, and did not go to see the affair. Next day the duke went to ask for him, and went after the lady K'ang, who entered into a chamber, and passed out of it by a side door along with Ts'uy-tsze, while the duke patted a pillar and sang [In the meantime], his attendant Kea Keu stopped all the duke's followers, entered [the house himself] and shut the door. Men-at-arms made their appearance, and the duke, ascending a tower, begged them to let him off. They would not do so, and he then begged to make a covenant, but neither would they agree to this. He begged [finally] to be allowed to kill himself in the ancestral temple, but they again declined, all saying, "Your lordship's servant Ch'oo is very ill, and cannot receive your commands. And this is near the duke's palace. We are watchmen, [and have to take] an adulterer. We can know nothing of two commands." The duke then attempted to get over a wall, when

they shot and wounded him in the thigh, and as he fell backwards, they murdered him. K'ea Keu, Chow Ch'oh, Ping Sze Kung-sun Gaou, Fung Keu, Toh Foo, Seang E, and Leu Yin, all died at the same time.

'The priest T'o-foo had been sacrificing in Kaou-t'ang, and when he came to report the execution of his commission, he was killed at Ts'uy's house, before he could take off his cap. Shin Kwae should have been superintending the fishermen, but he retired [from that duty], and said to his steward, "You can make your escape with your family. I will die [here]." The steward replied, "If I made my escape, I should be acting contrary to your righteous course." So he went with him, and they both died. Ts'uy-tsze also put to death Tsung M'eh in Ping-yin.

'Gan-tsze stood outside the gate of Ts'uy's house. His people said to him, "Will you die?" "Was he my ruler only?" replied he. "Why should I die?" "Will you leave then?" "Is his death my crime? Why should I flee?" "Will you [now] go back to your house?" "Our ruler is dead. Where should I go back to? Is it the business of the ruler of the people to merely be above them? The altars of the State should be his chief care. Is it the business of the minister of a ruler merely to be concerned about his support? The nourishment of the altars should be his object. Therefore when a ruler dies or goes into exile for the altars, the minister should die or go into exile with him. If he die or go into exile for his seeking his own ends, who, excepting his private associates, would presume to bear the consequences with him? Moreover, when another man murders his ruler, how can I die with him? how can I go into exile with him? of what use would it be for me to return home?" When the gate was opened, he went into the house, pillowed the corpse upon his thigh, and wept. He then rose, gave three leaps up, and went out. People advised Ts'uy-tsze to put him to death, but he said, "The people look up to him. Let him alone, and it will conciliate them."

'Loo P'oo-kwei fled to Ts'in and Wang Ho fled to Keu. After Shuh-sun S'uen-pih (Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo, see VIII xvi 13) took up his residence in Ts'e, Shuh-sun S'uen introduced his daughter to duke Ling, with whom she became a favourite, and she bore him a son, [who now became] duke King. On 'ling ch'ow, Ts'uy Ch'oo raised him to the State, and became his chief minister, King Fung ling minister of the Left. They made a covenant with the people of the State in the temple of T'ae-kung, which began, "If we do not adhere to Ts'uy and King," when Gan-tsze looking up to heaven, sighed and broke in with, "If I do not adhere to those who are faithful to the ruler and seek the good of the altars, may God witness it!" With this he smeared his lips with the blood.

'On Sin-sze, the [new] duke and the great officers made a covenant with the viscount of Keu.

'The grand historiographer wrote [in his tablets]—"Ts'uy Ch'oo murdered his ruler,"—for which Ts'uy-tsze put him to death. Two of his brothers did the same after him, and were also put to death. A third wrote the same, and was let alone. The historiographer in the south, hearing that the grand historiographer and his bro-

there had died in this way took his tablets and set out [for the court]; but learning on his way that the record was made he returned.

Len k'ew Ying wrapped up his wife in a curtain, put her into a carriage and then got into it with Shih Shen yü, and quitted the capital. Shen yü pushed the lady out of the carriage saying [to Ying], "You could not correct the ruler in his blindness, nor save him in his peril, nor die with him in his death, and yet you know how to conceal your wife here:—who will receive you?" Coming to a narrow pass, they thought of resting in it, but Ying said, "T'ai yü and K'ing will be pursuing us! The other replied, "Here it will be one to one. Who can frighten us?" They rested accordingly and [Shih] slept with his head upon the reins. [In the morning], he fed their horses and then ate himself yoked their carriage, and issued from the pass. When they had done so, he said to Ying, "Now urge on the horses to their speed. The multitudes of T'ai yü and K'ing could not [there] be withstood. In this way they came flying to Loo.

T'ai yü placed the coffin of duke Chwang in the northern suburbia, and on Ying he buried it in the village of Sze-sun. There were [only] 4 planes to the carriage; travellers were not warned out of the way; and there were [but] seven inferior carriages in the procession, with only a few men at arms.

The K'ang he editors speak strongly against the conduct of *Gao Ying*, as described in the above Chuen, and condemn his principle that when a ruler dies in pursuing his own selfish ends, only his parasites can be expected to die with him. They would have a blind, unreasoning loyalty override every other consideration of duty.

Par 3. E-o;—see the 8th par of last year. The object of this meeting was to arrange for the invasion of T'ai; but it was prevented in the manner described in the Chuen:—The marquises of Tsin crossed the Huan, and assembled the States at E-o [intending] to invade T'ai in retaliation for the campaign of Chao ko (See on xliii. 8). The people of T'ai, however, wished to please Tsai by [the death of] duke Chwang, and sent Beth T'ao to beg for peace. K'ing Fung [also] went to the army [of Tsin], with rows of men and women, and bribed the marquises with vessels from the ancestral temple and instruments of music. The six commanders [of Tsin's armies] with the five [civil] officers and the thirty leaders, the great officers of the three armies, the superintendents of the different departments, and the multitude of officers, and those who had remained at home in charge of the State, all received gifts. The marquises granted peace and sent Shih-liang to inform the princes that he had done so. The duke [of Loo] sent Tze-fuh H. yü yü to reply, "That your lordship thus pardons the guilty in order to give rest to our small States, is your kindness. I have heard your command."

[The Chuen appends here:—The marquises of Tsin sent Wei Shao and Yuen Moh to meet the marquises of Wei (Who was a refugee in T'ai; see xiv 4), intending to make Wei give him E-o. T'ai yü, however, detained the marquises family as a means of living for Woo-luh [from Wei].]

Par 4. The Chuen says—Before this, the marquises of Ch'in had joined the viscount of T'ao in invading Ch'ing (1st 9 of last year), when the army of Ch'in had closed up the wells and cut down the trees along the ways by which they passed. The people of Ch'ing resented this conduct, and [now], in the 6th month, Tze-chen and Tze-ch'an invaded Ch'in with a force of 700 chariots, dug through the wall [of the capital] in the night time and entered it. The marquises of Ch'in fled with his eldest son, Yen-sze to the tombs. Meeting with the minister of War Hwan tze [on the way], he asked him to take them in his carriage, but he replied that he was in pecking the wall. [By and by] they met with K'ia Hwoh, who was in a carriage with his mother and wife but he put them down, and gave the carriage to the marquises. "You may leave your mother," said the marquises; but Hwoh declined doing so, saying that it would not be auspicious. He and his wife then supported his mother fled to the tombs, and made their escape.

Tze-chen ordered the army not to enter the palace and took post himself with Tze-ch'an to keep the gate of it. The marquises made the minister of War Hwan tze present to them the vessels of the ancestral temple while he himself in mourning and carrying the tablet from the altar of the land caused a multitude of the men and women in separate ranks, and bound, to wait with him in the court [for their victors]. Tze-chen then was introduced to him, carrying a cord in his hand, bowed to him twice with his head to the ground and went forward, holding a cup of spirits, which he presented to him. Tze-mei (Tze-ch'an) entered, declared the number of his prisoners, and went out. [The two commanders] then made the [principal] priest sprinkle the altar of the earth, restored to the minister of Instruction [his lists of] the people to the minister of War his seal, and to the minister of Works [his charts of] the ground; and returned to Ch'ing.

K'ao K'ang well remarks, that of all the entrances into cities or States mentioned in the Ch'in T'ai yü there is none where the hostilities were conducted so courteously as by Tze-chen and Tze-ch'an.

Par 5. Too Yu also says that there must be an error in the month here, for the day 己巳 must have been the 11th of the 7th month. The covenanting States must be those in par 3. Ch'ung k'ew was in T'ai, most probably in the dia. of Liao shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. Tso-sho says the covenant was made with reference to the peace which had been granted to T'ai.

[The Chuen appends here:—Chao Wan-tze was [now] chief minister [of Tsin] and gave orders to make the offerings required from the States lighter and to behave to them with greater courtesy. Muh-shuh had an interview with him, when he said "Hostile movements may henceforth be laid recourse to some what less." T'ai yü and K'ing of T'ai have come [but] recently into the government of that State, and will wish to cultivate good relations with the rest of the States. I (Woo—武—was Chao's

name) know the chief minister of Ts'oo. If I behave with respectful courtesy to him, and set him the example of polite communications, in order to give repose to the States, hostile measures may be obviated"]

Par 7 This was duke Heen (獻公, 衞), who had been driven from Wei in Seang's 14th year. E-e had been the capital of Hing, and on the extinction of that State by Wei, in the 25th year of duke He, it had of course belonged to it. The purpose of the marquis of Tsin, mentioned in the Chuen appended to par 3, was now carried out. The Ch'ün Ts'ew at this point recognizes "two marquises" of Wei, the one in par 5 being P'ëaou (鄆), who had been raised to the State on the expulsion of K'an.

Par 8 Shoo-këw,—see on VII vii 7. It was the last of the Shoo States, which Ts'oo allowed to maintain a half sort of independence. The extinction of it here is the sequel of the narrative in the Chuen on par 9 of last year.—Wei Tsze-p'ing of Ts'oo having died, K'ëuh Keen became chief minister [in his room], with K'ëuh Tang as the Moh-gaou. The people of Shoo-këw in the end revolted, and the chief minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-muh [K'ëuh Keen], proceeded to attack it. When he got to Le-shung a body of men from Woo came to its assistance. Tsze-muh made a hurried march with the army of the right, and got before the rest of it to the city, but Tsze-këang, Seih Hwan, Tsze-tseeh, Tsze-ping, and Tsze-yu, withdrew with the army of the left. The men of Woo thus occupied a position between the two bodies for seven days. Tsze-këang said [to Tsze-muh], "Ere long it will be raining, and we shall be reduced to such a straitness of ground, that we must be made prisoners. Our best plan is to fight soon. Allow us with our troops here to make a feint, while you have your army drawn up in order to wait for the result. If we are successful, you will advance. If we have to fly, you will still see what is best to be done. In this way we can escape, otherwise, we are sure to fall prisoners to Woo." Tsze-muh agreed to the plan, and the five men with their soldiers made an onset upon the troops of Woo, which fled. Going up a hill to look, however, and seeing that the [main] army of Ts'oo was not supporting their pursuers, they turned and drove those before them, till they approached their army. Then the fugitives were joined by the rest of the army that had been prepared for the occasion, and the troops of Woo received a great defeat. The siege of Shoo-këw was then prosecuted, the people dispersed, and in the 8th month, Ts'oo extinguished the State.

Par 9 For 臾 Kung-yang has 臾. The Chuen says—Tsze ch'an of Ch'ing [went] to Tsin to report the victory [over Ch'ün], and wore for the occasion his military attire. An officer (管人, see below) asked what had been the offence of Ch'ün, when Tsze-ch'an replied, "In former times, Oh-foo of Yu was chief potter to Chow, and with his art did service to our first king [Woo], who, in consequence of the profit which he derived from him in the supply of vessels, and his being the descendant of the spiritual and intelligent [Shun], gave his own eldest daughter, T'ae-ki, in marriage to [his son], duke

Hoo, and invested him with Ch'ün, thus completing the number of the 'three honoured States'. Thus the princes of Ch'ün originated with our Chow, and to the present time their dependence has been on it. In the troubles which occurred [after the death of] duke Hwan (see on II v 1, 6, vi 4) the people of Ts'ae wanted to raise to the State a prince of Ch'ün whose mother was a daughter of Ts'ae, when our ruler duke Chwang placed Woo-foo in the marquise. The people of Ts'ae killed him, and then we and they appointed and maintained duke Le. The succeeding dukes, Chwang and Seuen, both owed their dignity to us. In the troubles occasioned by the Hwa family (see VII x 8, 15), duke Ch'ing was obliged to flee, but he owed his entrance [again] into his State to us, as [your] ruler knows.

"Now Ch'ün has forgotten its great obligations to Chow, and makes no account of our great kindness to it, and has cast away [all consideration of] the affinity between us. Relying on the multitudes of Ts'oo, it has behaved with a cruel insolence to our State, with a determination which could not have been anticipated. On this account we made last year the announcement to you on the subject (See the Chuen after par 1), and before we had received your explicit commands, [Ch'ün and Ts'oo had invaded us, and] attacked our east gate. The troops of Ch'ün stopped up the wells and cut down the trees along the roads by which they marched. We were greatly afraid in the consciousness that we were not strong, and were ashamed of the disgrace thus done to T'ae-ke. But Heaven moved our breasts and put it into our hearts, and Ch'ün was made to acknowledge its offence, and surrender itself to us. And now we presume to report to you our success."

"The officer of Tsin [further] asked why they encroached upon a small State. Tsze-ch'an replied, "It was the command of the former kings, that, wherever there was guilt, it should in every case be punished. And moreover, the domain of the son of Heaven was fixed at 1000 *le* square, and that of the States at 100 *le*, and less according to a scale. But your great State now contains several times the amount of the king's domain. If you did not encroach upon small States, how have you reached this extent of territory?"

"The officer asked once more "Why do you appear in martial attire?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "Our former rulers, Woo and Chwang were high ministers of the kings P'ing and Hwan. After the battle of Shung-pih (In He's 28th year), [your] duke Wän issued his orders that princes should all resume their old offices, and [specially] charged our duke Wän in martial attire to help the king, and thereon he reported [to the court] the victory over Ts'oo. [I am now in that attire], because I do not dare to neglect the king's command." Sze Chwang-pih was not able to ask any more questions, and reported what had passed to Chaou Wän-tse, who said, "His speeches are reasonable. To go against them would be inauspicious," and accordingly he received Tsze-ch'an.

"In winter, in the 10th month, Tsze-ch'en attended the earl of Ch'ing to Tsin to acknowledge its acceptance of his service against Ch'ün. Tsze-se again invaded Ch'ün, when the two States made peace.

Chung ne said, "An ancient book says, Words are to give adequate expression to one's idea; and composition, to give adequate power to the words. Without words, who would know one's thoughts; without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far. T'ien was the leading State and but for T'ao-ch'ian's well-composed speeches would not have acknowledged Ch'ing's entrance into Ch'in as good service. T'ao-ch'ian took great pains with his speeches."

The notice in the text of the invasion of Ch'in, after what is told in par. 4 is strange and Maou ventures to say that this was not properly an invasion, but an expedition to make a covenant of peace.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about affairs in Ts'oo — Wei Yen was made [grand] marshal of Ts'oo, and T'ao-muh (The chief minister) commissioned him to regulate the levies [of the State], and make a schedule of its weapons and buff-coats. On K'eh woo, Wei Yen set about describing the [different] lands; measuring the forests; defining the meeres; marking out the higher lands and the downs; distinguishing the poor and salt tracts; enumerating the boundaries of flooded districts; raising small banks on the plains between dykes; assigning the wet low grounds for pasturage; dividing the wide rich plains into *tsangs* (see Mencius, III.1. ch. III. 13); determining the levies according to the income of each; assigning the [contribution of] carriages and of horses; and of footmen; with the number of buff-coats and shields. When he had completed his task he delivered the result to T'ao-muh. All this was proper.]

Par. 10. For 門 Kung and Kuh have 門 Ch'ao, — see VI.11.4. The Chuen says: — Choo-fan (The viscount of Woo), now invaded Ts'oo in return for his naval expedition (xxiv. 8), and attacked the gate of Ch'ao. N'ew Shih of that place said, "The king of Woo is daring and reckless. If we open the gate he will attack it himself and I shall have an opportunity to shoot him dead. Let him once die, and our boundaries will have a little rest. His advice was taken. The viscount attacked the gate, and N'ew Shih shot him from behind a low wall, so that he died."

This is the first 攻 use in the text of 門 as a verb signifying to attack a gate (人攻門曰門). The character has often occurred in the Chuen in this sense.

[We have now four narratives in the Chuen: — 1st. The viscount of Ts'oo wanted to reward T'ao-muh on account of his extinction of Shoo-k'iu but that minister refused the reward saying "It was all the merit of our late great officer Wei tze. The reward was given [accordingly] to Wei Yen.

2d. Ch'ing Ch'ing of Tsin died, and T'ao-ch'ian then learned for the first time [what] Jen-ming [had said about him] (See the Chuen

at the end of last year). He therefore now consulted him about the practice of government, and Jen-ming replied, "The people should be looked on as one's children; and when a bad man is seen, he should be taken off as a hawk pursues a sparrow." T'ao-ch'ian, full of joy repeated his words to T'ao t'ao-shuh, saying, "Formerly I had seen only M'eh's (Jen-ming's name) face but now I see his heart." T'ao-shuh then asked T'ao-ch'ian about government and got the reply "Government is like the work of husbandry. You must think of it day and night, thinking of what is to be done first, and how the end is to be accomplished. Then labour at it morning and evening; but in what you do, do not go beyond what you have thought over; — just as the husbandmen keep within their dividing banks. In this way you will commit few errors."

3d. Duke H'een of Wei opened a communication from E-e with Ning H'e, who agreed to his proposals (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year). When T'ao-shuh Wan tze heard of it, he said "Ah! as it is said in the ode (Sho, II. v. ode III. 8),

My pe san is rejected;

Of what use is it to think of subsequent things?"

Ning tze may be said not to think of the future. Is what he is contemplating to be done? It cannot be done. The superior man, when he does anything thinks of what will be the end of it and whether it can be repeated. It is said in the Shoo, (V. xvii. 6), Be careful of the beginning and ever at of the end; then in the end you will have no distress. The ode (Sho, III. iii. ode VI. 4) says,

Never idle, day nor night,

In the service of the one man.

Ning tze is now dealing with his ruler not so carefully as if he were playing at chess. How is it possible for him to escape disaster? If a chess-player lifts his man without a definite object, he will not conquer his opponent; how much more must this be the case when one would put a ruler down without a definite object! He is sure not to escape ruin. Alas that by one movement a family whose heads have been ministers for 9 generations should be extinguished!

4th. In the year of the meeting at E-e (This belongs to the 21th year), the people of T'ao walked K'eh (for the king). In the 8th month, T'ain and Tain made a peace, Han k'o of Tain going to T' in to make a covenant, and Pih keu of T'ain going to Tain to make one. The peace thus concluded however was not firmly knit.]

Twenty-sixth year

一  
章  
十有六年春王二月辛卯衛甯

二  
章  
弒其君剽

三  
章  
衛孫林父人丁戚以叛

四  
章  
甲午衛侯衎復歸丁衛

五  
章  
夏晉侯使荀吳來聘公會晉人

六  
章  
鄭良霄宋人曹人丁溜淵

七  
章  
秋宋公殺其世子痤晉人執衛

八  
章  
甯喜八月壬午許男甯卒丁楚

九  
章  
冬楚子蔡侯陳侯伐鄭

十  
章  
葬司馬公

○左傳曰二十六年春秦伯之弟鍼如晉修成叔向命召行人了員行人了朱曰朱也當御一叔向不應了朱怒曰班爵同何以黜朱於朝撫劍從之叔向曰秦晉不和久矣今日之事幸而集晉國賴之不集軍暴骨了員道一國之口無私了常易之矣以事君者吾所能御也拂衣從之人救之平公曰晉其庶乎吾臣之所爭者人師曠曰公室懼卑臣不心競而力爭不務德而爭善私欲已侈能無卑乎衛獻公使了鮮爲復辭敬姬強命之對曰君無信臣懼不免敬姬曰雖然以吾故也許諾初獻公使與甯喜言甯喜曰必了鮮不然必敗故公使了鮮了鮮不獲命於敬姬以公命與甯喜言曰苟及政山甯氏祭則寡人甯喜告遽伯氏伯氏曰緩不得聞君之出敢聞其入遂行從近關出告右宰穀右宰穀曰不可獲罪於兩君人下誰

畜之悼子曰：吾受命於先人，不可以貳殺。曰：我請使焉而觀之。遂見公於夷儀。反曰：君淹恤在外十二年矣，而無憂色，亦無寬言。猶夫人也。若不已死，無日矣。悼子曰：鮮在右宰穀曰：子鮮在何益多而能亡於我？何爲悼子曰：雖然，弗可以已。孫文子在戚孫嘉聘於齊，孫襄居守。二月庚寅，甯喜右宰穀伐孫氏，不克。伯國傷甯子出，舍於郊。伯國死，孫氏夜哭。國人召甯子，甯子復攻孫氏，克之。辛卯，殺子叔及犬子。角書曰：甯喜弑其君，剽言罪之在甯氏也。

孫林父以戚如晉，書曰：入于戚以叛。罪孫氏也。臣之祿君實有之，義則進，否則奉身而退，專祿以周旋，戮也。甲午，衛侯入。書曰：復歸國納之也。大夫逆於寬者，執其手而與之言，道逆者自車揖之，逆於門者，頷之而已。公至，使讀犬叔文子曰：寡人淹恤在外，二三子皆使寡人朝夕問衛國之言。吾子獨不在，寡人古人有言曰：非所怨勿怨，寡人怨矣。對曰：臣知罪矣。臣不佞，不能負羈縻，以從扞牧圉臣之罪一也。有出者，有居者，臣不能貳，通外內之言以事君，臣之罪二也。有二罪，敢忘其死，乃行從近，關出公使止之。

○衛人侵戚，東鄙孫氏愬於晉。晉戍牙氏殖綽伐牙氏，殺晉戍三百人。孫蒯追之，弗敢擊。文子曰：厲之不如遂從衛師，敗之。圍雍鉏，獲殖綽，復愬於晉。

○鄭伯賁入陳之功三月甲寅朔享子展，賜之先路三命之服，先八邑。賜子產次路再命之服，先六邑。子產辭邑曰：自上以下，隆殺以兩，禮也。臣之位，在四且子展之功也。臣不敢及，賞禮請辭。邑公固予之，乃受三邑。公孫揮曰：子產其將知政矣，讓不失禮。

晉人爲孫氏故，召諸侯，將以討衛也。夏，中行偃子來聘，召公也。

○楚子秦人侵吳及雩婁，聞吳有備而還。遂侵鄧，五月至於城麇。鄭皇頡戍之，出與楚師戰，敗，穿封戌囚皇頡。公子圍與之爭之，正於伯州犂。伯州犂曰：請問於囚，乃立囚。伯州犂曰：所爭，君子也，其何才知土？其手曰：夫子

爲了了園。寡君之貴介弟也。下其手曰：此了爲穿封戌，方城外之縣尹也。誰獲了？因曰：頡遇了了弱焉。戍怒，抽戈逐了了園，弗及。楚人以皇頡歸，印革父與皇頡成城，縻楚人囚之，以獻於秦。鄭人取貨於印氏以請之。了人叔爲令止，以爲請了產，曰：不獲受楚之功，而取貨於鄭，不可謂國。秦不其然？若曰：拜君之勤鄭國，微君之患楚師，其猶在敝邑之城下，其可弗從？遂行。秦人不了，更幣從了產而後獲之。

六月，公會晉趙武、宋向戌、鄭良霄、曹人丁澮淵，以討衛。疆城田，取衛西鄙懿氏六十，以與孫氏。趙武不書，尊公也。向戌不書，後也。鄭先宋，不失所也。於是衛侯會之，晉人執甯喜，北宮遺使攻齊，以先歸。衛侯如晉，晉人執而囚之於了弱氏。秋七月，齊侯、鄭伯爲衛侯故如晉，晉侯兼享之。晉侯賦嘉樂，國景了相齊侯，賦蓼蕭，了展相鄭伯，賦緇衣。叔向命晉侯拜。君曰：寡君敢拜齊君之安我先君之宗祧也，敢拜鄭君之不貳也。國了使晏平仲私於叔向曰：晉君宣其明德於諸侯，恤其患而補其闕，止其違而治其煩，所以爲盟也。今爲臣執君，若之何？叔向告趙文了，以告晉侯。晉侯曰：衛侯之罪，使叔向告一君，國了賦轡之柔矣。了展賦將仲了兮，晉侯乃許歸衛侯。叔向曰：鄭七穆，平氏其後亡者也。了展儉而壹。

初，宋芮司徒牛了，亦而毛，棄諸堤下。共姬之妾取以入，名之曰采，長而美。平公入夕，共姬與之食，公見采也，而視之，見姬納諸御，嬖牛佐，忠而婉。了瘁入而很，合左師畏而惡之。寺人患牆伊戾爲人了內師而無寵，秋楚客聘於晉，過宋，了知之，請野亨之。公使往，伊戾請從之。公曰：夫不惡矣乎？對曰：小人之事君了也，忠之不敢遠，好之不敢近，敬以待命，敢有貳心乎？縱有具其外，莫具其內，臣請往也。遣之。了則欲用牲，加書徵之，而騁告公曰：了將爲亂，既與楚客盟矣。公曰：爲我了，又何求？對曰：欲速。公使視之，則信有焉。問諸大人，與左師，則皆曰：固聞之。公囚了，了曰：唯佐也能免我，召而使請。曰：日中不來，吾知死矣。左師聞之，聒而與之語。過期，乃縊而死。佐爲了了。公徐聞其無罪也，乃烹伊戾。左師見大人之步馬者，問之，對曰：君大人氏也。左師曰：誰爲



君夫人余胡弗知國人歸以告夫人，夫人使饋之錦與馬，先之以玉，曰：「君之妾棄使某獻，左師敗命曰：君夫人而後再拜稽首受之。」

○鄭伯歸自晉，使子西如晉聘，辭曰：「寡君來煩執事，懼不免於戾，使夏謝不敏。」君子曰：「善事大國。」

○初，楚伍參與蔡犬師子朝友其子伍舉與聲子相善也。伍舉娶於王子牟，王子牟爲申公而亡。楚人曰：「伍舉實送之。」伍舉奔鄭，將遂奔晉。聲子將如晉，遇之於鄭郊，班荆相與食，而言復故。聲子曰：「子行也，吾必復子。」及宋，向戌將平晉楚，聲子通便於晉，還如楚，令尹子木與之語，問晉故焉。且曰：「晉大夫與楚孰賢？」對曰：「晉卿不如楚，其大夫則賢，皆卿材也。如杞梓皮革，自楚往也。雖楚有材，晉實用之。」子木曰：「夫獨無族姻乎？」對曰：「雖有而用楚材實多，歸生聞之，善爲國者賞不僭而刑不濫。賞僭則懼及淫人，刑濫則懼及善人。若不幸而過，寧僭無濫，與其失善，寧其利淫。無善人則國從之。」詩曰：「人之云亡，邦國殄瘁。」無善人之謂也。故夏書曰：「與其殺不辜，寧失不經。」懼失善也。商頌有之曰：「不僭不濫，不敢怠皇。」命于下國，封建厥福。此湯所以獲天福也。古之治民者，勸賞而畏刑，恤民不倦。賞以春夏，刑以秋冬，是以將賞爲之加膳，加膳則飫賜，此以知其勸賞也。將刑爲之不舉，不舉則徹樂，此以知其畏刑也。夙興夜寐，朝夕臨政，此以知其恤民也。三者禮之大節也。有禮無敗，今楚多淫刑，其大夫逃死於四方，而爲之謀主以害楚國，不可救療，所謂不能也。子儀之亂，析公奔晉，晉人冀諸戎車之殿，以爲謀主，繞角之役，晉將遁矣。析公曰：「楚師輕窺，易震溺也。若多鼓鉤聲，以夜軍之，楚師必遁。」晉人從之。楚師宵潰，晉遂侵蔡，襲沈，獲其君，敗申息之師於桑隧，獲申麗而還。鄭於是不敢南面。楚失華夏，則析公之爲也。雍子之父兄，誣雍子君與大夫不善是也。雍子奔晉，晉人與之師，以爲謀主。彭城之役，晉楚遇於靡角之谷，晉將遁矣。雍子發命於軍曰：「歸老幼，反孤疾。」二人役歸，一人簡兵蒐乘，秣馬蓐食，師陳焚次。明日將戰，行歸者而逸楚囚。楚師宵潰，晉降彭城而歸諸宋，以魚石歸楚。失東夷，子辛死之，則雍子之爲也。子反與子靈爭夏姬而雍害

其事，了靈奔晉，晉人與之邢，以爲謀。扞禦北狄，通吳於晉，教吳叛楚，教之乘車射御，驅使，其了狐庸爲吳行人焉。吳於是伐巢，取駕，克棘，入州來，楚罷於奔命，至今爲患，則了靈之爲也。若敖之亂，伯賁之了賁，賁奔晉，晉人與之苗，以爲謀。鄢陵之役，楚晨陞，晉軍而陳，晉將遁矣。苗賁曰：「楚師之良，在其中軍，下族而已。」若塞井夷竈，成陳以當之，欒范易行以誘之中行，一卻必克一礪，台乃四萃於其下族，必大敗之。晉人從之，楚師人敗，十夷師燬，了反死之。鄭叛吳興，楚失諸侯，則苗賁皇之爲也。了木曰：「是皆然矣。」聲了曰：「今又有甚於此，椒舉娶於申公了平，了平得戾而亡，君人大謂椒舉，攻賁謂之懼，而奔鄭，引領南望曰：『庶幾赦余，亦弗圖也。』今在晉矣。」晉人將與之縣，以比叔向，彼若謀害楚國，豈不爲患了木懼。了諸一益其祿爵而復之，聲了使椒鳴逆之。許靈公如楚，請伐鄭，曰：「師不興，孤不歸矣。」八月，卒於楚。

楚了曰：「不伐鄭，何以求諸侯？」冬十一月，楚了伐鄭，鄭人將禦之。了產曰：「晉楚將平，諸侯將和，楚一是故昧於來，不如使逞而歸，乃易成也。」夫小人之性，毀於勇，害於禍，以足其性，而求名焉者，非國家之利也。若何從之？了展說，不禦寇。十二月，丙午，入南甲，陷其城，涉於樂氏，門於師之梁，縣門發，獲九人焉，涉於汜而歸，而後奔許靈公。

○衛人歸衛姬於晉，乃釋衛侯。君了是以知平公之失政也。

○晉韓宣了聘於周，上使請事，對曰：「晉一起，將歸時事於宮旅，無他事矣。」上聞之曰：「韓氏其昌乎？」於晉乎，辭不允售。

○齊人城邾之歲，其夏，齊烏餘以廩丘奔晉，襲衛羊角，取之，遂襲我高魚，有人雨，自其竇入，介於其庫，以登其城，克而取之，又取呂於宋。於是范宣了卒，諸侯弗能治也。及趙文了爲政，乃卒治之。文了言於晉侯曰：「晉爲盟主，諸侯或相侵也，則討而使歸其地，今烏餘之呂，皆討頰也，而貪之，是無以爲盟主也。」請歸之。公曰：「諾，孰可使也？」對曰：「肯梁帶能無用師。」晉侯使往。

- XXVI 1 In the [dukes] twenty sixth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Sin maou, Ning He of Wei murdered his ruler P'eaou
- 2 Sun Lin foo of Wei entered Ts'eh, and held it in revolt.
- 3 On Kéah woo, Kan, marquis of Wei, returned to his dignity in that State
- 4 In summer, the marquis of Ts'in sent Sün Woo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 5 The duke had a meeting with an officer of Ts'in, Lëang S'iaou of Ch'ing, an officer of Sung, and an officer of Ts'auou, in Shien yuen
- 6 In autumn, the duke of Sung put to death his heir son Tso
- 7 The people of Ts'in seized and held prisoner Ning He of Wei.
- 8 In the eighth month, on Jin woo, Ning, baron of Heu, died in Ts'oo
- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ts'ae, and the marquis of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing
- 10 There was the burial of duke Ling of Heu

[The Chuen introduces here the narrative of an occurrence in Ts'in, which probably took place in the 1st month of this year:—"This spring K'ien, a younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, went to Ts'in, to cultivate the good relations [into which the States had recently entered] (See the 4th narrative at the end of last year). Shuh hëang gave orders to call the intendants Tze-yun, when another Tze-choo, said "I ought to go in [this time]" "Thrice he said so, but Shuh-hëang gave him no answer, on which he became angry and said, "His order and rank are the same as mine. Why do you [thus] degrade me in the court? He then with his hand on his sword followed Shuh hëang, who said to him, "Ts'in and Ts'in have been in unfriendly relations for a long time. If to-day's affair be successfully concluded, it will be a matter of relief for the State. Should it not be so, the bones of our soldiers will lie on the field. Tze-yun gives the words of the two States without any private admixture of his own, while you are continually changing them. Those who serve our ruler treacherously I have to keep back. And with this he shook his robe and followed him till some parties came and separated them. Duke P'ing said, "Ts'in cannot be far from being well  $\pi$  = ed. That about which my ministers quarrel is great. The master Kwang said, "I am afraid the duke's House will be reduced low. The ministers do not contend together with their minds, but quarrel with their strength; they do not make virtue their object, but strive to be [thought] excellent. When such selfish desires are rampant, can it escape being reduced low?"

Par 1 The Chuen says:—Duke Hëen of Wei wanted to send [his brother] Tze-chen [to the capital] on the subject of his restoration, but Tze-chen declined the mission and when [their mother], King Sze, tried to force him to go, he replied, "The ruler will not keep his

word. I am afraid I shall not escape the consequences." She said, "It may be so, but go on my account, and he then agreed to go. Before this, the duke had opened a communication with Ning He, who said "Tze-chen must come here. If he do not do so, the attempt is sure to be defeated. It was on this account that the duke [now] sent Tze-chen, who, not having succeeded in getting a [contrary] command from King Sze, [went and] told Ning He the duke's message, "If I return, the government shall be in your hands, and the sacrifices in mine." Ning informed K'ia Pih yuh [of the negotiation], and that officer said, "I would not listen to the matter of the ruler's expulsion (See the Chuen on xiv 4); dare I listen to his entrance again?" and he immediately went away and left the State by the nearest gate upon the borders.

Ning then told K'ia, the administrator of the Right, who said, "Do not. You [Ning] will have been criminals in the case of two rulers. Who under heaven will bear you?" But Taou tze (He) replied, "I received a charge [to do this] from my father (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year), and I cannot swerve from it. K'ia then said "Let me go [first] to E-e and see the duke." He accordingly did so, had an interview and told He on his return. The ruler has been long in sorrow abroad, even for 12 years, but there is no sadness in his looks, nor generosity in his speech. He is the same man that he was. If you do not abandon the enterprise, the day of your death is not distant. Taou tze urged, "There is Tze-chen. And what will be the advantage of Tze-chen?" replied K'ia. At the most he will have to go into exile—what can he do for us? Taou tze replied, "Notwithstanding that, I cannot abandon the thing.

[At this time], Sun Wan-tze was in Ts'eh; and [his son] Sun K'ia was on a friendly mission to Ts'ao, leaving [only] Sun Sëang in

charge [at the capital] In the 2d month, on Käng-yin, Ning He and Kuh, administrator of the Right, made an unsuccessful attack on [the house of] the Suns, but wounded Pih-kwoh (Seang) Ning-tsze left the city and lodged [with his family] in the suburbs (To be ready for flight), but Pih-kwoh died [of his wound], and while they were lamenting during the night in his house, the people called for Ning He, when he and Kuh again attacked it, and took it On Sin-maou, [He] put to death Tsze-shuh (P'eaou, the marquis *de facto*), and his eldest son Keoh

'The words of the text, "Ning He murdered his ruler P'eaou," show how the crime belonged to Ning He'

Par 2 Lin-foo was already in Ts'eh, and did not need to enter it The par must be read as a whole, without any stop at 戚, the emphasis being on the concluding 以叛 According

to Tso, Lin-foo now also transferred his allegiance to Ts'in He says — 'Sun Lin-foo [now] went [over] to Ts'in with Ts'eh The words of the text, "entered into Ts'eh to revolt" are condemnatory of his crime The emolument of a minister (In this case derived from the revenues of Ts'eh) really belongs to the ruler When righteous relations obtain between them, the minister comes forward and discharges his duties When such relations do not obtain, he should retire with his single person If he assert a right to his emolument in order to meet his necessities, he deserves death'

Par 3 復歸, — see II xv 5, *et al* The Chuen here is a continuation of the two preceding — On Keah-woo, the marquis of Wei entered the capital The words, "returned to his dignity," intimate that it was the State which restored him (?) Of the great officers who met him at the borders, he took the hands, and spoke with them To those who met him [afterwards] on the road, he bowed, [saluting them with his hands] To those [who were waiting] at the gate, he only nodded When he arrived, he sent to reprove T'ae-shuh Wän-tsze, saying, "While I have been [thus] long in sorrow outside, one and another officer let me hear, morning and evening, what was passing in Wei It was only you who were not for me The ancients had a saying, 'Do not be angry where you ought not to be angry' I have reason to be angry [with you]" Wän-tsze replied, "I know my offences In my incompetency I was not able to carry a halter and tether, and follow you to play the part of a herd and a groom, — this is my first offence There were you who had left the State, and there was he who was in it, I was not able to play a double part, and keep up a communication between the outside and inside of the State, — this is my second offence With these two offences, I dare not forget my duty to die" He was then leaving the State by the nearest barrier-gate, when the duke sent and stopped him

[The Chuen appends here two narratives — 1st 'The people of Wei made an incursion into the eastern borders of Ts'eh, when Sun Lin-foo complained of them to Ts'in, which sent a garrison to Maou she Chih Ch'oh (He had fled from Ts'eh to Wei) attacked the place, and killed 300 of the garrison Sun Kwae pursued him, but did not dare to attack him, on which

[his father] Wän-tsze said to him, "You are not equal to that devil" In consequence of this [Kwae] resumed the pursuit, and defeated the enemy at Yu, Yung Ts'oo capturing Chih Ch'oh. [Sun tsze] again sent a complaint to Ts'in'

2d 'The earl of Ch'ing was rewarding the good service done in entering the capital of Ch'in, and in the third month, on K'eah-yin he feasted Tsze-chen, and gave him a first [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of three degrees, along with 8 cities He [also] gave Tsze-ch'an a second [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of two degrees, along with 6 towns Tsze-ch'an declined the towns, saying, "The rule is that from the highest rank downwards the amount of gifts conferred should diminish by two each rank, and my place is only the 4th The merit, moreover, belonged to Tsze-chen I dare not assume that I ought to be rewarded Allow me to decline the towns" The earl, however, pressed them upon him, and he accepted three Kung-sun Hwuy said, "Tsze-ch'an will yet administer the government [of Ch'ing], while declining [the earl's favours], he did not fail in courtesy"

Par 4 Seun Woo was a son of Seun Yen, and appears as the Chung-hang Muh-tsze (中行穆子) The Chuen says — 'The people of Ts'in, in consequence of [the complaints of] Sun Lin-foo, called out the States, intending to punish Wei This summer, Chung-hang Muh-tsze came to Loo on a friendly mission, and called the duke [to the meeting]'

[We have here the following narrative with reference to Ch'ing — 'The viscount of Ts'oo, and an officer of Ts'in, made an incursion into Woo, as far as Yu-low, but hearing that Woo was prepared for them, they returned, and proceeded to make an incursion into Ch'ing In the 5th month they arrived at Shing-keun, the garrison of which was commanded by Hwang Keoh, who went out and fought with the army of Ts'oo He was defeated, and taken prisoner, by Ch'uen-fung Seuh, with whom, however, king [Kung's] son Wei disputed the right of his possession They referred their claims to Pih Chow-le, who said "Let us ask the prisoner" Accordingly he set Hwang Keoh [before them], and said to him, "These disputants are both men of high degree, you must know which of them [is in the right]" Then holding up his hand, he said, "That gentleman is Wei, a son of our king [Kung], and the honourable brother of our ruler" Holding it down, he said, "This gentleman is Ch'uen-fung Seuh, director of the district outside our wall of defence Which of them took you?" The prisoner said, "It was when I met with the king's son that I became weak" Seuh was enraged at this, took his spear, and pursued Wei, but could not overtake him The people of Ts'oo then took Hwang Keoh back with them They had also made prisoner Yin Kin-foo, who had been associated with Hwang-keoh in guarding of the city, and him they presented to Ts'in

'The people of Ch'ing received property from Yin's family, with which to ask that he might be restored to them, and Tsze-t'ae-shuh who had the superintendence of the government-manufactories, agreed to make application for them [to Ts'in] Tsze-ch'un said to him, "You will

not get him. [T'ai] received him as a trophy of Tsao, and if it should take property for him from Ch'ing it would not deserve to be called a State. It will not do so. If you say We acknowledge your lordship's diligent service for the State of Ch'ing. If it had not been for your lordship's kindness, the army of Tsao would still have been at the foot of the wall of our capital—that will succeed. The other did not take his counsel and a messenger proceeded to Tsin, but there they would not give up [their prisoner]. Tsao-t'ao-shuh then changed the money into offerings of silk, took the counsel of Tze-ch'ian, and obtained [Kin-foo's release].

Par 3. Shen-yuen,—see xx. 2. The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, the duke had a meeting with Chao Woo of Tsin, Hsiao Shou of Sung, Lsiao Ssiao of Ch'ing and an officer of Tsao, in Shen yuen,—to [arrange for] the punishment of Wei. They defined the boundaries of the lands of Tsin, and took 60 [towns] belonging to E-eh in the western borders of Wei and gave them to the Sun. Chao Woo is not mentioned in the text,—out of honour to the duke (?) nor is Hsiao Shou,—because he arrived late. [The representative of Ch'ing] arrived before that of Sung, and so has a place before him in the list.

At this meeting the marquis of Wei [also] made his appearance, [but he was not admitted to it]. The people of Tsin seized Ning He and Phi Kung E, and sent Joo T'ao back with them to [Tsin], before doing anything else about them. The marquis of Wei then went to Tsin where he was seized, and given in charge to Siz Joh as a prisoner. In autumn, in the 7th month, the marquis of Ts'ao and the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin in the interest of the marquis of Wei. The marquis entertained them at the same time, and sang the K'ia loh (She, III. II. ode V.). Kwok King tze was in attendance on the marquis of Ts'ao, and sang the Luh siao (She, II. II. ode IX.). Tze-chien was in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing, and sang the Tze-e (She, I. vii. ode I.). Shuh hsiang instructed the marquis to acknowledge [the compliment paid by] the two princes, and then said, "My ruler ventures to thank the ruler of Ts'ao for the rest which he secures to the ancestral tablets of our former princes. He ventures also to thank the ruler of Ch'ing for his unwavering adherence."

Kwok tze made Gan Ping-chung say privately to Shuh hsiang "The ruler of Tsin displays his brilliant virtue to the States, compensating their defects,—repairing their defects, excusing their errors, and relieving their troubles. In this way he is the lord of covenants but how is it that he has now in the behalf of a subject seized the ruler?" Shuh-hsiang told this to Chao Wan-tze, who reported it to the marquis. The marquis explained to him the offence of the marquis of Wei (The slaughter of the grandson of Mao-shi; see the first narrative appended to par 3), and made Shuh-hsiang inform the two princes of it. Kwok tze on this sang the Pe che jow (A lost ode), and Tze-chien sang the T'ehang Chung tze he (She I. vii. ode II.). After this the marquis granted the return of the marquis of Wei. Shuh hsiang said, "Of the [descendants of the] seven sons of duke Muh of Ch'ing, the Han will be the last to perish. Tze-chien is moderate and single-hearted.

Par 4. K'uh hsiang has 座 for 瘞. The Chuen says:—Before this, Jui, minister of Instruction in Sung had a daughter born to him, who was so red and hairy that he made her be thrown away under a bank. A concubine belonging to the harem of Kung Ke (The duke of Sung's mother) found her and took her to the palace, where she was named K'e (Cast-away). As she grew up, she became beautiful; and one evening, when duke Ping paid the customary visit to his mother and was detained by her to supper he saw the young lady and looked at her intently. His mother in consequence introduced her to his bed. She became a favourite with him, and bore a son called Tao (左; not the Tao in the text), who was ugly but winning. [The duke's] eldest son, Tao, was beautiful, but quarrelsome. [Hsiao Shou] of Hoh, the master of the Left, was afraid of him, and hated him. The head of the eunuchs, Hwuy ts'ang E-le, was his master in the palace but had no favour with him.

This autumn, a visitor from Ts'ao, who was going on a friendly mission to Tsin, passed by [the capital of] Sung and as the prince knew him, he asked leave to go out and give him an entertainment in the country. The duke commissioned him to go, when E-le asked leave to follow him. "Does he not hate you?" asked the duke. The eunuch replied, "When a small man like me is a superior man like him, though hated, he does not presume to keep far from him, and though loved he does not presume to keep too near him. I will respectfully wait for his commands,—dare I have a double mind? There may be people to supply his outer wants, but there are none to supply his inner. Please allow me to go." The duke sent him after the prince. But when he arrived at the place, he took the blood of an animal as if for a covenant, placed a writing [on the vessel containing it], to attest what he meant to say and then hurried away and told the duke that the prince was going to raise an insurrection, and had made a covenant with the visitor from Ts'ao. "He is my [eldest] son," said the duke; "what more does he want?" "He wishes your speedy [death]," was the reply. The duke sent to see [the place], and certainly there was [the pre-arranged evidence]. He then asked his wife, and the master of the Left, who both declared that they had heard of the thing. On this he imprisoned the prince, who said, "None but Tao can get me off." He called his brother, and sent him to intercede for him, saying, "If you do not come by midday, I shall know that I must die." The master of the Left heard of the arrangement, and kept up a [ceaseless] talk with the brother till it was past time, and the prince strangled himself after which his brother was declared successor to his father. By-and-by the duke ascertained that the prince had not been guilty and boiled E-le.

[One day], the master of the Left saw a man exercising the horses of [the duke's] lady and asked him [whose they were]. "They belong," said the man, "to the duchess." "Who is the duchess?" asked the other; "how is it that I do not know?" The groom went home and told the lady who thereupon sent to the master a piece of jade, followed by some embroidered silk, and a horse. The messenger said, "The

ruler's concubine K'e has sent me to present these things" The master of the Left made him say "The duchess" instead, then bowed twice with his head to the ground, and received the gifts'

Par 7 The seizure was made at the meeting in Shen-yuen, but Too Yu supposes that the announcement of it to the States was not made till after the return of the officers of Ts'in from that place, and hence it is entered here as taking place in the autumn. From the account which we have of the death of He in Wei in the next year, we must suppose that Ts'in released him when it released the marquis of that State, of the seizure of whom the text makes no mention.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives — 1st 'When the earl of Ch'ing returned from Ts'in, he sent Tsze-se to that State on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to make the following speech — "My ruler came and troubled your ministers, so that he is afraid he must have incurred the charge of offending you, and has sent me to apologize for his want of intelligence." The superior man will say that he knew well how to serve a great State.'

2d. 'Before this, Woo Ts'an of Ts'oo and Tsze-chaou, the grand-master of Ts'ue, were friends, and Ts'an's son Woo Keu was [also] attached to [Tsze-chaou's son], Shing-tsze. Woo Keu married [?] a daughter of] king [Kung's son, Mow, who was duke of Shin, and obliged to flee from the State. The people of Ts'oo said that he had been escorted away by Woo Keu, who then fled to Ch'ing, intending to continue his flight from thence to Ts'in. Shing-tsze was going at the time on a mission to Ts'in, and met him in the suburbs of Ch'ing. They spread some *king* branches on the ground, ate together, and talked about [whether Keu could] return [to Ts'oo]. Shing-tsze said, "Go your way now. I will be sure to procure your return."

'When Heang Seuh of Sung was trying to reconcile Ts'in and Ts'oo, Shing-tsze was sent to communicate with Ts'in, and on his return, he went to Ts'oo. The chief minister, Tsze-muh, talked with him, and asked about things in Ts'in. He asked him also whether the great officers of Ts'in or those of Ts'oo were the superior. "The high ministers of Ts'in," replied Shing-tsze, "are not equal to those of Ts'oo, but the great officers are superior. Every one of them has the abilities of a minister. And like the wood of the *ke* and the *tsze*, like skins and leather, they go from Ts'oo. The materials are Ts'oo's, but the using of them is Ts'in's." "And is Ts'in alone," asked the minister, "without its clans [connected with its ruling House], and its families in the relation of affinity?" "It has these," the other replied, "but it makes much use of the materials supplied to it by Ts'oo. I (His name was Kwei-s'ang, 歸牛) have heard this, that the skilful administration of a State is seen in rewarding without error and punishing without excess. If rewards be conferred beyond what is proper, there is a danger of some reaching bad men, and if punishments be inflicted in excess, there is a danger of some reaching good men. If unfortunately mistakes cannot be avoided, it is better to err in the matter of rewards than of punishments. It is better that a bad man get an advantage

than that a good man be lost. If there be not good men, the State will follow them [to ruin]. The words of the ode (She, III in ode A 5),

'Men there are not,  
And the kingdom is sure to go to ruin,'

are descriptive of the consequences of there being no good men. And so in one of the Books of Hea it is said, 'Rather than put to death an innocent person, you run the risk of irregularity,' indicating the fear that should be entertained of losing the good. In the sacrificial odes of Hea (She, IV in V 4) it is said,

'He erred not in rewarding or punishing,  
He dared not to be idle  
So was his appointment established over the States,  
And his happiness was made grandly secure'

"It was thus that T'ang obtained the blessing of Heaven. The ancient rulers of the people encouraged themselves in rewarding and stood in awe of punishing, and their compassion for the people was untiring. They rewarded in spring and summer, they punished in autumn and winter. Thus it was that when they were going to reward, they increased the number of their dishes, and in doing so they gave abundantly [to their ministers] — showing us by this how they rejoiced in rewarding. But when they were going to punish, they would not take a full meal, and at the same time silenced their music — showing us by this how they shrank from punishing. Early they rose and went to sleep late, morning and evening they were occupied with the government — showing us how anxious they were for [the welfare of the people. These three things are the great points of propriety [in a government], and where there is such propriety, there will be no such thing as overthrow."

"Now in Ts'oo there are many wrongful punishments, through which its great officers fly from it, and die everywhere in the other States, to which they become counsellors to the injury of Ts'oo, and this error cannot be cured — this is what I mean by saying that [Ts'oo] cannot use its materials. In the insurrection raised by Tsze-e (See the Chuen after V xiv 7), the duke of Seih fled to Ts'in, the people of which placed him in the rear of their chariots, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Jaou-koh (See the Chuen on VIII vi 11), Ts'in was going to retreat, when he said, "The army of Ts'oo is excitable, and may be easily dispersed. If you beat many drums all at once, and attack it by night, it will be sure to retire." The commanders of Ts'in took his advice, and the army of Ts'oo dispersed in the night. [The army of] Ts'in in consequence made an incursion into Ts'ue, surprised Shin, and took its ruler captive (See the Chuen on VIII viii 2), defeated the armies of Shin and Seih at Sang-suy, captured Shin Le, and returned to its own State. On this Ch'ing no [longer] ventured to turn its face to the south, and Ts'oo lost [its influence with] the States [of the north] — all was the doing of the duke of Seih.

"The uncle and brother of Yung-tsze slandered him, and your ruler and the great officers did not accept his explanations. On this he fled to Ts'in, where they gave him [the city of] Ch'uh, and employed him to direct their counsels. In

the campaign of P'ang-shing (See VIII xviii 5). Ts'oo and T'ien met in the valley of Mei k'oh; and the army of T'ien was about to fly when Yung-tze sent orders through it, saying, Let the old and the young return home. Send back sickle sons and the sick. Where there are two soldiers of one family let one of them return. Select your weapons, and examine your carriages. Feed your horses, and take a good meal. When the army has been marshalled, burn your resting places. To-morrow we shall fight [immediately after], they sent off those who were to return, and let loose their Ts'oo prisoners. [In consequence] the army of Ts'oo disappeared in the night; T'ien obliged P'ang-shing to surrender and restored it to Sung; and carried 14,000, back with its army to Tsin. That Ts'oo lost the 12 States of the east, and the death of Tze-shin (See v 6), were both the doing of Yung tze.

"Tze-fan had a contention with Tze-ling about Hsiao Ke (See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after VIII li 6), and injuriously defeated his intentions so that Tze-ling fled to Tsin where they gave him [the city of] Hsing and employed him to direct their counsels. He made head for them against the Tsin of the north, brought about a communication between Woo and Tsin, and made Woo revolt from Ts'oo. He taught its people how to use carriages, to shoot to drive to make headlong charges, and to make incursions. He placed his son Hsiao Yung in Woo to direct its communications with the States. Woo then invaded Ch'ao took Hsiao, subdued Hsiao, and took Chow-lao. Ts'oo was weakened with flying about at the instance of the various States, and still suffers the distress of it;—all through the doing of Tze-ling.

"In the insurrection of the Joh-gaon (See the Chuen at the end of VII li) Fan hwang the son of Pili-fan fled to Tsin, where they gave him Miao, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Yen-ling (VIII xvi 6), Ts'oo came close up in battle array to the army of Tsin, which was about to flee. Then Fan-hwang of Miao said, The best troops of Ts'oo are in their centre army, which contains only the royal clans. If we close up the wells, and level the cooking places we can marshal our host to meet the enemy. Let Lwan and Fan change their ranks in order to deceive them, and then Chung hang, with the two K'oh, will be sure to vanquish the two Mu. Collecting then on every side of them, and attacking the royal clans, we shall give them a great defeat. The people of Tsin followed his counsel, and the army of Ts'oo was severely defeated. The king was wounded, and the army suffered as from a conflagration. Tze-fan died in consequence of the defeat (See VIII xvi 7). Ch'ing revolted, Woo put itself in motion, and Ts'oo lost all the States—through the doing of Miao Fan-hwang." This is all correct said Tze-muh. "And there is now something worse than this, rejoined Shio tze, "Tseou Hsiao (? Ken of Ts'oo) married a daughter of Tze-mow duke of Min; and when Tze-mow was driven into exile for some of fence, the great officers of your ruler said that Ken had sent him away. Ken became frightened and fled to Ch'ing but kept looking with outstretched neck to the south, till king that

perhaps he might be forgiven. But you have not given him a thought, and now he is in Tsin. There they mean to give him a district, considering that he is equal to Shuh-hsiao. If he give them counsel to the injury of Ts'oo, will it not be a matter of sorrow?" Tze-muh was afraid, and spoke on the subject to the king, who increased Ken's revenue and rank, and brought him back, Shing tze sending Tseou Hsing to meet him.

Par 8. The Chuen says:— Duke Ling of Hsiao went to Ts'oo, and begged that it would invade Ch'ing saying that he would not return [to Hsiao] till the army was in motion; and in the 8th month, he died in Ts'oo. Hsiao's wish that Ch'ing should be invaded, dates from the invasion of Hsiao in xvi 7.

Par 9. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'oo said, "If I do not invade Ch'ing on what ground can I seek [the submission of] the States?" [Accordingly], in winter in the 10th month, he invaded that State. The people of Ch'ing wished to resist him, but Tze-ch'ian said, "Tsin and Ts'oo are about to become friends, and the States will be in harmony. The king of Ts'oo has blindly erred therefore in this attack on us. Our best plan is to let him have his way and return. Things will then be easily settled. As to those small men whose nature it is to be moved to deeds of daring and to like times of confusion, thereby gratifying their nature and seeking for fame, [their schemes] will not be for the advantage of the State;—why should we follow them?" Tze-ch'ian was pleased, and did not resist the enemy. In the 11th month, on Xih yew [the troops of Ts'oo] entered Nan-le and threw down the wall of it. They then crossed at [the ford of] Yoh-aho, and attacked the gate Hsiao-ch'iao when nine men were captured by letting the port-cullis down. They [finally] crossed the Fan, and returned to Ts'oo, after which [the viscount] buried duke Ling of Hsiao.

Par 10. [We have here three narratives:—] 1st. The people of Wei presented a daughter of their house to [the marquis of] Tsin, on which he liberated the marquis of Wei. The superior man knows from this what a failure the government of duke P'ing was.

2d. Hsiao Hsiao tze went on a friendly mission to Chow. The king sent to ask his business, when he said, "A [humble] officer of Tsin, I wish to present the dues of the season to the subordinates of the prime minister. I have no other business. When the king heard his reply he said, This Hsiao will flourish and be great in Tsin. In his speeches he does not fail to obey the old rules.

3d. In the summer of the year that the people of Ts'oo walled K'oh (in the 14th year), Woo Yu of Ts'oo fled to Tsin making over to it [the city of] Lin k'ew. [Afterwards], he surprised Yang k'oh of Wei, and took it, and then took by surprise our Kaou yu. There was then a great rain, and he managed to enter by the drains, plundered the military store mounted the wall, his men having armed themselves from the store conquered and took the city. He also took a city from Sung. At this time Fan Hsiao tze was dead, and the States were not able to deal [with this marauder]; but when the government came into the hands of Ch'ao Wan tze, he was dealt with

at last Wän-tsze said to the marquis, "Tsin is lord of covenants. If any of the States encroach on one another, we punish them, and make them restore the lands they have taken. Now all the cities of Woo Yu are of the kind for which punishment should in this way be inflicted. If we

covet them, we are not fit to be lords of covenants. Let them be returned.' The duke agreed and said, "Who is proper to be sent on such a mission?" Wän-tsze said, 'Scu Leang-tae can execute it without any military force.' The duke sent him on the duty.]

*Twenty-seventh year.*

一章
二章
三章
四章
五章
六章
 十有七年春，齊侯使慶  
 封來聘。夏，叔孫豹會晉  
 趙武、楚屈建、蔡公孫歸生、  
 衛石惡、陳孔奐、鄭良霄、許  
 人、曹人于宋。  
 衛殺其大夫甯喜。  
 衛侯之弟鮒出奔晉。  
 秋七月辛巳，豹及諸侯之  
 大夫盟于宋。  
 冬十有  
 月乙亥朔，日有食之。

①左傳曰：一十七年春，齊侯使諸喪邑者  
 具車徒以受地，必周使烏餘具車徒以受封。  
 烏餘以其衆出，使諸侯僞效烏餘之封者，而  
 遂執之，盡獲之，皆取其邑，而歸諸侯。諸侯是  
 以睦於晉。  
 齊慶封來聘。其車文，孟孫謂叔孫曰：慶季之  
 車，不亦入乎？叔孫曰：豹聞之，服夫不稱，必以  
 忠終。夫申何爲？叔孫與慶封食，不敬，爲賦：相  
 鼠，亦不知也。  
 宋回戍善於趙文子，又善於令尹子木，欲弭  
 諸侯之兵，以爲名。如晉告趙孟，趙孟謀於諸  
 大夫，韓宣子曰：兵民之殘也，財用之盡，小國  
 之人當也。將或弭之，雖曰不可，必將許之。弗  
 許，楚將許之，以召諸侯，則我失爲盟主矣。晉  
 人許之。如楚，楚亦許之。如齊，齊人懼之。陳文  
 子曰：晉楚許之，我焉得已？且人曰：弭兵，而我  
 弗許，則固攜吾民矣。將焉用之？齊人許之。告  
 於秦，秦亦許之。皆告於小國，爲會于宋。五月，



甲辰，晉趙武至於宋丙午，鄭良霄至六月，丁未朔，宋人享趙文子，叔向爲介，司馬置折俎，禮也。仲尼使舉是禮也，以爲多文辭。戊申，叔孫豹齊慶封，陳須無衛石惡至甲寅，晉荀盈從趙武至丙辰，鄭悼公至壬戌，楚公子黑肱先至，成會於晉丁卯，未向戌，如陟從子木成會於楚戊辰，滕成公至，子木謂向戌請晉楚之從，交相見也。庚午，向戌復於趙孟，趙孟曰：「晉楚齊秦，匹也，晉之不能於齊，猶楚之不能於秦也。楚君若能使秦君辱於敝邑，寡君敢不固請於齊壬中。」左師復言於子木，子木使郕謁諸王，王曰：「釋齊秦，他國請相見也。」秋七月，戊寅，左師至，是夜也，趙孟及子皙盟以齊言庚辰，子木至自陟，陟孔奐葬公孫歸生至曹，許之大夫皆至，以藩爲軍，晉楚各處其偏，伯夙謂趙孟曰：「楚氛甚惡，懼難趙孟曰：『吾左還入於宋，若我何？』」

衛甯喜專公患之，公孫免餘請殺之，公曰：「微甯子，不及此，吾與之言矣，事未可知，祇成惡名，止也。」對曰：「臣殺之，君勿與知，乃與公孫無地，公孫臣謀，使攻甯氏，弗克，皆死，公曰：「臣也無罪，父子死，余奚免？餘復攻甯氏，殺甯喜及右宰穀，尸諸朝，石惡將會宋之盟，受命而出，衣其尸，枕之股而哭之，欲斂以亡，懼不免，且曰：『受命矣，乃行子鮮曰：『逐我者出，納我者死，賞罰無章，何以沮勸？』君失其信，而國無刑，不才難乎，且鱣實使之遂出奔晉，公使止之，不可及河，又使止之，止使者而盟於河，託於木門，不鄉衛國而坐木門，大夫勸之，仕不可曰：『仕而廢其事，罪也。』從之，昭吾所以出也，將誰愬乎？吾不可以立於人之朝矣，終身不仕，公喪之如稅服，終身公與免餘邑六十，辭曰：『唯卿備百邑，臣六十矣，下有上祿，亂也。』臣弗敢聞，且甯子唯多邑，故死，臣懼死之速及也，公固與之，受其半，以爲少，師公使爲卿，辭曰：『犬叔儀不貳，能贊大事，君其命之。』乃使文子爲卿。」

辛巳，將盟于宋西門之外，楚人衷甲，伯州犂曰：「合諸侯之師，以爲不信，無乃不可乎？夫諸侯望信於楚，是以來服，若不信，是棄其所以服諸侯也。」固請釋甲，子木曰：「晉楚無信久矣，事利而已，苟得志焉，焉用有信？犬幸退，告人曰：『令尹將死矣，不及三年，求逞志而棄信，志將逞，志以發言，言以出信，信以立志，參以定之，信亡，何以及？』」

趙孟患楚衷甲，以告叔向。叔向曰：「何害也？匹夫一爲不信，猶不可，單斃其死，若合諸侯之卿，以爲不信，必不捷矣。食之者不病，非了之患也。人以信召人，而以僭濟之，必莫之與也。安能占我？日台因宋以守病，則大能致死，與宋致死，雖倍楚，可也。了何懼焉？又不及是，曰：弭兵以召諸侯，而稱兵以占我，台庸多矣。非所患也。季武子使謂叔孫以公命，曰：「視邾滕，既而齊人請邾，宋人請滕，皆不與盟。」叔孫曰：「邾滕，人之私也。我列國也，何故視之？」宋衛，吾仇也。乃盟，故不書其族。一違命也。首楚爭先，首人曰：「首固爲諸侯盟。」人有先首者也。楚人曰：「了。」首楚，仇也。若皆常先，是楚弱也。日首楚，狎一諸侯之盟也。久矣，豈專在首？叔向謂趙孟曰：「諸侯歸首之德，只非歸其尸盟也。了務德，無爭先，日諸侯盟，小國固必有尸盟者。楚爲首細，不亦可乎？乃先楚人，書先首，首有信也。了，宋公兼亨首楚之人，大趙孟爲客，了不與之。一弗能對，使叔向待一焉。了不亦不能對也？」西，宋公及諸侯之大人，盟于蒙門之外，了不問於趙孟曰：「范武子之德，何如？」對曰：「人了之家事治，日於首國，無隱情，其祝史陳信於鬼神，無愧辭。了不歸以語一。」一尚矣哉，能歆神人，官其光輔力君，以爲盟一也。了不又語一曰：「官首之伯也，有叔向以佐其卿，楚無以富之，不可與爭。首荀偃遂如楚，蒍盟，鄭伯亨趙孟於重隴，了展，伯有了，了產，了人叔一了石，從趙孟曰：「七了從君，以寵武也，請皆賦以卒君貺。武亦以觀七了之志。了展賦：『草蟲。』趙孟曰：『善哉。』民之一也，抑武也，不足以富之。伯有賦：『鶉之賁賁。』趙孟曰：「牀第之言，不踰閭，況在野乎？非使人之所得聞也。了，四賦，余苗之四章。趙孟曰：「寡君在，武何能焉。了產賦：『隰桑。』趙孟曰：「武謂受其卒章。了人叔賦：『野有蔓草。』趙孟曰：「吾了之患也。印段賦：『蟋蟀。』趙孟曰：「善哉，保家之一也。台有吟矣。公孫段賦：『桑扈。』趙孟曰：「排交匪敖，福將焉往。若保是一口也，欲辭福祿，得乎卒章。了告叔向曰：「伯有將爲戮矣。詩以言志，志誣其下，而公怨之，以爲賓榮，其能久乎？辛而後亡。叔向曰：「然，已侈，所謂不及力殫者，大了之謂矣。了曰：「其餘皆數世之士也。了展其後亡者也。了不忘降，印氏其次也，樂而不荒，樂以安民，不淫以使之，後亡，不亦可乎？宋左師請賞，曰：「請免死之邑，公

與之邑六十，以示子罕。子罕曰：「凡諸侯小國，晉楚所以兵威之，畏而後上下慈和，慈和而後能安靖其國家，以事大國所以存也。無威則驕驕則亂生，亂生必滅，所以亡也。天生五材，民並用之，廢一不可，誰能去兵？兵之設久矣，所以威不軌而昭文德也。聖人以興亂人以廢，廢興存亡，昏明之術，皆兵之由也。而子求去之，不亦誣乎？」以誣道蔽諸侯，罪莫大焉。縱無大討，而又求賞，無厭之甚也。創而投之，左師辭邑，向氏欲攻，司城左師曰：「我將亡夫子，存我德莫大焉。」又可攻乎？君子曰：「彼己之子，邦之司直，樂喜之謂乎？何以恤我，我其收之。」向戌之謂乎。

○齊崔杼生成及彊而寡，娶東郭姜。生明東郭姜以狐入，曰：「棠无咎與東郭偃相。」崔氏崔成有疾而廢之，而立明成。請老於崔，崔子許之。偃與无咎弗子曰：「崔，宗邑也，必在宗主成與彊，怒將殺之。」告慶封曰：「夫子之身亦子所知也，唯无咎與偃是從，父兄莫得進矣。」大恐，害夫子，敢以告慶封。曰：「子姑退，吾圖之。」告盧蒲摯，盧蒲摯曰：「彼君之讐也，天或者將棄彼矣。」彼賀家亂，子何病焉？崔之薄，慶之厚也。他日又告慶封曰：「苟利夫子，必去之。」雖吾助，女九月庚辰，崔成、崔彊殺東郭偃棠无咎於崔氏之朝。崔子怒而出，其衆皆逃。求人使駕不得，使國人駕寺人御而出，且曰：「崔氏有福，止余猶可，遂見慶封。」慶封曰：「崔，慶一也，是何敢然？」請爲子討之。使盧蒲摯帥甲以攻崔氏，崔氏壘其宮而守之。弗克，使國人助之，遂滅崔氏。殺成與彊而盡俘其家，其妻縊。復命於崔子，且御而歸之。至則無歸矣，乃縊崔明夜臨。諸大墓辛巳，崔明來奔，慶封當國。○楚薳罷如晉泄盟，晉侯享之，將出賦。既醉，叔向曰：「遠氏之有後於楚國也，宜哉！承君命不忘敏子，將知政矣。」敏以事君必能養民，政其焉往。

○崔氏之亂，申鮮虞來奔，僕質於野，以喪莊公。冬，楚人召之，遂如楚，爲右尹。十一月乙亥朔，日有食之，辰在申，司歷過也，再失閏矣。

- 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tsin, K'eh Keen of Ts'oo, Kung-sun Kwei-sang of Ts'ae, Shih Goh of Wei, K'ung Hwan of Ch'in, Leang Seaou of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'aou, in Sung
- 3 Wei put to death its great officer Ning He.
- 4 Chuen, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, left the State, and fled to Tsin
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-sze, P'aou and the great officers of the States made a covenant in Sung
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed

[There follows here the conclusion of the narrative at the end of last year — 'This spring, Seu Leang-tae called all who had lost cities to come, prepared secretly with chariots and men, to receive their lands, he also called Woo Yu to come, prepared in the same way to receive investiture. Yu appeared accordingly with all his people, and Seu made the princes assume an appearance as if they were going to invest him [with the cities]. He then took the opportunity to seize Yu, and make prisoners of all his followers, after which he took all the cities, and returned them to their owners. This event made the States all well-affected to Tsin']

Par 1 The object of this visit was to introduce, as it were, the new marquis of Ts'e to Loo. The Chuen says — 'K'ing Fung of Ts'e came to Loo on a friendly mission. His carriage was handsome, and M'ang-sun said to Shuh-sun, "Is not K'ing Ke's carriage handsome?" Shuh-sun replied, "I have heard that when a man's robes are finer than befits him, he will come to an evil end. What is the use of the fine carriage?" Shuh-sun gave the envoy an entertainment, at which he did not behave himself respectfully. The host sang with reference to him the *Scang shoo*, (She, I iv ode VIII), but K'ing Fung did not understand his meaning'

Parr 2, 5 Here and afterwards, for 孔奭,

Kung has 孔瑗. By 'Sung' we are to understand here the capital of that State. The Chuen says — 'Heang Seuh of Sung was on good terms with Chaou W'än-tsze [of Tsin], and also with Tsze-muh, the chief minister [of Ts'oo]. Wishing to stop the [constant] wars of the States, and thereby get a name, he went to Tsin, and told his object to Chaou-m'ang (Chaou Woo, or W'än-tsze), who consulted with the great officers upon it. Han Seu-en-tsze said, "War is destructive to the people, an insect that eats up the resources [of a State], and the greatest calamity of the small States. If any one try to put an end to it, though we may think it cannot be done, we must sanction his proposal. If we do not, Ts'oo will do so, and proceed to call the States together, so that we shall lose the presidency of covenants." They then agreed in Tsin [to Seuh's proposals]. He next went to Ts'oo, where they also did the same. 'He went to Ts'e, and there they were raising difficulties, but Ch'in W'än-tsze said, "Since

Tsin and Ts'oo have agreed, how can we decline? And men will say that we refused to sanction the stoppage of wars, which will certainly make our people disaffected. Of what use will it be for us to decline?" So they agreed in Ts'e. He sent word [of his plan] to Tsin which also agreed. He then sent word to all the smaller States, and arranged for a meeting at [the capital of] Sung.

'In the 5th month, on K'ah-shin, Chaou Woo of Tsin arrived at that city, and on Ping-woo, L'ang Seaou of Ch'ing arrived. In the 6th month, on Ting-we, the 1st day of the moon, they feasted Chaou W'än-tsze in Sung, with Shuh-h'ang as subordinate to him, when the marshal caused the dishes to be set forth with the meat in pieces upon them, — which was proper. Chung-ne made [? me introduce here] this ceremony, because it afforded opportunity for many speeches. On Maou-shin, Shuh-sun P'aou, K'ing Fung of Ts'e, Seu Woo of Ch'in, and Shih Goh of Wei arrived. On K'ah-yin, Seun Ying of Tsin arrived, subsequent to the arrival of Chaou Woo. On Ping-shin, duke Ch'oh of Choo arrived. On Jin-seuh, the Kung-tsze Hih-kwang of Ts'oo arrived before [the prime minister], and settled the words [of the covenant] on the part of Tsin. On Ting-maou, H'ang Seuh went to Ch'in, following Tsze-muh, to settle the words on the part of Ts'oo. Tsze-muh said to him that he had to request that the States which followed Tsin and Ts'oo respectively should be required — those of the one side to appear at the court of the other. On K'ang-woo, H'ang Seuh returned to report this to Chaou-m'ang, who said, "Tsin, Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in are equals, Ts'in can do nothing more with Ts'e than Ts'oo can do with Ts'in. If Ts'oo can make the ruler of Ts'in condescend to come to our capital, our ruler will earnestly request [the ruler of] Ts'e to go to Ts'oo." On Jin-shin, the master of the Left (H'ang Seuh) went to report this answer to Tsze-muh, who despatched a courier to lay it before the king [of Ts'oo]. The king said, "Leave Ts'e and Ts'in out, and let the other States be required to appear at both our courts."

'In autumn, in the 7th month, on Maou-yin, the master of the Left arrived [from Ch'in], and that night, Chaou-m'ang and Tsze-seih (The Kung-tsze Hih-kwang) made a covenant about the terms to be adopted. On K'ang-shin, Tsze-

muh arrived from Ch'in, and at the same time K'ung Hwan of Ch'in and Kung-sun Kwei-sing of Ts'ao. When the great officers of Ts'ao and Hsu were also arrived, they made an encampment with fences, Tsin and Ts'oo each occupying one side of it. Pih Shuh said to Chao ming: "The spirit of Ts'oo is very bad. I fear there will be trouble; but Chao ming replied, "We are on the left, and can turn and go into the city. What can they do to us?"

On Shin-se they were about to covenant outside the western gate when the men of Ts'oo wore their armour under their outer clothes. Pih Chow is said [to Tze-muh]: "The multitude of the States are assembled here, and is it not undesirable [now] to show them our want of good faith? The States expect good faith from Ts'oo, and on that account they come to [indicate] their submission to it. If we do not keep faith, we are throwing away that by which we must effect the submission of the States." He then earnestly begged that the armour might be put off. But Tze-muh said, "There has been no good faith between Tsin and Ts'oo for long. We have to do merely with getting the advantage. If we get our will, what is the use of having good faith?" The grand-administrator on this retired, and told [some people] that the chief minister would die in less than 8 years. "When he is seeking to get his will," he said "and casts away his faith, how can his will be got in that way? It is from the purpose in the mind that words come forth. It is by words that good faith is declared, and it is by good faith that the purpose in the mind is realized. The three are necessary in order to the stability of man. Having lost his good faith, how can he continue for three [years]?" Chao ming was troubled by the men of Ts'oo wearing their armour and told Shuh-hsiang of it, who said to him, "What harm can it do? It will not do for even an ordinary man to violate his faith;—the end of it is sure to be his death. If they at this meeting of the ministers of the States, commit a breach of faith, they will not be successful by it. He who is false to his word is sure to suffer for it. You need not be troubled about this. If they call men together by [assurances of] their good faith and go on to accomplish their purpose by violating it, there will be none who will adhere to them. How can they injure us? And moreover we have [the capital of] Sung to depend on, to guard against any injury. Thus we should be able to resist to the death, and with Sung doing the same, we should be twice as strong as Ts'oo—what are you afraid of? But it will not come to this. Having called the States together to put a stop to war if they should commence hostilities to injure us, our advantage would be great. There is no ground for being troubled."

Ke Woo-tse sent to say to Shuh-sun, [as if] by the duke's command, that Loo should be considered in the same rank as Choo and T'ang. But Ts'ao had requested [that] Choo [should be considered as attached to it], and Sung had done the same in regard to T'ang, so that neither of these States took part in the covenant. Shuh-sun replied "Choo and T'ang are like the private possessions of other States. We are a State among them. Why should we be put on the same footing as those? Sung and Wei are [only] our peers. And accordingly he cov-

nanted. On this account the text [of par 5] does not give his clan-name, intimating that he had disobeyed orders.

Tsin and Ts'oo disputed about the precedence [at the covenant]. On the side of Tsin they said, "Tsin certainly is the lord of covenants." No State has as ever taken precedence of it." On the side of Ts'oo they said, "You have allowed that Tsin and Ts'oo are peers. If Tsin always take the precedence, that is a declaration that Ts'oo is weaker than it. And moreover Tsin and Ts'oo have presided in turns over the covenants of the States for long. How does such precedence belong exclusively to Tsin?" Shuh-hsiang said to Chao ming, "The States acknowledge Tsin because of the virtue [of its government] and not because it presides over their covenants. Let that virtue be your chief concern, and do not quarrel for the point of precedence. Moreover at the covenants of the States, it is understood that the smaller States should superintend the instruments of the covenanting. If Ts'oo will act this smaller part for Tsin, is it not proper that it should do so?" Accordingly the precedence was given to Ts'oo. The text, however, mentions Tsin first, because of its good faith (?).

On Jin-woo, the duke of Sung entertained the great officers of Tsin and Ts'oo at the same time, Chao ming being the [chief] guest. When Tze-muh conversed with him, he was not able to reply to him [suitably] on which he made Shuh-hsiang sit by him and maintain the conversation, when Tze-muh could not reply [suitably]. On Yih-yew, the duke of Sung and the great officers of the States covenanted outside the Ming gate. Tze-muh asked Chao ming of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Woo-tse (Sze Hwuy), and was answered "The affairs of his family were all well-regulated; in conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he concealed nothing; his officers of prayers set forth the truth before the Spirits, and used no speeches he could be blamed of." When Tze-muh returned to Ts'oo, he told this to the king who said, "This was admirable! He was able to find favour both with Spirits and men. Right was it he should distinguish and aid five rulers of Tsin, and make them the lords of covenants." Tze-muh also said to the king, "Well-doing is the presidency of Tsin. With Shuh-hsiang to aid its ministers, Ts'oo has no man to match him. We cannot contend with it." Szeu Yin of Tsin shortly went to Ts'oo to ratify the covenant.

The earl of Ch'ing entertained Chao ming [returning from Sung] in Ch'ing lung. Tze-shen, Pih-yew, Tze-se, Tze-ch'an, Tze-t'ao-shuh, and the two Tze-shih, were all in attendance on the earl. Chao-ming said to them, "You seven gentlemen are all here with the earl, a [great] distinction and favour to me. Let me ask you all to sing, which will complete your ruler's beneficence, and likewise will show me your several minds. Tze-shen then sang the Ts'ao ch'ang (Sze, I. II. ode III.), and Chao ming said, "Good for a lord of the people, but I am not sufficient to answer to it." Pih-yew sang the Shun che pun pun (Sze, I. IV. ode V.), and Chao-ming said, "Words of the couch should not go across the threshold; how much less should they be heard in the open country! This is what I cannot listen to. Tze-se sang

the 4th stanza of the Shoo menou (She, II ode III), and Chaou-mäng said, "There is my ruler, how can I [accept this]?" Tsze-ch'ian sang the Sii sang (She, II ode IV), and Chaou-mäng said, "Allow me to accept the last stanza of that ode" Tsze-t'ae-shuh sang the Yay yew man ts'ou (She, I ode XX), and Chaou-mäng said, "This is your kindness" Yin Twan (The 1st Tsze-shih) sang the Sii tsuh (She, I ode I), and Chaou-mäng said, "Good! a lord who preserves his family! I have hope [of being such]" Kung-sun Twan (the 2d Tsze-shih) sang the Sang hoo (She, II ode I), and Chaou-mäng said,

'While the cup passes round, they show  
no pride,  
Where should blessing and revenue go  
but to them?'

If one can verify those words, though he should wish to decline blessing and revenue, would it be possible for him to do so?"

When the entertainment was ended, Wän-tsze (Chaou-mäng) said to Shuh-hiang, 'Pih-yew will yet be put to death. We use poetry to express what is in our minds. He was calumniating his ruler in his mind, and though the earl would resent [the lines which indicated] that, he used them in honour of their guest. Can he continue long? He will be fortunate if exile precede his death.' Shuh-hiang said, "Yes, and he is extravagant. The saying about not lasting five harvests is applicable to him." Wän-tsze added, "The rest of them will all continue for several generations, and the family of Tsze-chen will be the last to perish. Though his rank be high, he has not forgotten to be humble. Yin Twan is next to him. He can enjoy himself without wild indulgence. Using [his love of] pleasure to give rest to the people, and not exacting services from them to an excessive degree, is it not right he should long perpetuate his family?"

'[Heang Seuh], Sung's master of the Left, asked that he might be rewarded, saying, "Please grant me some towns for arresting the occasion of death." The duke gave him sixty towns, and he showed the grant to Tsze-han, who said to him, "It is by their arms that Tsin and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious, and through this love and harmony they can keep their States in quiet, and thereby serve the great States. In this is the way of preservation. If they were not kept in awe, they would become haughty. That haughtiness would produce disorder, that disorder would lead to their extinction. This is the way of ruin. Heaven has produced the five elements which supply men's requirements, and the people use them all. Not one of them can be dispensed with,—who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. It is by them that the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. Sages have risen to their eminence by means of them, and men of confusion have been removed. The courses which lead to decline or to growth, to preservation or to ruin, of blindness on the one hand, of intelligence on the other, are all to be traced to these instruments, and you have been seeking to do away with them—is not your scheme a delusion? No

offence can be greater than to lead the States astray by such a delusion. You have escaped without a great punishment, and yet you have sought for reward,—with an extreme insatiableness." With this he cut [to pieces the document], and cast it away. The master of the Left on this declined the towns, [in consequence of which] members of his family wished to attack the minister of Works (Tsze-hian). Seuh, however, said to them, "I was on the way to ruin, when he preserved me. I could not have received a greater service,—and are you to attack him?"

'The superior man will say, "May we not consider [the lines (She, I ode VI 2)],

"That officer  
In the country ever holds to the right,"

as applicable to Yoh He (Tsze-han)? and [those other lines, (She, IV i [1] ode II)],

"How shall he show his kindness?  
We will receive [his favour],"

as applicable to H'ang S'uh!"

I have thrown the Chuen on these two paragraphs together, because they relate to the same transaction, the details of which extended over several months, and because we cannot reconcile the latter part and the narrative under it, without having recourse to the narrative under the second.

From the Chuen under par. 2, we learn that the representatives of 14 States (including Sung), came to the capital of that State, as if to be present at the meeting, but the text mentions only 9 of them as taking part in it (Not including Sung), but we learn also from it that the States of Ts'e and Ts'in were exempted from it because of its peculiar nature and their own greatness. Then from the narrative under par. 5, we learn that the States of Choo and T'ang were exempted because of their weakness, and through Ts'e and Sung taking the opportunity to have them publicly declared as being respectively under their jurisdiction. Ts'oo was willing, no doubt, to accede to the application of Ts'e and Sung, because the power of Ts'in was thereby weakened.

With regard to the meeting and covenants themselves, they mark a revolution (人變) in the kingdom. Heretofore, for more than a hundred years, one State had struggled to maintain a presidency over the others,—avowedly in the interest of the Chow king. Ts'oo first exercised it, and then Tsin. Nearly all the time Ts'oo had disputed their right and power, and now Tsin was obliged to agree to a presidency divided between it and Ts'oo, while both of them acknowledged their inability to control the great States of Ts'in and Ts'e. Evidently, the scheme of a presidential State had become an impracticability. A process of disorganization must go on, till some one Power should become supreme. An invigoration of Chow was out of the question, and whether Tsin, Ts'oo, Ts'in or Ts'e was to found the dynasty of the future, the future only could show.

Again, as the power of the Chow king had waned before the growth of the princes of the great States, the power of those princes was waning in the same way before the growing influence of their ministers and great officers. It might be expected, as actually occurred, that

the great States would nearly all be broken up, or the Houses which now ruled them give place to others.

As to Hseng Fenh, with whom the scheme of a general pacification to be acted by this covenant was made, he appears to have been a restless, treacherous and selfish wretch. The scheme itself was, as another officer of Sung pronounced it, a delusion. The time had not come then in China to dispense with the arbitrament of arms, as, alas! it has not yet come in China, or anywhere else in the world.

Par 3. The Chuen says:—Ning Hie of Wei assumed to himself the whole administration of the government and the duke was vexed about it. Kung-sun Mên-yu asked leave to put Hie to death, but the duke said, "But for Ning Hie I should not have got to my present position, and I gave him my word. The issue [of any attempt], however, cannot be known, and I should only make a bad name [for myself]. Stop." The other replied, "I will kill him. Your lordship need know nothing about it." He then consulted with Kung-sun Woo-to and Kung-sun Shin, and made them attack the Ning. They were unsuccessful, and both died. The duke said, "Shin was guilty of no crime; and [now] both he and his father have died through me." In summer Mên-yu again attacked the Ning when he killed Ning Hie and Huh, the administrator of the light and exposed their bodies in the court. [At that time], Shih Goh was about to go to take part in the covenant at Sung. He had received his commission, and was coming out of the court. He threw a garment over [his] body, pillowed it on his thigh and wept. It was said to him that he would put it in a coffin, and then flee into exile, but he was afraid he should not escape. He said also to himself that he had received [the State's] commission, and so went on his way.

Par 4. For 2200 Kung and Kuh have 2211. Chuen was the Tse-chen of the narrative under xxi. 1. The Chuen says:—Tse-chen said, "He who drove us out [Sun Lin-foo] has [merely] left the State and he who received us back [Ning Hie] is dead. Without the clear [and right application of] rewards and punishments how is it possible to deter [from evil] and to encourage [to good]? When the ruler has broken his faith, and there is no law in the State, is it not difficult [to carry on the government]? And it was really I who brought this about." With this he left the State to flee to Tsin. The duke sent to stop him, but in vain. When he had got to the Ho, a second messenger came to stop him, whom he detained till he had made an oath [that he would not return]. He then took up his residence in Shih munn, where he would never sit with his face towards Wei. The commissioner of that city advised him to take office [in Tsin], but he refused, saying, "If I took office, and failed in the business of it, I should be an offender; if I succeeded, I should [seem to] show that it was for the sake of office that I had left Wei—to whom could I make my case clear? I must not stand in the court of any prince." And all his life he did not take office. The duke wore mourning for him all his life.

The duke offered Mên-yu 60 towns, but he refused them saying "It is only a high minister who has the complete number of 100 towns. If I would take these 60, I should in my low position be having the revenue of a higher one. The thing would be disorderly and irregular. I dare not hear of it. And moreover it was Ning Hie's many towns which caused his death. I am afraid lest death should quickly overtake me." The duke pressed them upon him, when he accepted the half and became the Junior-tutor. The duke wished to make him minister but he declined the office saying "Tse-shuh E does not waver in his fidelity and can help you in [all] great affairs. Give the appointment to him." Wan-tso accordingly was made minister.

Par 5. [The Chuen says] Here three narratives:—1st. Before Ts'uy Ch'oo of Tse became a widower, he had two sons, Ch'ing and K'ang. After his marriage with Tung kwoh K'ang (See on xxv 2), she bore to him Ming and also brought into his family Tang Woo-k'ew her son by her first husband, who, with Tung kwoh Yen, took the management of Ts'uy's family. In consequence of some disease which he had, Ts'uy Ch'ing was degraded from his position [as the eldest son], and Ming appointed in his place after which he begged that he might be put in possession till his old age of Ts'uy. Ts'uy tse granted him that city but Yen and Woo-k'ew would not give it to him, saying, "Ts'uy is the ancestral city and must be in the hands of the lord of the ancestral temple." Ch'ing and K'ang were enraged, and, having resolved to kill them, they told H'ing Fung saying "You know all about our father. He follows [now] only Woo-k'ew and Yen. None of our uncles or cousins of the clan can get him to listen to a word. The state of things, we are greatly afraid, will be injurious to him, and we presume to tell you of it." K'ing told them to retire for a time while he considered the matter which he laid before Loo-p'oo 1'ch. 1'ch. said, "He who killed himself the enemy of his ruler and Heaven perhaps is now going to abandon him; but why should you feel any distress at disorder in his House? The thinner Ts'uy is, the thicker grows K'ing."

When the sons of Ts'uy came to K'ing Fung another day he said to them, "If it be profitable for your father you can remove the two men; and if you get into difficulties, I will assist you." In the 8th month, on K'ang-shin, Ts'uy Ch'ing and Ts'uy K'ang killed Tang kwoh Yen and Tang Woo-k'ew while they were at the court of Ts'uy tse. In a rage he issued from the gate, but his people were all scattered. He sought for men to get his carriage in readiness, but it could not be done. [At last] he got a yoke to yoke a carriage for him, and with a eunuch to drive him, he went forth, saying to himself "It will be fortunate for the Ts'uy family if only I perish." He then drove to see K'ing Fung, who said, "The Ts'uy and the K'ing are one. Who dared to act thus? Allow me to punish them for you." He then sent Loo-p'oo 1'ch with a body of men-at-arms to attack the palace of Ts'uy. It was held, however, by men behind the parapets, who made a successful resistance, till the people were sent to assist the assailants. 1'ch then extinguished the House of Ts'uy killed Ch'ing and K'ang and carried off all in the

house, the wife of Ts'uy-tszo having strangled herself. This done, he returned with a report to that officer, and then drove him back to his palace, where he found that he had nothing to come to, and strangled himself. Ts'uy Ming laid him at night in his fathers' grave,—and on Sin-sze he fled himself to Loo. K'ing Fung took the administration of the State.

2d 'Wei P'e of Ts'oo went to Tsin to confirm the covenant, when the marquis entertained him. As he was leaving the feast, he sang the Ke tsuy (She, III 11 ode III.) Shuh-heang said, "Right is it that this Wei should perpetuate his family in Ts'oo. Charged with his ruler's commission, he is not unmindful to show his intelligence. Tsze-tang will yet have the government of his State. Active and intelligent in serving his ruler, and thereby able to nourish the people, to whom should the government go but to him?"

3rd 'When Shin Scen-yu came a fugitive to Loo, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by Ts'uy Ch'oo (See the Chuen on xxv 2), he hired a house for himself and servants in the suburbs, and there mourned for duke Chwang. This winter, an officer from Ts'oo came to invite him to that State. He went there accordingly, and became director of the Left.'

Par 6 This eclipse took place on the 7th Oct n c 545, and was visible in Loo in the morning, but that was the 12th cycle day of the text. The Chuen is correct, therefore, in assigning the eclipse to the 11th month, but Tso-she is in error when he goes on to say, 'This was really the 9th month, through the error of the officers of the calendar. They had now omitted two intercalations.' For the grounds which have been attempted to be made out for this remark, see on the 1st par of next year.

*Twenty-eighth year.*

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九  
 崩。 有 有 齊 仲 秋 邾 夏 二  
 人 禁 了 昭 卒。 月 甲寅 人 下 月 公如楚。 月 封來介。 月 孫羯如晉。 月 大雩。 月 來朝。 月 石惡出奔晉。 年 春 無冰。

左傳曰：二十八年春，無冰。梓慎曰：今茲宋鄭其饑乎？歲在星紀，而淫於子，陽以有時，陰不堤陽，蛇乘龍，龍未鄭之旱也。宋鄭必饑，子陽，陽中也。陽，名也。一。而民不饑，何爲？  
 夏，齊侯、陳侯、蔡侯、北燕伯、杞伯、胡了、沈了、白狄朝於晉。宋之盟故也。齊侯將行，慶封曰：我不與盟，何爲於晉？陳文子曰：先事後賄，禮也。小事人，未獲事焉，從之如志，禮也。雖不與盟，敢叛晉乎？車丘之盟，不可忘也。了，勸行。  
 衛人討甯氏之黨，故石惡出奔晉。衛人立其從子圃，以守石氏之祀，禮也。  
 邾悼公來朝，時事也。



秋，八月，大雩旱也。

○蔡侯歸自晉入於鄭，鄭伯享之，不敬。子產曰：「蔡侯其不免乎？日其過此也，君使子展廷勞於東門之外而傲，吾曰：『猶將更之。』今還受享而惰，乃其心也。君小國，事大國，而惰傲以爲己心，將得死乎？若不免，必由其子，其爲君也淫而不父，僑聞之如是者，恒有子禍。」

孟孝伯如晉，告將爲宋之盟，故如楚也。

○蔡侯之如晉也，鄭伯使游吉如楚，及漢，楚人還之，曰：「宋之盟，君實親辱，今吾子來，寡君謂吾子姑還，吾將使駟奔問諸晉，而以告子犬叔。」曰：「宋之盟，君命將利小國，而亦使安定其社稷，鎮撫其民人，以禮承天之休，此君之靈令，而小國之望也。寡君是故使吉奉其皮幣，以歲之不易聘於下執事。今執事有命曰：『安何與政令之有，必使而君棄而封，中跋涉山川，蒙犯霜露，以逞君心。』小國將君是望，敢不唯命是聽。無乃非盟職之言，以闕君德而執事有不利焉？小國是懼，不然，其何勞之敢懼？子犬叔歸復命，告子展曰：『楚子將死矣，不修其政德而貪昧於諸侯，以逞其願，欲久得乎周易有之：『在復之頤。』曰：『迷復凶。』其楚子之謂乎？欲復其願，而棄其本，復歸無所，是謂迷復，能無凶乎？君其往也，送葬而歸，以快楚心。楚不幾十年，未能恤諸侯也。吾乃休吾民矣。』」穆嬴曰：「今茲周王及楚子皆將死，歲乘其久，而旅於明年之久，以害島帑，周楚惡之。」

○九月，鄭游吉如晉，告將朝於楚，以從宋之盟。子產相鄭伯，以如楚，舍不爲壇，外僕言曰：「昔先大夫相先君適四國，未嘗不爲壇，自是至今，亦皆循之。今子草舍，無乃不可乎？」子產曰：「大適小，則爲壇；小適大，苟舍而已。」焉用壇？僑聞之大適小，有五美，宥其罪戾，救其過失，救其菑患，賞其德刑，教其不及，小國不困，懷服如歸，是故作壇以昭其功，宣告後人，無怠於德。小適大，有五惡，脫其罪戾，請其不足，行其政事，共其職貢，從其時命，不然則重其幣帛，以賀其福，而弔其凶，皆小國之禍也。焉用作壇以昭其福，所以告子孫，無昭禍焉，可也。」

○癸巳，天王崩，未來赴，亦未書禮也。

○崔氏之亂，喪葬公子，故鈕在魯，叔孫還在燕，賈在句瀆之丘，及慶氏亡，皆召之，具其器用，而反其邑焉。與晏子掘殿其鄙六十，弗受。子尾曰：「富人之所欲也，何獨弗欲？」對曰：「慶氏之邑足欲，故亡吾邑，不足欲也，益之以掘殿，乃足欲，足欲亡無日矣。在外不得宰吾一邑，不受掘殿，非惡富也，恐失富也。且夫富如布帛之有幅焉，爲之制度，使無遺也。夫民生厚而用利，於是乎正德，以幅之使無黜嫚，謂之幅利，利過則爲敗，吾不敢貪多，所謂幅也。與北郭佐邑六十受之，與子雅邑辭多，受少，與子尾邑受而稍致之，公以爲忠，故有寵。釋廬蒲斃於北，竟求崔杼之尸，將戮之，不得。叔孫穆子曰：「必得之，武王有亂，臣十人，崔杼其有乎？不十人，不足以葬。」既，崔氏之臣曰：「與我其拱璧，吾獻其柩，於是得之。」十二月乙亥，朔，齊人遷葬莊公，殯於大寢，以其棺尸。崔杼於市，國人猶知之，皆曰：「崔子也。」爲宋之盟，故公及宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、許男如楚，公過鄭，鄭伯不在，伯有廷勞於黃崖，不敬。穆叔曰：「伯有無戾於鄭，鄭必有大咎。」敬民之主也，而棄之，何以承守？鄭人不討，必受其辜。濟陽之阿，行潦之蘋藻，寘諸宗室，季蘭尸之，敬也，敬可棄乎？」

王人來告喪，問崩日，以甲寅告，故書之，以微過也。

及漢楚康王卒，公欲反，叔仲昭伯曰：「我楚國之爲，豈爲一人行也？子服惠伯曰：『君子有遠慮，小人從，餓寒之不怕，誰遑其後？不如姑歸也。』叔孫穆子曰：『叔仲子專之矣。』子服子始學者也，榮成伯曰：『遠圖者，患也。』公遂行。宋向戌曰：『我一人之爲，非爲楚也。餓寒之不怕，誰能恤楚？姑歸而恤民，待其立君而爲之。』備宋公遂反。」

○楚屈建卒，趙文子喪之如同盟禮也。

XXVIII 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, there was no ice.

2 In summer, Shih Goh of Wei fled from that State to Tsin.

- 3 The viscount of Choo came to the court of Loo.
- 4 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 5 Chung-sun Keeh went to Tsin
- 6 In winter K'ing Fung of Ts'e came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 In the eleventh month, the duke went to Ts'oo.
- 8 In the twelfth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died
- 9 On Yih-we, Ch'aou, viscount of Ts'oo, died.

Par 1 This would seem to be an extraordinary phenomenon, according to the general rule for such entries in the text, but if intercalations had been omitted, so that the calendar was at least two months in advance of the proper time, then the first month of the Chow year began at this time really in our October or perhaps September, when the absence of ice was quite natural. Hence to bring things right, and make the phenomenon extraordinary and ominous, Too Yu introduces in his scheme of the calendar two intercalary months, one immediately after the other at the end of the previous year! The Chuen here says — 'There being no ice this spring Tsze Shin said, "This year there will be famine it is to be feared, in Sung and Ch'ing. The year [-star] (Jupiter) [ought to be] in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn), and it has licentiously advanced into H'eu-en-heaou (Capricorn-Aquarius). Hence this ominous character of the season, the *yin* not being able to overcome the *yang*. The Snake is mounted on the Dragon which contains the stars of Sung and Ch'ing. Those States will have famine. The middle star in H'eu-en-heaou is H'eu. But H'eu denotes consumption and waste. The land empty and the people with their resources consumed — what can this mean but famine?"'

[The Chuen appends here — 'In summer, the marquises of Ts'e, Ch'in, and Ts'ae, the earls of north Yen and Ke, the viscounts of Hoo and Shin, and the northern Teih, went to appear at the court of Tsin, — in accordance with the covenant of Sung. When the marquis of Ts'e was about to go, K'ing Fung said, "We took no part in the covenant. What have you to do with Tsin?" Ch'in W'an-tsze said to him, "Business first and then gifts, is the rule. A small State, in serving a great one, before it has discharged the business [which is required], should first comply with its request [to go to it], in accordance with its wishes, — this [also] is the rule. Although we took no part in the covenant, dare we revolt from Tsin? Let us not forget the covenant of Ch'ung-k'ew (xxv 5). Do you advise the marquis to go?"']

Par 2 See the narrative under par 3 of last year for the conduct of Shih Goh after the death of Ning He

The Chuen here says — 'The people of Wei were punishing the partizans of the Ning, and Shih Goh fled in consequence to Tsin. In Wei they appointed his nephew, Foo, to take charge of the sacrifices of the Shih family, — which was according to rule'

Par 3 Tso-she says that this appearance of duke Taou of Choo at the court of Loo was 'the usual affair,' meaning that it was not in consequence of the covenant of Sung, but a

discharge of the usual duty which Choo owed to that State

Par 4 "This," says Tso-she, "was because of drought"

[The Chuen appends here — 'When the marquis of Ts'ae was returning from Tsin (See the narrative after par 1), he entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl entertained him, and he behaved disrespectfully. Tsze-ch'an said, "The marquis of Ts'ae will not escape an evil death. When he was passing this (On his way to Tsin), our ruler sent Tsze-chen to go and compliment him outside the east gate, and then he carried himself arrogantly. I thought that he might still change his way, but now, when being feasted thus on his return, he is so remiss, such, it appears, is his nature. Ruler over a small State, and in his service of a great one thus so remiss and arrogant as to show that such is his nature, shall he die a natural death? If he do not escape an evil end, it will be sure to come from his son. He has played the ruler in a lustful and unfatherly way (He had debauched his son's wife), and I have heard that such persons always meet with calamity at the hand of their sons.'

Par 5 Tso-she says — 'M'ang H'eaou-pih [now] went to Tsin to inform that court, that, in accordance with the covenant of Sung, [the duke] was going to Ts'oo'

[We have here two narratives — 1st "When the marquis of Ts'ae went to Tsin, the earl of Ch'ing sent Yew Keeh to Ts'oo. When he had got to the Han, the people of Ts'oo sent him back, saying, "According to the covenant of Sung, your ruler ought to come in person, but here are you come. Our ruler says to you, 'Please return for the present. I will send a courier with all speed to ask Tsin, and then lay the matter before you.'" Tsze-t'ae-shuh (Y'ew Keeh) replied, "In the covenant of Sung, your lordship's commands were for the benefit of the small States, and you also ordered us to seek the repose and stability of our altars, and the protection and comfort of our people, and thus by the observance of all proper rules we might enjoy the blessing of Heaven. These were your lordship's orders, and in accordance with them was the hope of our small State. On this account my ruler sent me with skins and silks, in consideration of the difficulties of the year (A famine), on a [merely] friendly visit to your ministers. But now I have their commands, saying, 'What have you to do with governmental matters? You must send your ruler. Let him leave his charge in his own State, travel over the hills and cross the streams, encounter the hoar-frost and the dew.' This [only] will satisfy your lordship. The hope of our small State is in you, and we dare not but listen to your commands,

though they are not in the engagements of the covenant, and will reflect on your lordship's virtue and be disadvantageous to your ministers. This our small State was afraid of; but since it is not so, what labour is there from which we will shrink?" Tze-t'ao-shuh then returned and gave a report of his commission, saying to F'eng-chun, "The viscount of Ts'oo will [soon] die. Instead of cultivating his government and virtue, he is blindly eager to command the States, and so gratify his ambition. If he wished to continue long, would it be possible for him to do so? The thing is contained in the Chow Yi. When the diagram Fuh (復 ䷗) becomes E (頤 ䷚), we have in reference to it, the words, Deceived as to return;—evil, which we may well apply to the viscount of Ts'oo. Wishing after all to obtain what he desired, and abandoning what was essential to that, there is no place to return to—this is what is taught in those words, Deceived as to return. Is it possible evil should not come? Let our ruler go. He will accompany the [viscount's] funeral, and come back,—thus satisfying the wish of Ts'oo. It will not be ten years before Ts'oo is not able to think about the States, and we shall then seek the repose of our people. Po Tsao said, "At this time the king of Chow and the viscount of Ts'oo will both die. The year-star has left its proper place, and is sojourning in its place for next year to the injury of the fall of Zhou. Both Chow and Ts'oo may well hate this."

2d. In the 9th month Y'ow Keli of Ching went to Ts'ao, to inform that court, that the earl was going to the court of Ts'ao in compliance with the covenant of Sung. Tze-ch'ian attended the earl to Ts'ao, and [when they approached the capital of that State] he caused a booth to be erected [for the earl], without rearing any high structure. The servants of the mission said, "Anciently when our great officers attended their rulers to a y other State, they always reared a high structure; and from that time till now the practice has been followed. Is it not improper in you now to make this booth upon the grass?" Tze-ch'ian told them, "When a great State goes to a small one, it rears a high structure. When a small State goes to a great one, it should only construct a booth. I have heard this.—When a great State visits a small one, it should do five good things;—be indulgent to its offences, pardon its errors and failures, relieve its calamities, reward it for its virtuous laws, and teach it where it is deficient. There is thus no pressure on the small State. It cherishes [the great] State's virtue and submits to it, fondly as one goes home. On this account a high structure is reared, to display the merit [of the great State], and to make it known to posterity, that they may not be idle in the cultivation of virtue. When a small State goes to a great one, it has five bad things to do. It must explain its trespasses, beg [forgiveness] for its deficiencies, perform its governmental services, contribute its proper dues, and attend to its seasonal commands. And not [only so];—it has to double its various offerings, to facilitate [the great State] on its happiness and show its condolence with it in its misfortunes. And all these things are the sad fate of a small State. Why should it rear a high structure to display its sad fate?"

It is enough for it to do that which tells its posterity not to display their sad fate."

Par 6. The Chuen says — K'ing Fung of Ts'ao was fond of hunting and drinking. He gave over the government to [his son] K'ing Shay and then removed with his harem and valuables to the house of Loo-p'oo P'eh, with whom he drank while they exchanged wives at the same time. For several days together [the great officers] would have to go there, as he held his court in it. He gave orders that all the exiles who were held to be traitors should be restored on their application to him; and in this way he brought back Loo-p'oo Kwei, who became minister to Tze-che (Fung's son Shay), and became such a favourite, that Shay gave him his own daughter to wife. Some of Shay's officers spoke to Kwei about this, saying "Husband and wife should be of different surnames; how is it that you have not avoided taking a wife descended from the same ancestor as yourself?" He replied, "[Another is a relative of] that ancestor (Mean's Shay) would not avoid me; how should I alone have avoided the thing? I am as if you break off from the whole one at one of it, and sing it. I have taken what I desired to get; how should I have recognized the [common] ancestry?"

Kwei spoke [to Shay] about Wang Ho, and procured his return, who became a favourite as well as himself. Shay made them keep—one before and the other behind him, carrying spears as if guarding his bed.

Every day two fowls were provided for the public meal at the palace, [under the superintendence of K'ing Fung]. The cook one day stealthily changed them for ducks, and the servants who knew it took away the flesh, and washed [the bones up] with the broth. Tze-ya and Tze-wo were enraged [at the stinginess and insult], and when K'ing Fung reported that they were so to Loo-p'oo P'eh, the latter said, "They are like beasts;—I will sleep upon their skins." He then made both Kwei-foo tell Gan Ping-chung about the matter. Ping-chung said, "My numbers are not sufficient to be employed [on such a service]. (Against Tze-ya and Tze-wo), nor have I wisdom to help in such a plan; but I will not dare to speak a word about it. But there should be a covenant." Tze-ken (both Kwei-foo) replied "Your words are enough. What is the use of a covenant?" He then spoke to Pih-kwoh Tze-ken whose answer was, "Every one is able in some way to serve his ruler but this is not in the range of my ability."

Ch'in Wan-tze said to [his son] Hwan-tze, "The overthrow [of the K'ing] is approaching. What shall we get [out of their property]?"

The hundred carriages of wood that are in the Chwang [street];" was the answer; and the father rejoined, "You can maintain a careful guard over yourself. Loo-p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking the K'ing and showed Tze-che the indication which they had got, saying "A man was consulting the tortoise-shell about attacking his enemy and we venture to present to you the indication. Tze-che observed, "He will be successful. I see the blood."

In winter in the 10th month, K'ing Fung went to Loo to hunt, Ch'in Woo-yu being in attendance upon him. On Ping-shin, [Chin's

father] Wän-tsze sent to call him home. He asked leave from Fung to return, saying that his mother was very ill. Fung consulted the tortoise-shell, and showed him the induction, saying, "She is dead." [Woo-yu] took the shell in his hand, and wept. He was then sent back, and when K'ing Tsze heard of it, he said, "The calamity is about to commence," and then urged Tsze-kea (Fung's designation) to return immediately. "The calamity" said he, "will be sure to happen at the autumnal sacrifice. An immediate return may still prevent it." It was in vain, and Fung manifested no regret or change of purpose, which made Tsze-seih (K'ing Tsze) say, "We must fly. We shall be fortunate if we reach Woo or Yueh." [In the meantime], Ch'in Woo-yu [was on his way back], and whenever he crossed a stream, he scuttled the boat, and destroyed the bridge.

'Loo-p'oo Keang (K'ing Shay's daughter) said to her husband, "You have some business in hand, and if you do not tell me what it is, it will not succeed." Kwei then told her, when she said, "My father is self-willed. If some one do not ask him to stay at home, he will not come out. Let me go and ask him." "Very well," replied Kwei.

'In the 11th month, on Yih-hae, was the autumnal sacrifice in the temple of T'ae Kung, under the superintendence of K'ing Shay. Loo-p'oo Keang went and told him [of what was intended], and begged him to stay at home, but he would not listen to her, saying, "Who will dare [to make an attempt on me]?" and with this he went to the temple. Ma Ying was the personator of the dead, and K'ing Heeh had offered the first cup. Loo-p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho were in attendance with their spears, and the men at arms of the K'ing surrounded the palace. The grooms of the Ch'in and Paou families began to get up a play, and the horses of some of the K'ing got frightened, on which [many of] the men at arms threw off their buffcoats, and secured them. They then fell drinking, and [were drawn off to] see the players to [the street of] Yu-le, the followers of the Lwan, the Kaou, the Ch'in, and the Paou mixing themselves among them. [At this point], Tsze-we struck one of the leaves of the door with a mallet, when Kwei stabbed Tsze-che from behind, and Wang Ho struck him with his spear. The blow cut off his left arm, but still he got hold [with the other] of a pillar of the temple, and shook it so that the rafters quivered. Then he hurled a stand and a vase, killed a man [with each of them], and died himself. [The conspirators] then killed K'ing Shung (Heeh) and Ma Ying. The duke was frightened, but Paou Kwoh said to him, "We are all acting in your interest." Ch'in Seu-woo took the duke away, when he threw off his robes, and went to the inner palace.

'K'ing Fung, on his way back from Lae, was met by parties who told him of the rising. On Ting-hae he attacked the western gate unsuccessfully, after which he turned to the northern, which he took, and entered, proceeding to attack the inner palace. Unsuccessful there, he withdrew, and arranged his forces in the Yoh [street]. There he challenged his enemies to battle, but they would not meet him. He then came to Loo a fugitive, and presented a chariot to Ke Woo-tsze, so beautiful and polished that men could see themselves in it. When Chen Chwang-shuh

saw it, he said, "When the carriage is highly polished, its owner is sure to come to distress. It was right he should come to exile." Shuh-sun Muh-tsze gave Fung an entertainment at which he scattered the sacrificial thank-offerings about. Muh-tsze was displeased, and made the musicians sing for him the Maou che (a lost ode), but he did not perceive the meaning.

'By-and-by the people of Ts'e sent to reproach [Loo for sheltering him], on which he fled to Woo, where Kow-yu gave him [the city of] Choo-fang. There he collected the members of his clan and settled them, becoming richer than he had been before. Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih said to Shuh-sun, "Heaven would seem to enrich bad men. K'ing Fung is rich again." Muh-tsze replied, "Riches may be called the reward of good men, and the ruin of bad men. Heaven will bring him to ruin. He will be destroyed utterly with all that are his."

[Appended here, we have two narratives —

1st 'On Kwei-sze, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died. No word was yet sent of the event, and therefore no record was made of it. This was according to rule.' See below on the last par.

2d 'In the disorder occasioned by Ts'uy-tsze, all duke [Chwang's] sons had disappeared. Ts'oo had gone to Loo, Shuh-sun S'uen to Yen, and K'ea to the hill of Kow-tow. Now that K'ing Fung was driven into exile, they were all recalled, the furniture which they required supplied, and their cities restored to them. The duke conferred P'ei-t'een on Gan-tsze, in whose circuit there were 60 towns, but he would not receive it. Tsze-we said to him, "Riches are what men desire, how is it that you alone do not desire them?" He replied, "The towns of the K'ing were enow to excite men's desires, and hence he is now in exile. My cities are not enow to do that, but if I were to receive P'ei-t'een, they would be so, and the day of my exile would not be distant. Abroad, I should not have one town to preside over. My not receiving P'ei-t'een is not because I hate riches, but because I am afraid of losing my riches. Moreover, riches should be like pieces of cloth or silk, which are made up in lengths of a definite measurement, which cannot be altered. When the people have the means of sustentation abundant and conveniences of life, there must be the rectification of virtue (See the Shoo, II n 7) to act as a limit or border to them. Let them not become abandoned and insolent, and you have what may be called a protecting border to their advantages. If those go beyond that, ruin will ensue. My not coveting to have more than I have is what is called the protecting limit." The duke gave Pih-kwoh Ts'oo 60 towns, and he received them. He gave [many] to Tsze-yu, but he only accepted a few. He gave the same to Tsze-we, and he accepted them, but afterwards returned some. The duke considered the conduct [of these two] a proof of their fidelity, and showed them favour.

'He liberated Loo-p'oo P'eh and [banished him] to the northern borders. He sought for the body of Ts'uy Ch'oo, intending to take the head off, but could not find it. When Shuh-sun Muh-tsze heard of this he said, "They are sure to find it. King Woo had ten capable ministers, and did not Ts'uy Ch'oo have as many servants? Less than ten would not have been

enow to bury him." By-and-by one of Ts'ny's servants said, "Give me his *peh* which took the two arms to hold it, and I will give up his coffin." Thus they found [the body]. In the 12th month on Yih-hae, the 1st day of the moon, the people of Ts'ny *tsze* ed duke Chwang from his grave, and put him in proper grave-clothes into a new coffin in the grand chamber and in the [old] coffin they exposed Ts'ny Ch'oo's body in the market place. The people could all still *reue* use it and said, "This is Ts'ny *tsze*."

Part 7 9 The Chuen says:—"In consequence of the covenant of Sung, the duke and the duke of Sung the marquess of Chin, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Hsu, went to Ts'oo. When the duke passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, the earl was not in it, [but had already gone]. Pih-yew however came out on a complimentary visit to the banks of the Hwang, and was not respectful. Muh-shuh said, "If Pih-yew be not dealt with as an offender by Ch'ing, he will do that State great injury. Respectfulness is an essential thing for the people. If a man cast it away how shall he keep [the family] he has received from his ancestors? If the people of Ch'ing do not punish him, they are sure to suffer through him. The ducks and pond-weed, gathered by the banks of shallows and marshes and about standing pools, placed in the ancestral temple and superintended by the young and elegant ladies, [are accepted] because of the *reue* [in the thing] (See the Shu, I. II. ode IV). When the duke had reached the Han, king K'ang of Ts'oo was dead, and he wished to return. Shuh-chung Ch'ao-pih said, "We are going for the sake of the State of Ts'oo, and

not on account of one man. Tze-fuh Hwuy pih said, "The superior man is solicitous about what is remote; smaller men act from the impression of what is near. Who has leisure to attend to the future without considering the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present." Shuh-sun Muh *tsze* said "Shuh-chung is to be entirely followed. Tze-fuh's opinion is that of one commencing his learning." Yung Ching pih [also] said, "He who considers the remote is the faithful counsellor." On this the duke went on.

Hs'ang-seuh said, "[Our journey was] on account of the one man, and not on account of Ts'oo. Who can think of Ts'oo, and not think of the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present and rest our people. When they have settled the question of a new ruler we can make the necessary preparations. On this the duke of Sung returned."

Part 8. The king really died on Kwai-sze 21 days before K'eh-yin;—acc. to the 1st narrative after p. 6. Tso-she says:—An officer from the court came to announce the king's death. Being asked the day of it, he said it was K'eh-yin, and so it was *ts'ed*, to show the fault [of the late announcement] (?).

If K'eh-yin was in the 14th month, Yih-wu when the viceroy of Ts'oo died, separated from K'eh-yin by 41 days could not be in it. This is held to *mu* that there was an intercalary month at the end of this year to which Yih-wu belonged.

[There is appended here.—K'eh K'eh of Ts'oo died, and Chao W'an *tsze* wore mourning for him according to the rule for those who had covenanted together;—which was right.]

Twenty ninth year

杞<sup>七</sup>侯<sup>六</sup>使<sup>六</sup>來聘。杞<sup>七</sup>人<sup>六</sup>城<sup>六</sup>杞。段<sup>七</sup>曹<sup>六</sup>人<sup>六</sup>呂<sup>六</sup>滕<sup>六</sup>人<sup>六</sup>薛<sup>六</sup>人<sup>六</sup>小。宋<sup>七</sup>平<sup>六</sup>定<sup>六</sup>衛<sup>六</sup>世<sup>六</sup>叔<sup>六</sup>儀<sup>六</sup>鄭<sup>六</sup>公<sup>六</sup>孫。仲<sup>五</sup>孫<sup>五</sup>羯<sup>五</sup>會<sup>五</sup>晉<sup>五</sup>荀<sup>五</sup>盈<sup>五</sup>齊<sup>五</sup>高<sup>五</sup>止。閻<sup>四</sup>弒<sup>四</sup>吳<sup>四</sup>了<sup>四</sup>餘<sup>四</sup>祭。庚<sup>三</sup>午<sup>三</sup>衛<sup>三</sup>侯<sup>三</sup>衍<sup>三</sup>卒。在<sup>二</sup>楚<sup>二</sup>。有<sup>一</sup>九年<sup>一</sup>春<sup>一</sup>止<sup>一</sup>月<sup>一</sup>公<sup>一</sup>自<sup>一</sup>楚<sup>一</sup>。

吳子使八章札來聘。九章秋九月，葬衛獻公。十章齊高止出奔比。燕十一章冬仲孫粥如晉。

左傳曰：一十九年春，十一月，公在楚。釋不朝止於廟也。楚人使公親櫬，公患之。穆叔曰：「被殯而櫬，則布幣也。」乃使巫以桃茢先被殯。楚人弗禁，既而悔之。

○月癸卯，齊人葬莊公於北郭。

○夏四月，葬楚康王。公及陳侯、鄭伯、許男、送葬，至於西門之外。諸侯之大夫皆至於墓。楚郝敖即位，卜了圍爲令尹。鄭行人了羽曰：「是謂不宜，必代之昌。」松柏之下，其草不殖。

公還及方城，予武了取卜，使公治問。申書追而與之，聞守卜者將叛，臣帥徒以討之。既得之，次敢告。公治致使而退，及舍而後聞取卜。公曰：「欲之而叛，祇見疏也。」公謂公冶曰：「吾可以入乎？」對曰：「君實有國，誰敢違君？」公與公冶冕服，固辭，強之而後受。公欲無入，榮成伯賦式微，乃歸。五月，公自楚。公治致其弔於予氏，而終不入焉。曰：「欺其君，何必使余？」予孫見之，則曰：「予氏如他日，不見則終不。」予氏及疾，聚其臣曰：「我死，必無以冕服斂，非德賞也。」且無使予氏葬我。○葬靈王，鄭上卿有事了展，使印段往。伯有曰：「弱不可了展。」與具莫往，弱不猶愈乎？詩云：「王事靡盬，不遑啟處。」東西南北，誰敢寧處？堅事晉楚，以蕃王室也。王事無曠，何常之有？遂使印段如周。

吳人伐越，獲俘焉，以爲闔。使守舟，吳子餘祭觀舟，闔以刀弑之。

○鄭了展卒，了皮即位。於是鄭饑而木及麥，民病。了皮以了展之命，餽國人粟，戶一鍾。是以得鄭國之民，故平氏常寧國政，以爲上卿。宋司城了罕聞之，曰：「鄰於善民之望也。」宋亦饑，兩於平公。出公粟以貸，使人人皆貸。司城氏貸而不書，爲人大之無者貸，宋無饑人。叔向聞之，曰：「鄭之罕，宋之樂，其後亡者也。」一者具，皆得國乎？民之歸也，施而不德，樂氏加焉，其以宋升降乎？」

晉平公杞出也，故治杞。六月，知悼子合諸侯之大夫以城杞。孟孝伯會之，鄭子犬叔與伯石往。子犬叔見犬叔，文子與之語。文子曰：「甚乎其城杞也。」子犬叔曰：「若之何哉？」晉國不恤周宗之闕，而夏肆是屏，其棄諸姬亦可知也。已，諸姬是棄，其誰歸之？吉也。聞之，棄同卽異，是謂離德。詩曰：「協比其鄰，昏姻孔云。」晉不鄰矣，其誰云之？齊高子容與宋司徒見知伯，汝齊相禮賓出司馬侯，言於知伯曰：「二子皆將不免于容，專司徒侈，皆亡家之主也。知伯曰：『何如？』對曰：『專則速，及侈將以其力斃專，則人實斃之。』將及矣。」

范獻子來聘，拜城杞也。公享之，展莊叔執幣射者三耦。公臣不足，取於家臣。家臣展瑕、展玉父爲一耦。公臣，公巫召伯仲頭、莊叔爲一耦。鄒鼓父、黨叔爲一耦。

晉侯使司馬汝叔侯來治杞。田弗盡歸也。晉悼夫人愠曰：「齊也取貨先君，若有知也，不尙取之。」公告叔侯，叔侯曰：「虞虢、焦滑、翟揚、韓、魏皆姬姓也。晉是以大，若非侵小將何所取？武獻以下兼國多矣，誰得治之？杞夏餘也，而卽東夷魯周公之後也，而睦於晉，以杞封魯，猶可而何有焉？魯之於晉也，職貢不乏，玩好時至，公卿大夫相繼於朝，史不絕書，府無虛月，如是可矣，何必瘠魯以肥杞？且先君而有知也，毋寧夫人而竭用老臣？杞文公來盟，書曰：『子賤之也。』」

吳公子札來聘，見叔孫穆子，說之，謂穆子曰：「子其不得死乎？好善而不能擇人，吾聞君子務在擇人，吾子爲魯宗卿而任其大政，不慎舉，何以堪之？禍必及子，請觀於周樂，使工爲之歌。」周南召南曰：「美哉，始基之矣，猶未也，然勤而不怨矣。」爲之歌，邶鄘衛曰：「美哉，淵乎，憂而不困者也。吾聞衛康叔武公之德如是，是其衛風乎？」爲之歌，王曰：「美哉，思而不懼，其周之東乎？」爲之歌，鄭曰：「美哉，其細已甚，民弗堪也，是其先亡乎？」爲之歌，齊曰：「美哉，泱泱乎，大風也哉，表東海者，其大公乎？國未可量也。」爲之歌，幽曰：「美哉，藹乎，樂而不淫，其周公之東乎？」爲之歌，蔡曰：「此之謂夏聲，夫能夏則大，大之至也。其周之祚乎？」爲之歌，魏曰：「美哉，風風乎，大而婉險而易行，以德輔此，則明



上也。爲之歌。唐曰：思深哉！其有陶唐氏之遺民乎？不然，何憂之遠也？非令德之後，誰能若是？爲之歌。陳曰：國無十，其能久乎？自卽以下，無譏焉。爲之歌。小雅曰：美哉！思而不貳，怨而不二，其周德之哀乎？猶有先王之遺民焉。爲之歌。人雅曰：廣哉！熙熙乎！曲而有直體，其文王之德乎？爲之歌。頌曰：至矣哉！直而不倨，曲而不屈，邇而不逼，遠而不攜，遷而不淫，復而不厭，哀而不愁，樂而不荒，用而不匱，廣而不宣，施而不費，取而不貪，處而不底，行而不流，五聲和，八風平，節有度，守有序，盛德之所同也。見舞象，前南籥者曰：至矣哉！猶有憾。見舞大武者曰：至矣哉！周之盛也，其若此乎？見舞韶，護者曰：至矣哉！至矣哉！人之弘也，而猶有慙德，聖人之難也。見舞人，夏者曰：至矣哉！勤而不德，非禹其誰能修之？見舞韶，節者曰：德至矣哉！人矣！如人之無不疇也，如地之無不載也，雖甚盛德，其蔑以加於此矣。觀止矣！若有他樂，吾不敢請。曰：其出聘也，通嗣君也，故遂聘於齊，說晏平仲，謂之曰：至矣哉！速納，且與政，無邑，與政，乃免於難。齊國之政，將有所歸，未獲所歸，難不歇也。故晏子因陳桓子以納政與邑，是以免於難。高之難，聘於鄭，見了產，如舊相識，與之縞帶，了產獻紵衣焉。謂了產曰：鄭之執政，侈難將至矣，政必及了，了爲政，慎之以禮，不然，鄭國將敗。適衛，說蘧瑗、史狗、史鰌，公了州，公叔發，公了朝，曰：衛多君了，未有患也。自衛如晉，將宿於戚，聞鐘聲焉，曰：異哉！吾聞之也，辯而不德，必加於戮，大了獲罪於君，以在此，懼猶不足，而又何樂？大了之在此也，猶燕之巢於幕上，君又在殯，而可以樂乎？遂去之。文了聞之，終身不聽琴瑟。適晉，說趙文了，韓宣了，魏獻了，曰：晉國其萃於族乎？說叔向將行，謂叔向曰：至矣勉之，君侈而多良，人人皆富，政將什家，至了好直，必思自免於難。

秋九月，齊公孫蠆、公孫竈放其人大高止於北燕。了人出，書曰：出奔，罪高止也。局止好以事自爲功，且專，故難及之。

冬，孟孝伯如晉，報范叔也。

○爲高氏之難故，高豎以盧叛。十月，庚寅，閭丘嬰帥師圍盧。高豎曰：「苟使高氏有後，請致邑。」齊人立敬仲之曾孫鄒長敬仲也。十一月，乙卯，高豎致盧而出奔晉。晉人城綿而箕旆。

○鄭伯有使公孫黑如楚，辭曰：「楚鄭方惡，而使余往，是殺余也。」伯有曰：「世行也。子皙曰：『可則往，』雖則已，何世之有？」伯有將置使之子皙怒，將伐伯有。氏大夫和之。十二月，己巳，鄭大夫盟於伯有氏禚。諺曰：「是盟也，其與幾何？」時曰：「君子屢盟，亂是用長。今是長亂之道也。」禍未弔也。必三年而後能紓。然明日，政將焉往？裨諺曰：「善之代不善，天命也。」其焉辟子產？舉不踰等，則位班也。擇善而舉，則世隆也。天又除之，奪伯有魄，子西卽世。將焉辟之？天禍鄭久矣，其必使子產息之，乃猶可以戾，不然將亡矣。

- XXIX. 1 In his twenty ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Ts'oo
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo
- 3 On K'ung woo K'an, marquis of Wei, died
- 4 A gate-keeper murdered Yu-chae, viscount of Woo
- 5 Chung sun K'ueh joined Ssun Ying of Ts'in, Kaou Che of Ts'e, Hwa ling of Sung, She shuh E of Wei, Kung sun Twan of Ching, and officers of Ts'au, Keu, T'ung, S'eh, and little Choo, in walling [the capital of] Ke.
- 6 The marquis of Ts'in sent Sze Yang to Loo on a friendly mission
- 7 The viscount of Ke came and made a covenant.
- 8 The viscount of Woo sent Chuh to Loo on a friendly mission
- 9 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was the burial of duke H'uen of Wei
- 10 Kaou Che of Ts'e fled from that State to north Yen
- 11 In winter, Chung sun K'ueh went to Ts'in

Par 1. Tso-she says this notice is intended to explain how the duke did not welcome in the new year by repairing to the shrines in the ancestral temple on the first day of it. But there is probably more significance in it. Both duke K'ang and duke Ching had been absent from Loo at the time of the new year on visits to Ts'in; but the classic contains no parallel to this in reference to those years. To be obliged to go to Ts'oo was an indignity to the marquis of Loo; while there, he was obliged to submit to peculiar indignities; and during his absence Ke Woo-tze had encroached upon his authority in the government of the State so that he was even afraid to enter his capital on

his return. All these things are hidden under the apparently innocent word of the text, in which many have traced the *style* of the sage himself. The Chuen says:—The people of Ts'in required the duke to bring grave-clothes with his own hand [for king K'ang]. He was troubled about it, but Muh-shuh said to him, "Have all about the coffin sprinkled and then take the grave-clothes there. They will be but so much of the silk set forth [at court]. Accordingly a *soucou* was employed, who first executed the sprinkling with a branch of a peach tree and some reeds. The people of Ts'in did not prevent him, but they afterwards regretted it.

[We have here two notices about the burials of the princes of Ts'e and Ts'oo —

1st 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-moon, the people of Ts'e buried duke Chwang in the northern suburbs

2d 'In summer, in the 4th month, at the burial of king K'ang of Ts'oo, the duke, with the marquess of Chin, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Hen, all accompanied it to the outside of the western gate, and the great officers of the States went to the grave. K'ang-nou (See at the end of the 1st year of duke Ch'ou) then took the vacant seat, and king [Kung's] son Wei became chief minister. T'ze-yu, the internuncius of Ch'ing said, "This may be called incongruous. [Wei] will take the [king's] place, and flourish in his room. Beneath the pine and the cypress the grass does not flourish."

Par 2 The duke arrived from Ts'oo but it was with some hesitancy that he ventured to enter his own State again.

The Chuen says — 'When the duke on his return had got [to the barrier-wall of Ts'oo] Ke-woo-tze had taken P'ien, [and appropriated it to himself]. He sent, however, Kung-yay to [meet the duke, and] inquire after his welfare, sending a messenger after him, who overtook him, with a sealed letter [for the duke] in which it was said, "The officer in charge of P'ien was intending to revolt. I led my followers to punish him and have got the place. I venture to inform you of it." Kung-yay discharged his commission and withdrew, and when [the duke] came to his resting place, he learned that Ke-woo-tze had taken P'ien. "He wished to get it," said the duke, "and pretends that it was revolting. This makes me feel that I am treated very distantly." He then asked Kung-yay whether it would be safe for him to enter [the State]. "The State," replied Kung-yay, "is your lordship's, who will dare to resist you?" On which the duke gave him the cap and robes [of a minister]. That officer firmly declined them, and only received them after he was hard pressed to do so. The duke wished not to enter the State, till Yung Ch'ing-pih sang to him the Shih we (She, I in ode XI), after which he took his way back to the capital. He arrived from Ts'oo in the 5th month, and Kung-yay resigned the city which he held from Ke-woo-tze, and never afterwards entered his house, saying that he would not be in the employment of such a deceiver of his ruler. If Ke-sun went to see him, he would speak of his business as in former days. If he did not go to see him, he never spoke of the affairs of the family. When he was ill, he assembled his servants, and said to them, "When I am dead, be sure and not put me in my coffin with my ministerial cap and robes. They were not a reward of virtue. And do not let the Ke bury me."

Par 3 [The Chuen appends here — 'At the burial of king Ling, the highest ministers of Ch'ing being [otherwise] occupied, Tsze-chen proposed that Yin T'wan should go [to the capital]. Pih-y'ew objected on the ground that T'wan was too young, but Tsze-chen said, "Is it not better that a young man should go than that no one at all should go? The ode (She, II 1 ode II 2) says,

'The king's business was not to be slackly performed,

I had no leisure to kneel or to sit.'

Last, west, south and north, who dare to dwell at ease? We steadily serve Ts'in and T'choo in order to protect the royal House. The king's business must not be undischarged, but there is no regular rule as to the person." Accordingly, he sent Yin T'wan to Chow.]

Par 4 The Chuen says — 'The people of Woo, in an invasion of Yuch, took a prisoner, whom they made a door-keeper (i.e. after cutting off his feet) and then appointed him to the charge of the [viscount's] boat. The viscount, Yu-chue, was inspecting the boat [on a excursion] when the door-keeper murdered him with a knife."

There is no doubt as to the meaning of 閹, but how the murder should be the act of a 'door-keeper' seems to need some explanation. Both Kung-yang and Kuh-liang say that the person in question was 刑人, 'mutilated,' and Kuh-liang further says the mutilation consisted in his being a eunuch (閹). But we need not suppose this. Persons mutilated in their feet were in those times often employed as door-keepers, and officers were so punished, and that that occupation was given to them. This must be the meaning, I think, of the 以爲閹 in Tso-she, and we can understand how the man should revenge himself by the murder of the viscount.

[We have here the following narrative — 'T'ze-chen of Ch'ing died, and [his son] T'ze-p'ei succeeded to his place. At this time the State was suffering from famine and as the wheat crop was not yet ripe, the people were very badly off. T'ze-p'ei then, [as if] by his father's command, presented each family with a *ch'ung* of millet, thereby winning the attachment of the people, and in consequence of this the government of the State regularly continued in the hands of the Han family, its chief being the highest minister.

'When T'ze-han, minister of Works in Sung, heard what T'ze-p'ei had done, he said, "As we are neighbours to [the State where such] good [is done], our people will expect the same from us." Sung was also suffering from famine, and he begged duke Ping to lend [to the people] out of his public stores of grain, and made the great officers all lend in the same way. He himself kept no record of what he lent, [saying that he did it] for the great officers who had none. The consequence was that none in Sung suffered from want. Shuh-liang heard of it and said, "Many families will perish before the Han of Ch'ing, and the Yoh of Sung. They two are likely to have the chief away in their States. The people will be attached to them. But in giving, and not considering it an act of virtue, the Yoh has the advantage. His descendants will rise and fall along with Sung."

Par 5 For 世叔儀, Kung-yang has 世叔齊, and both he and Kuh-liang have 邾人 after 莒人. The Chuen says — 'The mother of duke Ping of Ts'in was a daughter of the House of Ke, in consequence of

which he took the management of that State. In the 6th month, Che Tsin tze (Ssun Ying) assembled the great officers of the States to fortify its capital. Ming Hsiao-pih (Chung-sun K'eh) was among them; and from Ching Tze-tae-shuh and I li-hsih (Kung-sun T'wan) went. The former of these visited Tze-shuh Wan-tze (Tze-shuh of Wei), and spoke with him [about the undertaking]. "Very great" said Wan tze. "Is this walling of Ke?" Tze-tae-shuh said "How is it that Tsin has no thought about the wants of the States that are connected with the house of Chow and sets itself to protect this branch of Hsiao? We can well know from it how Tsin has abandoned all us Ke (States of the ~~the~~ or Chow surname). But if it abandon them, who will remain attached to it? I have heard that to abandon one's own, and seek to strangers, is a proof of estrangement from virtue. The ode (Sbe, II. iv ode VIII. 13) says,

They assemble their neighbours,  
And their kinsfolk are full of their praise

As Tsin does not play a neighbour's part, who will praise it?"

Kaou Tze-yung (Kaou Che) of Ts'ao and the minister of Instruction of Sung (Iwa Ting), visited Che Pih (Ssun Ying), when Joo T'ao was master of the ceremonies. When the guests were gone, the marshal How (Joo T'ao) said to Che Pih, "Neither of those gentlemen will escape an evil end. Tze-yung is self-sufficient, and the minister of Instruction is extravagant. They are both men who will ruin their families." Che Pih said, "[As between them] how will it be? The reply was, "Self-sufficiency brings its fate on more rapidly. Extravagance causes to ruin along with [the exhaustion of] its means; but other men deal ruin to self-sufficiency. In this case it will [soon] come."

It was certainly ill-advised in the marquis of Tsin to call out the States to an undertaking like the walling of Ke. The partiality displayed in it did much to shake the supremacy which Tsin had maintained so long. Loo, and other States probably as well, were made to restore to Ke lands which they had taken from it.

Par 6. The Chuch says:—The visit of Fan Hsiao-tze (Rue Yang) was in acknowledgment of the walling of Ke. The duke entertained him, when Chen Chwang-pih held the silks [presented to him], and three pairs of archers displayed their skill. The duke's own officers, however, were not sufficient to supply that number, and it was necessary to get some from one of the clans. That supplied Chen Hsiao and Chen Yuh foo, who formed one pair. Of the duke's officers, Kung woo Shaoou pih-chung and Yen Chwang-shuh formed a pair, and the other consisted of Tsing Koo-foo and Tang Shuh.

Par 7. The marquis sent the marshal Joo Shuh how to Loo to manage the matter about the lands of Ke, when we did not restore all [that we had taken]. Taou the marquis's mother was indignant, and said that T'ao (Shuh how) had taken bribes, and that if their former rulers could know if they would not appear of his doing so. The marquis told this to Shuh how who replied, "The princes of Yu, Kwuh, Tsehou, Hwah, Hoh Yang, Han, and Wei were Kees (~~the~~), and Tsin's greatness is

owing to [the absorption of] them. If it had not encroached on the small States, where should it have found territory to take? Since the times of Woo and Hsiao, we have annexed many of them; and who can call us to account for the encroachments? Ke is a remnant of [the House of] Hsiao, and has assimilated to the wild tribes of the east [The princes of] Loo are the descendants of the duke of Chow and are in most friendly relations with Tsin. If we should confer all Ke on Loo, we should not be doing anything strange, so that there is nothing to make to do about [in the present matter]. In its relations with Tsin, Loo contributes its dues without fail; its valuable curiosities are always arriving; its princes, ministers, and great officers come one after another to our court. Our historiographers do not cease recording; our treasury is not left empty a month. Let such a state of things alone. Why should we make Loo thin in order to fatten Ke? If, moreover, our former rulers could know of the case, would they not be angry with the lady rather than find occasion to reprove me?"

Duke Wan of Ke [now] came to Loo, and made a *cuquant* (With reference to the restored lands). The text calls him *viscount*, in contempt for him (7).

Par 8. The Chah introduced here appears in an honourable way in the narrative appended to xiv 1. The difficulties connected with his sent mission will be touched on after the long narrative in the Chuen:—The Kung tze Chah of Woo, having come to Loo on a complimentary mission, visited Shuh sun Hsiu-tze and was pleased with him. He said to him, however, "You love good men, and yet are not able to select such [for office]. I have heard that it is the object of a superior man, high in office, to select [good men]. You are a minister of Loo, and a son of its House. You are entrusted with a great part of its government, and yet you are not careful in the men you raise to office;—how will you bear the consequences? Calamity is sure to come upon you. He then begged that he might hear the music of Chow; and [the duke] made the musicians sing to him the [odes of the] Chow Nan and the Shaoou Nan (Sbe, I. I, II) [with all the accompaniments]. "Admirable!" he said; "here was the beginning and foundation [of king Wan's transforming influence] yet still it was not complete. Notwithstanding there is [the expression of] earnest endeavour without any resentment."

They sang to him the [odes of] P'ei, Yung and Wei (Sbe, I. III. iv v) "Admirable!" he said. "How deep [was the influence]! Here are those who sorrow and yet are not distressed. I hear [and I know]!—It was the virtue of K'ang-shuh and duke Woo, which made these odes what they are,—the odes of Wei."

They sang to him the [odes of] Wang (Sbe I. vi) "Admirable!" he said. "Here is thought without fear as befitted Chow after its removal to the east!"

They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'ing (I. vii). He said, "Admirable! But the minutiae in them are excessive, and the people could not endure them. It is this which will make Ch'ing the first to perish."

They sang to him the [odes of] Ts'ao (I. viii). He said, "Admirable! How loudly sound

these odes of a great State! It was T'ae-kung who made such an object of distinction by the east sea. The destinies of this State are not to be measured."

"They sang to him the [odes of] Pin (I xi) He said, "Admirable! [Their sound] is grand. They are expressive of enjoyment without license,—as befitted the duke of Chow in the east!"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ts'in (I xi) He said, "Here are what we call the sounds of the cultivated States! Ts'in was able to become one of these, and so is great, very great. Was it not because it occupies the old seat of Chow?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Wei (I ix) He said, "Admirable! What harmony! There is grandeur and delicacy, like a dangerous defile yet easily traversed! To this let there be added the aids of virtue, and [Wei] should produce intelligent lords."

"They sang to him the [odes of] T'ang (I x) He said, "How expressive of thought and deep [anxiety]! Did not T'ang possess the people that came down from [the rule of the prince of] T'ao and T'ang? But for that how should there have been here an anxiety so far-reaching? But for the remaining influence of his excellent virtue, who could have produced anything like this?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'in (I xii) He said, "A State without [proper] lords!—how can it continue long?" On [the music of] Kwei and Ts'ao (I xiii xiv), he made no remarks.

"They sang to him the [odes of the] S'ao Yu (She, II) He said, "Admirable! Here is thoughtfulness, but no disaffection, resentful feeling, but not the expression of it. Is there not indicated some decay in the virtue of Chow? But still there were the people that had come down from the early kings."

"They sang to him the [odes of the] Pa Yu (She, III) He said, "How wide! How harmonious and pleasant! Amid all the winding [of the notes], the movement is straight-onward. Is there not here the virtue of king W'an?"

"They sang to him the Sacrificial Odes (She, IV) He said, "This is perfect! Here are straight-forwardness without rudeness, winding but no bending; nearness without pressure, distance without estrangement; changes without license, repetitions without satiety, disconsolateness without deep sorrow, joy without wild indulgence, the use of resources without their ever failing, wide [virtue] without display, beneficence without waste, appropriation without covetousness; conservation without obstruction; and constant exercise without any dissipation. The five notes are harmonious, the [airs of the] eight winds are equally blended, the parts [of the different instruments] are defined, all is maintained in an orderly manner, the complete virtue [of Chow and Shang and of Lo] appears united here."

"When he saw the dancers with the ivory pipes, and those with the southern flageolets, he said, "Admirable! And still we must regret [that W'an's sway was not universal]."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-woo (the dance of king Woo), he said, "Admirable! Chow was now complete! Here is the witness of it!"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shao-ho (The dance of T'ang of Yin), he said, "The magnanimity of the sage! and still there was something to be ashamed of [in T'ang],—his position was hard [even] for a sage."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-h'ea (the music of Yu), he said, "Admirable! Zealous labour without any assumption of merit!—who but Yu could have accomplished this?"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shao-s'ao (the music of Shun), he said, "Virtue was here complete. This is great. It is like the universal overshadowing of heaven, and the universal sustaining of the earth. The most complete virtue could add nothing to this. Let the exhibition stop. If there be any other music, I shall not presume to ask to hear it."

"Ch'ih had come out to pay complimentary visits, to introduce the new ruler of Woo to the other princes, so he now went on to Ts'e, where he was pleased with Gan P'ing-chung and said to him, "Quickly return [to the State] your towns and your share in the government. If you are without towns and charge, you will escape the troubles [that are coming]. The government of Ts'e will come into the hands of the right person, but until that happens, its troubles will not cease." Gan-tze on this resigned his share in the government and his towns through Ch'in Hwan-tze, and in this way he escaped the troubles of Lwan and Kao."

"[From Ts'e] Ch'ih went on to Ch'ing, where he visited Tsze-ch'an, as if they had been old acquaintances, presenting him with a sash of the plain, white silk [of Woo] and receiving from him a robe of the grass-cloth [of Ch'ing]. He said to Tsze-ch'an, "The [acting] chief minister of Ch'ing is extravagant, and troubles will [soon] arise. The government is sure to fall to you, and you must be careful to observe the rules of propriety in the conduct of it. If you are not so, the State will go to ruin."

"He went on to Wei, where he was pleased with Keu Yuen, Sze Kow, Sze Ts'ao, the Kung-tze King, Kung-shuh Fah, and the Kung-tze Ch'ao, and said, "There are many superior men in Wei, and it will not yet have any sorrows."

"From Wei he went to Ts'in, and [on the way] was going to pass the night in Ts'ieh. Hearing the sound of bells in it, however, he said, "This is strange! I have heard that he who strives, and does so not virtuously, is sure to be executed. It is because he offended against his ruler that he is here. If to live in apprehension were not enough for him, why should he go on to have music? He lives here like a swallow which has built its nest in a tent. When his ruler is still in his coffin in the ancestral temple, is it a time to have music?" With this he left the place, but when [Sun] W'an-tze heard his words, he never afterwards listened to a lute all his life."

"Arrived at Ts'in, he was pleased with Ch'ao W'an-tze, Han Seuen-tze, and Wei Heen-tze, and said, "The [rule of the] State of Ts'in will be concentrated in the families of these three." He was pleased [also] with Shuh-h'ang, and when he was going away, he said to him, "You must do your best. Your ruler is extravagant, and there are many [deemed to be] good men [about the court]. The great officers are wealthy, and the government will come into their families. You love what is straightforward, and will take

thought how to escape yourself from calamities [that are coming].

There is considerable difficulty in connexion with this notion of he-chah. Acc to Tso-ah, it was to open communications between the new ruler of Woo and the other princes. But the former ruler of Woo was murdered only in the 8th month; and that same month, Chah must have been despatched—a thing irreconcilable with the pur. letters of China. Too Yu supposes that he was sent away by Yu-chao before his murder and went on his mission, without hearing of it. But as the news of that event soon reached Loo, it could not but also reach him. This is one of those questions which can not be satisfactorily solved, and which there is therefore little use in discussing.

In his history of Woo, (Historical Records, Bk. XXXI) Sze-na Ts'ên gives Yu-chao 17 years of rule, and a natural death, so that the Ch'ün Ts'ên and his Work here contradict each other.

Par 10 This is the first appearance of North Yen in the classic. It was a Ke State held by the descendants of Shih, the duke of Shaoou famous in the Shoo, as earl, or acc. to Sze-na Ts'ên, marquess. Its capital was in Ke (前), in the pres. dia. of Ta-hing, one of the districts in which Peking is. There is still a he-chow in the dep. of Shan-t'ên.

The Chuen says—In autumn, in the 8th month, Kung-sun Ch'ue and Kung-sun Tsaoou of T'ü drove the great officer Kaou (Che to north Yen. He went from the capital on Yih-wa. The words of the text that he left the State and fled, are condemnatory of him (?). He was fond of assuming the merit of anything that was done, and acting on his own authority and hence trouble came upon him.

Par 11 This visit was, acc. to Tso-ah, in return for that to Loo of Fan Shuh (Sze Yang) in the summer.

[We have here two narratives:—

1st. In consequence of the troubles about Kaou Che [his son] Kaou Shoo held [the city of] Loo in revolt. In the 10th month, on K'ang

yin, Loo k'üw Ying led a force, and invested Loo, when Shoo said that he would surrender if they agreed that the Kaou family should continue to have its representative. The people then appointed to that position Yen the great-grandson of King-chung (The Kaou He in the Chuen in III. ix. 6) out of their esteem for King-chung. In the 11th month, on Yih-maou, Kaou Shoo surrendered Loo, and fled to Tsin, where they walled M'ên, and placed him in it.

2d. Pih-yüw of Ch'ing wished to send Kung-sun Hih on a mission to Ts'oo, but he declined to go, saying, Ts'oo and Ch'ing are now offended with each other—to send me there is to kill me. Pih-yüw urged that such missions were hereditary in his family; but he replied, When it is possible, we go; when there are difficulties, we do not—what hereditary duty is there in the case? Pih-yüw wanted to force him to go, which enraged him—Tse-eh—so that he arranged to attack the family of Pih-yüw but the great officers reconciled them. In the 12th month, on Ke-ze, the great officers made a covenant with the Pih-yüw when P'ao Chin said, How long will this covenant be adhered to? The ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 8) says,

The superior is continually making covenants,

And the disorder is thereby increased.

The present is the way to prolong disorder; our misery will not yet cease. It will take 5 years before we are relieved from it." Jen-ming said, "To whom will the govt go?" and Chin replied, "It is the rule of Heaven that good men should take the place of bad. To whom should it go but to Tse-ch'an? His elevation will not be out of order but what is due to his position. His elevation as a good man will be approved by all. Heaven is destroying Pih-yüw and has taken away his reason. When Tse-eh is dead, Tse-ch'an cannot escape being chief minister. Heaven has long been (hint) g. Ch'ing and will make Tse-ch'an give it rest. Through him the State may still be settled; if it be not so, it will go to ruin." ]

### Thirtieth year

癸	秋	一	人	伯	弑	夏	楚	一
未	七月	了	人	姬	具	四月	了	年
其	叔	瑕	殺	卒	君	祭	使	春
姬	弓	介	其		固	世	薳	一
	如	晉	弟			了	罷	止
	宋		佞			般	來	月
			人				聘	

鄭良霄出奔許。  
 自許人丁鄭鄭  
 人殺良霄。  
 冬十月葬蔡景  
 公。晉人齊人  
 宋人衛人鄭人  
 曹人莒人邾人  
 滕人薛人杞人  
 小邾人會于澠  
 淵宋災故。

左傳曰。一年春。土止月。楚了使薳罷來聘。通嗣君也。穆叔問。了之爲政何如。對曰。吾儕小人。食而聽事。猶懼不給命。而不免於戾。焉與知政。固問焉。不告。穆叔告大夫曰。楚令尹將有大事。了蕩將與焉。助之。謹其情矣。

○了產相鄭伯。以如晉。叔向問鄭國之政焉。對曰。吾得見與否。在此歲也。駟良力爭。未知所成。若有所成。吾得見。乃可知也。叔向曰。不既和矣。對曰。伯有侈而懷了。暫好在人上。莫能相下也。雖其和也。猶相積惡也。惡。全無日矣。

○二月。癸未。晉悼大人食。與人之城杞者。絳縣人。或年長矣。無了。而往與於食。有與疑年。使之年。曰。臣。小人也。不知紀年。臣生之歲。止月甲了朔。四白有四十九甲了矣。其季於今。之也。吏走問諸朝。師曠曰。魯叔仲患伯。會卻成了於承匡之歲也。是歲也。狄伐魯。叔孫莊叔於是乎敗狄於鹹。獲長狄僑如。及虺也。豹也。而皆以名其了。七。午矣。史趙曰。亥有一首六身。下一如身。是其日數也。上。文伯曰。然則一萬六千六百有六旬也。趙孟問其縣人大。則其屬也。召之而謝過焉。曰。武不才。任君之人事。以晉國之多虞。不能山了。使了了。辱在泥塗久矣。武之罪也。敢謝不才。遂什之。使助爲政。辭以老。與之山。使爲君復陶。以爲絳縣師。而廢其輿尉。於是魯使者往晉。歸以語諸人大。乎武了。曰。晉人可媿也。有趙孟以爲人大。有伯瑕以爲休。有史趙。師曠。而咨度焉。有叔向。女齊。以師保其君。其朝多君了。其庸可媿乎。勉事之。而後可。

○夏四月。己亥。鄭伯及其人大盟。君了。是以知鄭難之不已也。

蔡景侯爲犬子般娶於楚，通焉。犬子弑景侯。

或叫於宋大廟曰：「譴譴出出，鳥鳴於亳社，如日譴譴甲午。」宋大災。宋伯姬卒，待姆也。君子謂宋共姬女而不婦，女待人婦義事也。

初，王儻季卒，其子括將見王而歎。單公子愆期，爲靈王御士，過諸廷，聞其歎而言曰：「烏乎？必有此夫。」入以告王，且曰：「必殺之，不惑而顧，大視躁而足高心在他矣。」才殺，必害王。曰：「童子何知及靈王崩，懷括欲立王子倭，倭夫弗知戊子，儻括圍蕀，遂成愆，成愆奔平時五月。癸巳，尹言多，劉穀單蔑甘過鞏，成殺倭夫括瑕，寥奔晉。晉曰：『天王殺其弟倭夫罪在王也。』」

○六月，鄭子產如陳，泄盟歸，復命，告大夫曰：「陳亡國也，不可與也。聚禾粟繕城郭，恃此二者而不撫其民，其君弱植。公子侈，犬子卑，大夫數政多門，以介於大國，能無亡乎？不過十年矣。」

秋七月，叔弓如宋，葬共姬也。

鄭伯有蓄酒爲窟室，而夜飲酒，擊鐘焉。朝至，未已，朝者曰：「公焉在其？」人曰：「吾公在壑谷，皆自朝布路而罷，既而朝則又將，使子皙如楚歸而飲酒。」庚子，子皙以驪氏之甲伐而焚之。伯有奔雍，梁醒而後知之，遂奔許。大夫聚謀，子皮曰：「仲虺之志云：『亂者取之。』亡者侮之，推亡固存，國之利也。罕驪盟，同生伯有汰侈，故不免。人謂子產就直助，驪子產曰：『豈爲我徒國之禍？雖知所敝，或主彊直，雖乃不生。』姑成吾所辛丑子產斂伯有氏之死者，而殯之，不及謀而遂行，印段從之。子皮止之，衆曰：『人不我順，何止焉？』子皮曰：『夫子禮於死者，況生者乎？遂自止之。壬寅子產入，癸卯子石入，皆受盟于子皙氏。乙巳，鄭伯及其大夫盟於犬宮，盟國人於師之梁之外。伯有聞鄭人之盟已也，怒，開子皮之甲，不與攻己也，喜，曰：『子皮與我矣。』癸丑，晨自墓門之澗入，因馬師頡介於襄庫，以伐舊北門，驪帶帥國人以伐之，皆召子產。子產曰：『兄弟而及此，吾從天所與。伯有死於羊肆，子產櫬之，枕之股而。」



哭之。斂而殯諸伯有之。臣在巾側者。旣而葬諸斗城。了駟氏欲攻了彥。了皮怒之。曰。禮。國之幹也。殺有禮。禍莫大焉。乃止。於是游占如晉。還聞雖不入。復命於介。八月。甲子。奔晉。駟帶追之。及酸棗。與了上盟。用兩珪質了河。使公孫睥入盟。大夫曰。復歸。書曰。鄭人殺良霄。不稱人。曰。自外入也。於了矯之卒也。將葬。公孫揮與裨竈晨會事焉。過伯有氏。其門上几。勞了羽。曰。其勞猶在乎。於是歲在降婁。降婁中而日。裨竈指之曰。猶可以終歲。歲不及此。次也已。及其亡也。歲在陬訾之口。其明年乃及降婁。僕展從伯有。與之皆死。羽頡出奔晉。爲犴大大雞澤之會。鄭樂成奔楚。遂適晉。羽頡因之。與之比。而事趙文子。伐鄭之說焉。以宋之盟故。不可了皮以公孫鉏爲馬師。

○楚公子圍殺人。司馬爲掩。而取其室。申無宇曰。子必不免。善人。國之十也。子了相楚國。將善是封殖。而虐之。是禍國也。且司馬令尹之偏。而子之四體也。絕民之十。去身之偏。艾一之體。以禍其國。無不祥人焉。何以得免。

爲宋災故。諸侯之人夫會。以謀歸宋財。冬十月。叔孫豹會晉趙武。齊公孫鵠。宋向戌。衛北宮佗。鄭罕虎。及小邾之大人。會于澶淵。旣而無歸於宋。故不書其人。君了曰。信其不可不慎乎。澶淵之會。卿不書。不信也。大諸侯之上卿。會而不信。寵名皆棄。不信之不可也。如是。詩曰。文一陟降。在帝左右。信之謂也。又曰。淑慎爾止。無載爾僞。不信之謂也。書曰。某人某人會于澶淵。宋災故。尤之也。不書魯人。諱之也。

○鄭了皮授了彥政。辭曰。國小而偏。族人寵多。不可爲也。了皮曰。虎帥以聽。誰敢犯了。了善相之。國無小。小能申人。國乃寬。了彥爲政。有事伯石賂與之。品了人叔曰。國皆其國也。爰獨賂焉。了彥曰。無欲實難。皆得其欲。以從其事。而要其成。非我有成。其在人乎。何愛於品。品將焉往。了人叔曰。若四國何。了彥曰。非相違也。而相從也。四國何尤焉。鄭書有之。曰。安定國家。必大焉先。姑先安人。以待其所歸。旣伯石懼而歸品。卒與之。伯有旣死。使

大史命伯石爲卿。辭。大史退則  
 謂命焉。復命之。又辭如是三乃  
 受策入拜。子產是以爲其人  
 也。使次已位。子產使都鄙有章  
 上下有服。田有封洫。國井有伍  
 大人之患儉者。從而與之。卒侈  
 者因而斂之。豐卷將祭。謂田焉  
 弗許。曰。唯君用餼。衆給而已。子  
 張怒。退而徵役。子產奔晉。子皮  
 止之。而逐豐卷。豐卷奔晉。子產  
 請其田里。三年而復之。反其田  
 里。及其入焉。從政一年。與人誦  
 之。曰。取我衣冠而褚之。取我田  
 疇而伍之。孰殺子產。吾其與之  
 及三年。又誦之曰。我有子弟。子  
 產誨之。我有田疇。子產殖之。子  
 產而死。誰其嗣之。

- XXX 1 In the [duke's] thirtieth year, in spring in the king's first month, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Wei P'ei to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Pan, heir son of Ts'ao, murdered his ruler Koo.
- 3 In the fifth month, on K'ueh woo, there was a fire in [the palace of] Sung [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke (h'ing)] [who had been married to duke Kung] of Sung, died.
- 4 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] put to death his younger brother, Ning foo.
- 5 The king's son H'ua fled to Ts'in.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Shuh Kung went to the burial of Kung he of Sung.
- 7 Liang S'ao of Ch'ing fled from that State to Heu. From Heu he entered [again] into [the capital of] Ch'ing, when the people of Ch'ing put him to death.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'ao.
- 9 Officers of Ts'in, Ts'ao, Sung, Wei, Ch'ing, Ts'ao, K'ou, Choo, T'ung, S'eh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting at Shen yuen, in consequence of the calamity of fire in Sung.

Par 1 For 罪 Kung yang has 頗 This visit from Ts'oo was to open communications between the court of Loo, and the now ruler of Ts'oo, whose accession is mentioned in the Chuen in the last par of the 28th year. The Chuen here says:—Muh shuh asked the envoy how king [Kung's] son was going on in his government, and was answered, "We little men eat, and receive instructions as to the business to be done by us, always apprehensive lest we do not fulfil our duties aright, and do not escape being charged with some transgression; how can we have anything to do with taking kuo idge of the government?" Muh-shuh pressed for a more definite reply but did not obtain it, on

which he said to the great officers, "The chief minister of Ts'oo is going to make a coup d'état, and Tzeo-tang (Wei P'ei) will take a part in it. He is asking him, and conceals the matter."

[There are appended here three narratives:—1st. Tzeo-ch'uan attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Ts'in, when Shuh-h'ang asked him how [it was going to go] with the government of Ch'ing. He replied, "Whether I can see it, or cannot see it, the thing will be determined this year. H'ao (The Kung-sun H'ao, Tzeo-ch'uan;—see the Chuen at the end of the last year) and Liang (Pih-yeh) were quarrelling, and I do not know the issue. If the issue were come and I see it, then [what you ask about] may be known." Shuh-h'ang said, "Have they not

been reconciled?" "Pih-yew," answered Tsze Ch'an, "is extravagant and self-willed, and Tsze-seih likes to be above others. The one of them cannot be below the other. Although they were reconciled, they are still gathering evil against one another, and it will come to a head at no [distant] day."

2d 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-we, the [dowager-] marchioness Taou of Tsin entertained all the men who had been engaged in the walling of Ke. Belonging to the district of Keang was a childless old man who went and took his place at the feast. Some who were present doubted about his age, and would have him tell it. He said, "A small man like me does not know how to keep a record of the years. Since the year of my birth, which began on a K'ah-tsze, the 1st day of the moon (The H'ca year, not the Chow), there have been 445 K'ah-tsze, and to-day is the 20th day of the cycle now running (20 days =  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 60)." The officers [of the feast] ran to the court to ask [the year of his birth]. The music-master Kwang said, "It was the year when Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih of Loo had a meeting with Keoh Chung-tsze in Shing-l. wang (See VI xi 2). In that year, the T'eh invaded Loo, and Shuh-sun Chwang-shuh defeated them at Heen, taking their giants K'eanou-joo, Hwuy, and P'au, after whom he named his sons. It is 73 years ago." The historiographer Chaou said, "The character *hae* (𠂇, anciently, in the seal character 𠂇) is composed of *two* at the head and *sixes* in the body of it. If you take the *two* and place it alongside the *sixes* of the body (𠂇), you get the number of the man's days." Sze Wan-pih said, "Then they are 26,660."

'Chaou-m'ang asked the commandant of the district, and found that it belonged to his own jurisdiction, on which he called the [old] man, and apologized for the error [that had been committed]. "In my want of ability," said he, "and occupied with [all] the great business of our ruler, through the many subjects of anxiety in connection with the State of Tsin, I have not been able to employ you, [as you ought to be employed], but have made you be occupied with earth and plaster too long. It was my fault, and I apologize for my want of ability." He then made the man an officer, and wanted him to assist in the government. The man declined this on the ground of his age, when he gave him some lands, and made him keeper of the marquis's wardrobe. He also made him one of the [land-] masters for the district of Keang, and degraded the commissary [who had employed him].

'At this time the commissioner of Loo (Chung-sun Keeh) was in Tsin, and he told this circumstance to the other great officers on his return. Ke Woo-tsze observed, "Tsin is not to be slighted. With Chaou-m'ang as [the chief of its] great officers, and Pih-hea (Sze Wan-pih) as his assistant, with the historiographer Chaou and the music-master Kwang, to refer to, and with Shuh-heang and Joo Is'c, as tutor and guardian to its ruler, there are many superior men in its court. It is not to be slighted. Our proper course is to exert ourselves to serve it."

3d 'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-hae, the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant with his great officers. The superior man can know from this that the troubles of Ch'ing were not yet at an end.'

Par 2 See the remarks of T'ze-ch'an in the narrative appended to xxviii 1. The Chuen here says — 'The marquis king of Ts'ue had taken a wife for his eldest son from Ts'oo, and debauched her. The son [now] murdered the marquis.' 般 is also found 班.

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'Some one called out in the grand temple of Sung, "Ah! ah! come out, come out." A bird [also] sang at the altar of Poh, as if it were saying, "Ah! Ah!" On K'ah-woo there occurred a great fire in Sung, when duke [Ch'ing's] eldest daughter who had been married to the ruler of Sung, died, — through her waiting for the instructress of the harem. The superior man may say that Kung Ke acted like a young lady, and not like a woman of years. A girl should wait for the instructress [in such a case], a wife might act as was right in the case.'

The lady of Loo who died in this fire was the same whose marriage occurred in the 9th year of duke Ch'ing, so that she must now have been not less than 60, and might very well have made her escape from the flames without being exposed to the charge of immodesty. T'ao she's remark on the case may well excite a smile. A superior woman might dispense with the help of the duenna in a case of fire. The critics are wroth with T'ao-she for the modified reflection which he makes on the lady, who covered herself, they say, with imperishable glory (足以風勵天下).

風勵天下

Par 4 For 倭夫 Kung-yang has 倭夫. The Chuen says — 'Before this, after king [K'een's] son Chen Ke's death his son Kwoh was going to have an audience of [his brother] king [Ling] and sighed. K'een-k'e, son of the duke of Shen, who was the king's charioteer, was passing through the court, and heard the sigh, with the words, "Ah! this shall be mine," so he went in, and reported the thing to the king, saying, "You must put him to death. He shows no sorrow [for his father's death], and has great ambitions. His looks are fierce, and he lifts his feet high, — his thoughts elsewhere. If you do not kill him, he will do hurt." The king replied, "He is a boy, what does his knowledge extend to?"'

'When king Ling died, Chen Kwoh wished to raise his brother Ning-foo to the throne, that prince knowing nothing of it, and on Mow-tsze he laid siege to Wei, and drove out Ch'ing K'een, who fled to P'ing-che. In the 5th month, Yin Yen-to, Lew E, Shen Mueh, Kan Kwo, and Kung Ch'ing put Ning-foo to death. Kwoh, Hea, and Leiou fled to Tsin. The text says that "The king put his younger brother to death," thereby condemning the king' (1).

Par 5 This Hea must have been another son of king Ling, and a brother of Ning-foo. His flight is mentioned in the preceding narrative. We have here simply 奔, 'fled,' and not 出奔, 'went out and fled,' because all the kingdom was Chow.

[We have here the following narrative — In the 6th month, Tze-ch'an of Ch'ing went to Ch'in to intend the business of a covenant. When he told the execution of his commission, he said to the great officers "Ch'in is a doomed State with which we should have nothing to do. [It is] impossible to collect rice and millet, and repairing the walls of its capital and suburbs, relying on these two things, without doing anything for the comfort of the people. The ruler is too weak to stand to anything; his brothers and cousins are extravagant; his eldest son is mean; the great officers are proud; the government is in the hand of many families:—in this condition, and so near to the great State [of T'ao], can it avoid perishing? It will perish within ten years."] "

Par 6. Kuei leang omits the 水 before 洪. Shih Kung was a son of Shih Laou, mentioned xiv 1 *et al.* The lady has the name of Kung being so called from the posthumous title of her husband. The sad death which had overtaken her and what was considered her heroic conduct in it, made Loo pay her this extraordinary honour.

Par 7. The Chuen says:— Pih y w of Ch'ing in his fondness for drinking made a chamber under ground, where he would drink all night, with bells beating around him [On one occasion] when parties came to wait on him in the morning [his debauch] was not over; and when they asked where he was, the servants told them that he was in the valley on which they all retired, and went their different ways. After this he repaired to the [earl's] court, and again insisted that Tze-seli should go to T'ao [See the narrative at the end of last year]. Then on his return home, he fell to drinking.

On K'ang-tze, Tze-seli, with the men-at-arms of the Hse family attacked and burned his house when he fled (=was carried off by his servants) to Yung-hiang only becoming aware of what had happened, when he awoke. He then fled to Hse.

The great officers collected to take counsel [as to what should be done]. Tze-p'o said "We read in the Book of Chung huiy (Shou, IV ii 7), 'Take what they have from the disorderly and deal summarily with those who are going to ruin. Overthrow the perishing and strengthen what I being preserved;—this will be profitable for the State. The founders of the Han, K'ao and P'ing families were the sons of one mother. Pih-y'w [belongs to a different mother and] is so excessively extravagant that he could not escape [his fate].'" T'ao said that Tze-ch'an would take the part of the right and help the strong. Tze-ch'an, however said, "How should I be made a partizan? It is hard to know who should die for the miseries and troubles of the State. Suppose I took my stand with these the strong and upright, would troubles not arise? I must be allowed to occupy my proper place.

On Shin-chow Tze-ch'an shrouded those belonging to Pih y'w a household who had died and placed them in their coffins for burial; and then without having taken part in the councils [of the other officers] proceeded to leave. Yin T'wan and Tze-p'o followed him to stop him but [the majority] said, "Why should you detain a man who will not act along with us?" Tze-

p'o replied "He has behaved properly to the dead; how much more will he do so to the living!" With this he went himself and induced him to remain.

On Jin yin, Tze-ch'an entered the capital and on Kwei-sauou, Tze-shih (Yin T'wan) and both accepted a covenant with Tze-seli. On Yin-tze the earl and the great officers made a covenant in the grand temple and they bound [also] the people of the State, and the great K'ao-ch'ao-leang. When Pih-y'w heard that they had made a covenant in Ch'ing with reference to himself he was enraged; and when he heard that Tze-p'o men-at-arms had not been sent at the attack on him, he was glad, and said, "Tze-p'o is for me." On Kwei-ch'w early in the morning, he entered the city by the drain at the Moo gate; by means of K'eh, the master of the house procured arms from the repository of K'ang; and proceeded to attack the old north gate. Tze-kel the people to attack him; and both parties called out for Tze-ch'an. "I am so both," said Tze-ch'an, "my brethren, and such things have come to this pass I will follow him whom Heaven favours." Pih-y'w then died in the Sheep-market. Tze-ch'an covered him with a shroud, pillowed his body on his thigh, and wept over it. He then had it dressed and put into a coffin, which was deposited in the house of an officer of Pih-y'w who lived near to the market burying it secretly in T'ao-sing.

The head of the Hse family wanted to attack Tze-ch'an, but Tze-p'o was angry with him and said, "Propriety is the bulwark of a State. No misfortune could be greater than to kill the observer of it. On this the other desisted from his purpose.

At this time Y w K'eh, who had been on a mission to T'in, was returning; but when he heard of the troubles, he did not enter the capital. Entrusting to his a student-commissioner the report of his mission. In the 8th month, on K'eh-tze he fled to T'ain. Tze T'ao pursued him as far as Swan-t'ao, and there K'eh made a covenant with him, Tze-shiang,—dropping two batons of jade into the Hse, in attestation of his sincerity. He then sent Hung-sun Heih into the city to make a covenant with the great officers after which, on Hse-tze he returned home self and took his former position.

The text simply says that "The people of Ch'ing put to death H'ang K'ao, not designating him a great officer of the State because he entered it from abroad.

After the death of Tze-k'ao (Kung-sun Ch'ao; in the 10th year) when he was about to be buried Kung-sun Huiy and P'o T'ao came together early in the morning to be present. As they passed the gate of Pih-y'w a house there were some weeds growing on the top of it; and Tze-yu (Hung-sun Huiy) said, "Are those weeds still there? At this time the year star was in H'ang low; and when that reached the meridian, it was morning. P'o T'ao pointed to that constellation and said, "The year star may still complete a revolution, but it will not arrive at this point where it now is. When Pih y'w died, the year star was in the month of T'ao t'ze; and the year after it again reached H'ang low.

Pul Chen had followed Pih y'w and died along with him. Yu K'el left the State and fled to T'ain, where he became commander of Jin

At the meeting of Ke-tsh, Yoh Ch'ing of Ch'ing had fled to Ts'oo, and thence gone to Tsin Yu K'eh sought his help, and they were friendly. He served Chaou Wän-taze, and spoke with him about invading Ch'ing, but that could not be done, in consequence of the covenant of Sung. Tsze-p'e made Kung-sun Ts'oo master of the horse.

Par 8 [The Chuen appends here — 'The Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo put to death the grand-marshal Wei Yen, and took to himself all his property. Shin Woo-yu said, "The king's son (Wei) is sure not to escape an evil death. Good men are the reliance of the State. As chief minister of the State, he ought to promote and support the good, but he oppresses them,—to the calamity of the State. The marshal moreover stands in as close proximity to the chief minister as his own side, and is the four limbs of the king. [Thus the king's son] has destroyed the reliance of the people, removed his own side, and injured the king's limbs—there could be nothing worse or more inauspicious than this. How is it possible he should escape an evil death?"']

Par 9 The Chuen says — 'In consequence of the fire in Sung, the great officers of the States assembled to consult about making contributions for the benefit of that State. In winter, Shuh-sun P'ao joined Chaou Woo of Tsin, Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ts'e, Heang Seuh of Sung, Pih-kung I'o of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, in a meeting at Shen-yuen, but the issue was that no contributions were made to Sung. On this account the names of the parties who met are not given.

'The superior man will say that good faith is a thing about which men should be most careful. The ministers who met at Shen-yuen are not recorded because they did not keep good faith, and their rank and names were all thrown on one side,—such is the declaration of the evil of the want of faith. The ode (She, III 1 ode I 1) says,

"King Wän ascends and descends  
In the presence of God"

There is the declaration of [the value of] good faith. Another ode (One of those which are lost) says,

"Be wisely careful as to your conduct,  
Let nothing be done in hypocrisy"

That is spoken of the want of good faith. The words of the text that such and such men met at Shen-yuen, and that it was on account of the calamity of Sung, is condemnatory of them [all]. The great officer of Loo is not mentioned,—to conceal [the shame of that State] (?)

[There is here a narrative about Tsze-ch'an in the government of Ch'ing,—'Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing wished to resign the government of that State to Tsze-ch'an, who declined it, saying, "The State is small, and is near to [a great one], the clans are great, and many [members of them] are favourites [with our ruler]. The government cannot be efficiently conducted." Tsze-p'e replied, "I will lead them all to listen [to your orders], and who will dare to come into collision with you? With your ability presiding over its administration, the State will not be small. Though it be small, you can with

it serve the great State, and the State will enjoy ease." On this Tsze-ch'an undertook the government. Wishing to employ the services of Pih-shih (Kung-sun T'wan), he conferred on him a grant of towns. Tsze-t'ae-shuh said, "The State is the State of us all, why do you make such a grant to him alone?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "It is hard for a man not to desire such things, and when a man gets what he desires, he is excited to attend to his business, and labours to compass its success. I cannot compass that, it must be done by him. And why should you grudge the towns? Where will they go?" "But what will the neighbouring States think?" urged Tsze-t'ae-shuh. "When we do not oppose one another," was the reply, "but act in harmony, what will they have to blame? It is said in one of our own Books, 'In order to giving rest and settlement to the State, let the great families have precedence.' Let me now for the present content them, and wait for that result." After this Pih-shih became afraid, and returned the towns, but in the end, [Tsze-ch'an] gave them to him. And now that Pih-yew was dead, he sent the grand historiographer to Pih-shih with the commission of a minister. It was declined, and the historiographer withdrew, when Pih-shih requested that the offer might be repeated. On its being so, he again declined it, and this he did three times, when at last he accepted the tablet, and went to the court to give thanks for it. All this made Tsze-ch'an dislike the man, but he made him take the position next to himself.

'Tsze-ch'an made the central cities and border lands of the State be exactly defined, and enjoined on the high and inferior officers to wear [only] their distinctive robes. The fields were all marked out by their banks and ditches. The houses and *tsing* were divided into fives, responsible for one another. The great officers, who were faithful and temperate, were advanced to higher dignities, while the extravagant were punished and taken off. Fung Keuen, in prospect of a sacrifice, asked leave to go a-hunting, but Tsze-ch'an refused it, saying, "It is only the ruler who uses venison. The officers use in sacrifice only the domestic animals." Tsze-chang was angry, withdrew, and got his servants ready, intending to attack Tsze-ch'an, who thought of flying to Tsin. Tsze-p'e, however, stopped him, and drove out Fung K'uen, who fled to Tsin. Tsze-ch'an begged his lands and villages from the duke, got Keuen recalled in three years, and then restored them all to him, with the income which had accrued from them.

'When the government had been in Tsze-ch'an's hands one year, all men sang of him,

"We must take our clothes and caps, and  
hide them all away,  
We must count our fields by fives, and  
own a mutual sway  
We'll gladly join with him who this Tsze-  
ch'an will slay"

But in three years the song was,

"'Tis Tsze-ch'an who our children trains,  
Our fields to Tsze-ch'an owe their gains,  
Did Tsze-ch'an die, who'd take the reins?"']

## Thirty first year

一、有年，春，十、

月。

夏六月，辛巳，公薨。

冬宮。

秋九月，癸巳，子野卒。

己亥，仲孫羯卒。

冬十月，滕子來會葬。

癸酉，葬我君襄公。

一、有月，呂人弑其

君密州。

○左傳曰：三十一年，春，王正月，穆叔至自會見孟孝伯，語之曰：趙孟將死矣，其語倫不似民王，且年未盈五十，而謬諛焉如八九十者，弗能久矣。若趙孟死，爲政者其韓子乎？吾子盍與季孫會之，可以樹善。君子也，晉君將失政矣，若不樹焉，使早備，既而政在大夫，韓子懦弱，大夫多貪求，欲無厭，齊楚未足與也。魯其懼哉？孝伯曰：人生幾何，誰能無倫，朝不及夕，將安用樹？穆叔出而告人曰：孟孫將死矣，吾語諸趙孟之倫也，而又甚焉。又與季孫語，故季孫不從及趙文子卒。晉公室卑，政在侈家，韓宣子爲政，不能圖諸侯，魯不堪晉求，隱惡弘多，是以有平丘之會。

○齊子尾害閭丘嬰，欲殺之，使帥師以伐陽州，我問師故，夏五月，子尾殺閭丘嬰以脫于我師，工偃流洧寇，孔廋，賈寅，出奔莒，出羣公子。

公作楚宮，穆叔曰：犬豕云，民之所欲，天必從之，君欲楚也夫，故作其宮，若不復適楚，必死是宮也。六月，辛巳，公薨于楚宮，叔仲帶竊其掛璧以與御人，納諸其懷，而從取之，由是得罪。

立胡女敬歸之子子野，次于季氏秋，九月，癸巳，卒，毀也。立敬歸之弟齊歸之子公子羯，穆叔不欲曰：犬子死有母弟，則立之，無則立長年，釣擇賢，義釣則卜古之道也，非適嗣何必姑之子，且是人也。

居喪而不哀，在慼而有嘉容，是謂不度。不度之人，鮮不爲患。若果立之，必爲季氏憂。武子不聽，卒立之。比及葬，易衰，衰衽如故。於是昭公十九年矣，猶有童心。君子是以知其不能終也。

己亥，孟孝伯卒。

冬十月，滕成公來會葬，情而多涕。了服，患伯曰：「滕君將死矣，怠於其位，而哀已甚，兆於死所矣，能無從乎？」

癸酉，葬襄公。

○公薨之月，了產相郕伯以如晉，晉侯以我喪故，木之見也。了產使盡壞其館之垣，而納車馬焉。文伯讓之曰：「敝邑以政刑之不修，寇盜充斥，無若諸侯之屬辱在寡君者何？是以命史人完客所館，局其閑閤，厚其墻垣，以無憂客使。今吾了壞之，雖從者能戒，其若異客何？以敝邑之爲盟，了繕完膏牆，以待賓客，若皆毀之，其何以共命？寡君使了請命，對曰：「以敝邑褊小，介於人國，誅求無時，是以不敢寧居，悉索敝賦，以來會時事，逢執事之不閒，而木得見，又不獲聞命，未知見時，不敢輸幣，亦不敢暴露，其輸之，則君之府實也，非薦陳之，不敢輸也，其暴露之，則恐燥濕之不時，而朽蠹，以重敝邑之罪。僑聞文公之爲盟，了也，宮室卑庳，無觀臺榭，以崇大諸侯之館，館如公寢，庫廩繕修，司空以時平易道路，圻人以時墁館公室，諸侯賓至，甸設庭燎，僕人巡宮，車馬有所，賓從有代，巾車脂轄，隸人牧圉，各瞻其事，百官之屬，各展其物，公不留賓，而亦無廢事，憂樂同之事，則巡之，教其不知，而恤其不足，賓至如歸，無所猜患，不畏寇盜，而亦不患燥濕，今銅鞮之宮數甲，而諸侯舍於隸人門，不容車，而不可踰越，盜賊公行，而天厲不戒，賓見無時，命不可知，若又勿壞，是無所藏幣，以重罪也，敢請執事，將何所命之？雖君之有魯喪，亦敝邑之憂也，若獲薦幣，脩垣而行，君之患也，敢憚勤勞，文伯復命，趙文子曰：「信，我實不德，而以隸人之垣，以贏諸侯，是吾罪也。」使了文伯謝不敏焉。晉侯見鄭伯，有加禮，厚其宴好，而歸之，乃榮諸侯之館。叔向曰：「辭之不可以已也，如是，了產有辭，諸侯賴之，若之何其釋辭也？」詩曰：「辭之輯矣，以之協矣，辭

之繹矣。民之莫矣。其知之矣。鄭子皮使印段如楚。以適晉告禮也。

莒犁比公生去疾。及展與。既立展與。又廢之。犁比公虐國人。思之十一月。展與因國人以攻莒子。弑之。乃立去疾。奔齊。齊出也。展與。吳出也。書曰。莒人弑其君買朱鉏。晉罪之在也。

○吳子使屈狐庸聘於晉。通路也。趙文子問焉。曰。延州來季子。其果立乎。集阻諸樊。閹戕滅吳。天似啟之。何如。對曰。不立。是二王之命也。非啟季子也。若天所啟。其在今嗣君乎。甚德而度。德不失民。度不失事。民親而事有序。其天所啟也。有吳國者。必此君之子孫實終之。季子守節者也。雖有國不立。

○十二月。北宮文子相衛。廢公以如楚。宋之盟故也。過鄭。印段延勞於棗林。如聘禮而以勞辭。文子入聘。子羽爲行人。馮簡子與子犬叔逆客。事畢而出。言於衛侯曰。鄭有禮。其敗世之禍也。其無大國之耐乎。詩云。誰能執執。逝不以濯。禮之於政。如執之有濯也。濯以救執。何患之有。子產之從政也。擇能而使之。馮簡子能斷大事。子犬叔美秀而文。公孫揮能知四國之爲。而辨於其大夫之族姓。班位貴賤。能否而又善爲辭令。裨諲能謀。謀於野。則獲。謀於邑。則否。鄭國將有諸侯之事。子產乃問四國之爲於子羽。且使多爲辭令。與裨諲乘。以適野。使謀可否。而告馮簡子。使斷之。事成。乃授子犬叔使之。以應對賓客。是以鮮有敗事。北宮文子所謂有禮也。

鄭人游於鄉校。以論執政。然明謂子產曰。毀鄉校。如何。子產曰。何爲。夫人朝夕退而游焉。以議執政之善否。其所善者。吾則行之。其所惡者。吾則改之。是吾師也。若之何毀之。我聞忠善以損怨。不聞作威以防怨。豈不遽止。然猶防川。大決所犯。傷人必多。吾不克救也。不如小決使道。不如吾聞而藥之也。然明曰。茂也。今而後知。吾子之信可事也。小人實不才。若果行此。其鄭國實賴之。豈唯二三臣仲尼聞是語也。曰。以是觀之。人謂子產不仁。吾不信也。

○子皮欲使尹何爲邑。子產曰。少。未知可否。子皮曰。愿。吾愛之。不吾叛也。使夫往而學焉。夫亦愈知治矣。子產



曰不可人之愛人求利之也今予愛人則以政猶未能操刀而使割也其傷實多了之愛人傷之而已其誰敢求愛於了了於鄭國棟也棟折榱桷僑將戢焉敢不盡予有美錦不使人學製焉大官人品身之所庇也而使學者製焉其爲美錦不亦多乎僑聞學而後入政未聞以政學者也若果行此必有所害譬如川獵射御實則能獲禽若未嘗登車射御則敗績厭覆是懼何暇思獲了皮曰善哉虎不敏台聞君了務知人者遠者小人務知小者近者我小人也衣服附在台身我知而慎之人官人品所以庇身也我遠而慢之微了之曰台不知也他日我曰了爲鄭國我爲台家以庇焉其可也今而後知不足自今請雖台家聽了而行了產曰人心之不同如其面焉吾豈敢謂了面如台面乎抑心所謂危亦以告也了皮以爲忠故委政焉了產是以能爲鄭國

○衛侯在楚北宮文了見令尹圍之威儀曰於衛侯曰令尹似君矣將有他志雖獲其志不能終也詩云靡不有初鮮克有終終之實難令尹其將不免公曰了何以知之對曰詩云敬慎威儀惟民之則令尹無威儀民無則焉民所不則以在民上不可以終公曰善哉何謂威儀對曰有威而可畏謂之威有儀而可象謂之儀君有君之威儀其臣畏而愛之則而象之故能有其國家令聞長世臣有臣之威儀其下畏而愛之故能守其官職保族宜家順是以下皆如是是以上下能相固也衛詩曰威儀棣棣不可選也言君臣上下父子兄弟內外人小皆有威儀也周詩曰朋友攸攝攝以威儀朋友之道必相教訓以威儀也周書數文王之德曰大國畏其力小國懷其德言畏而愛之也詩云不識不知順帝之則言則而象之也紂囚文王七年諸侯皆從之囚紂於是乎懼而歸之可謂愛之文王伐崇再駕而降爲臣蠻夷帥服可謂畏之文王之功人下誦而歌舞之可謂則之文王之行至今爲法可謂象之有威儀也故君了任位可畏施舍可愛進退可度周旋可則容止可觀作事可法德行可象聲氣可樂動作有文言詒有章以臨其下謂之有威儀也

- XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty first year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin sze, the duke died in the Ts'oo palace.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-sze, the [dukes] son Yay died.  
 4 On Ke-hae, Chung sun K'eh died  
 5 In winter, in the tenth month the viscount of T'ang came to be present at the [dukes] interment.  
 6 On Kwei y'w, we buried our ruler, duke S'ang  
 7 In the eleventh month, the people of Keu murdered their ruler, Mei-h-chow

Par I. [We find here in the Chuen the two following narratives —

1st. This spring, in the 1st month, when Muh-shuh returned from the meeting [at Shen yuen] he visited Ming Heau pih, and said to him, "Chao ming will [soon] die. His language was irrelevant, not becoming in a lord of the people. And moreover, though his years are not yet 60, he keeps repeating the same thing like a man of 80 or 90;—he cannot endure long. If he die, the government, I apprehend, will fall into the hands of Han-tze. You had better speak to Ke-sun, so that he may establish a good understanding [with Han tze], who is a superior man. The ruler of Tsin will lose his [control of the] government. If we do not establish such an understanding, so that [Han-tze] may be prepared to act in behalf of Loo, then when the government [of Tsin] comes to be with the great officers, and Han tze turns out to be weak, we shall find those officers very covetous, and their demerit upon us will be inevitable. We shall find [also] that neither Ts'e nor Ts'oo is worth our adhering to it, and Loo will be in a perilous case." Heau pih observed, "Man's life is not long; who can keep from that irrelevancy? The morning may not be followed by the evening; of what use would it be to establish that good understanding? Muh-shuh went out from the interview, and said to a friend, "Ming-sun will [soon] die. I told him of the irrelevancy of Chao ming and his own language was still more irrelevant." He then spoke [himself] to Ke-sun about the affairs of Tsin, but [that minister] did not follow [his counsel].

When Chao Wan tze died, the ducal House of Tsin was reduced to a low State. The government was ruled by the ambitious families. Han Hsien-tze was chief minister but could not deal with the cases of the States. Loo was unable to end the requirments of Tsin, and slanderous charges against it multiplied, till [at last] there came the meeting of Ping k'w (See below in the 18th year of duke Ch'ao).

2d. Tze-we of Ts'e hated L'w k'w Ying; and, wishing to put him to death, he made him k'au a force, and attack Yang-chow. We went to a k the reason of such an expedition. and in summer in the 5th month, Tze-we put L'w k'w Ying to death, to satisfy our army. Kung Lw K'ha, Bing Tsao, K'ang Hway and H'ea Yin, fled from Ts'e to Keu. All the sons of the previous dukes were driven out.]

Par II. Duke S'ang was thus still a young man when he died, being only in his 35th year. The history of his rule much belies his name of S'ang, for the conduct of affairs during it was the reverse of successful.

On his visit to Ts'oo, the duke had admired its palaces, and erected one on his return after their pattern, giving to it the name of that State.

The Chuen says:— When the duke built the Ts'oo palace, Muh-shuh said, "We read in the Great Declaration (Shoo, V. l. Pt. I. 11), What a man desires, Heaven is sure to gratify him in. Our ruler's desire is for Ts'oo, and therefore he has made this palace. If he do not again go to Ts'oo, he is sure to die here. [Accordingly], in the Ts'oo palace he did die, on Sin-sze, in the 6th month.

Shih-chung Tze (The Shuh-chung Ch'ao-pih of the Chuen on vii. 4) stole [on this occasion] the large pei, giving it [first] to his charioteer who put it in his breast, and afterwards getting it from him again. In consequence of this he was deemed an offender [by the people].

Par 3. Comp the 子 股 卒 in III. xxxii

5. But the death of duke Chwang's son was a death of violence, and should have been so described, while the death of Yay in the text was from disease.

The Chuen says:— [On the duke's death], Yay, his son by King Kwei, a lady of the house of Hoo was appointed his successor and lived in the mansion of Ke-sun; but in autumn, in the 9th month, on Kwei-sze, having been pling away he died. Ke-sun then declared the succession to be in the Kung tze Chow the duke's son by Ts'e Kwei, the cousin of King Kwei, [who had accompanied her to the harem]. Muh shuh was disaffected with the choice, and said, "When the eldest son [by the wife] dies his own younger brother should have the succession. And if he have no own brother then the eldest of his father's other sons [by concubines]. When there are two of the same age, the worthier should be chosen; where they do not differ in regard to their righteousness, the tortoise-shell should be consulted;—this was the ancient way [Yay] was not the heir as being the wife's son, and it was not necessary to appoint the son of his mother's cousin. This man, moreover has shown no grief in his mourner's place; in the midst of the sorrow he has looked pleased. He is what may be pronounced a man without rule and it is seldom that such an one does not occa-

sion trouble. If indeed he be appointed marquis, he is sure to give sorrow to the family of Ke." Ke Woo-tsze would not listen to his remonstrance, and the issue was that Chow was appointed. By the time of the burial, he had thrice changed his mourning, and the flaps of his coat looked quite old. At this time, he—duke Ch'au—was 19 years old, and he still had a boy's heart, from which a superior man could know that he would not go on well to the end.

Par 4 This was Māng Hēaou-pih. He was succeeded by his son Hwoh (糴), known as Māng He-tsze (孟僖子), as Head of the Chung-sun clan, and minister.

Par 5 This is the first instance we have of the lord of another State coming in person to Loo to the funeral of one of its marquises. It was an innovation on the rules which regulated the intercommunion of the States. Ch'in Foo-lāng (陳傅良, Sung dyn) says—"At the second burial of duke Hwuy, the marquis of Wei came and was present, but duke Yin did not see him (See the 2d narrative after I 15), for, in the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, Loo still held fast the rules of propriety. On the death of duke King of Tsin, duke Ch'ing went to present his condolences (VIII x 6). By that time Loo had been brought low, and they detained him in Tsin, and made him attend the burial. None of the other princes were present, and the people of Loo felt the disgrace, for up to that time no prince of another State had been present at the funeral of the president of the States even. At the burial of king K'ang of Ts'oo, the duke [of Loo], with the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, had attended it to the outside of the west gate. Thus the princes of the kingdom had been present at the funeral of [a lord of] Ts'oo, and now the viscount of T'ang came to the funeral of duke Seang. In the end of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, it became a sort of allowable thing for one prince to be present at the funeral of another, but to hurry away to the ceremonies immediately following after death was still too great a breach of rule." The rule was, according to the old regulations, that on the death of any prince, the other States should immediately despatch an officer to express their condolences, and then despatch a great officer to attend the funeral. The Chuen says—"Duke Ch'ing of T'ang came to be present at the burial, but he behaved rudely, while at the same time he shed many tears. Isze-fuh Hwuy-pih said, 'The ruler of T'ang will [soon] die. Rude in his place [of mourning] and yet showing an excessive grief, here is a premonition in the place of death—must he not [soon] follow [our duke]?'"

Par 6 [We have here the following narrative—"In the month of duke [Seang's] funeral, Tsze-ch'an attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin. The marquis, on the pretence of the death of our duke, did not immediately give the earl an interview, on which Tsze-ch'an made all the walls about their lodging-house be thrown down, and brought in their carriages and horses. Sze Wān-pih went to complain of the proceeding, and said, "Through want of proper attention in our State to the government and the administration of the penal laws, robbers have become quite rife. For the sake, however,

of the princes of the States and their retinues, who condescend to come to him, our ruler has made his officers put in good repair the reception-houses for guests, raising high their gates, and making strong the walls around, that they might be free from anxiety [on account of the robbers]. And now you have thrown these down, so that, though your followers may be able to guard you, how will it be in the case of other guests? Our State, as lord of covenants, has to keep the walls of those houses in good repair, with the tops of them safely covered to, be in readiness for its visitors, and if all were to throw them down, how should we be able to respond to the requirements on us? My ruler has sent me to ask what you have to say in the matter." Tsze-ch'an replied, "Through the smallness of our State, and its position between great States, whose demands upon it come we know not when, we do not dare to dwell at ease, but collect all the contributions due from us, and come to consult about the business of the times. It has happened now that your ministers are not at leisure, and we have not obtained an interview with the marquis, nor have we received any instructions, so that we might know when we should do so. We did not dare, [without a previous interview], to send in our offerings, nor did we dare to leave them exposed. If we should send them in [without that interview], they would be [but the regular] appurtenances of your ruler's treasuries—without the display of them at it, we dare not send them in. If we should leave them exposed, then we were afraid that, through the sudden occurrence of [excessive] heat or rain, they might decay or be injured by insects, and our State be chargeable with a heavy offence.

"I have heard that when duke Wān was lord of covenants, his own palace was low and small, and he had no prospect-towers or terraces,—that he might make the reception-houses for the princes the more lofty and large. The chambers were as large as his own, and the repositories and stables belonging to them were kept in good order. The minister of Works saw at the proper seasons that the roads were made in good condition. The plasterers in the same way did their duty on the apartments. Then when the visiting princes arrived, the foresters supplied the torches for the courtyards, the watchmen made their rounds about the buildings, the followers of the guests were relieved of their duties by men supplied for the purpose, there were menials, herdsmen, and grooms, to see what might be required of them to do, and the officers belonging to the various departments had the articles which they had to prepare for the guests ready for supply. The duke did not detain his guests and yet there was nothing neglected. He shared with them their sorrows and joys. He examined any business [they had to lay before him], teaching them where their knowledge was deficient, and compassionating them where in anything they fell short. Guests [then] came to Tsin as if they were going home,—what calamity or distress had they to think of? They did not have to fear robbers, or to be troubled about the heat or the damp.

"But now the palace of T'ung-te extends over several *le*, and the princes have to occupy what seem the houses of menials. The gates will not admit their carriages, and they cannot

be taken over the walls. Robbers move about openly and there is no defence against the evil influences [of heat and damp]. No time is fixed for the guests to have an interview and they have no means of knowing when they will be summoned to it. If we are further required not to throw down the walls, we shall have nowhere to deposit our offerings, and may lie open to the charge of a grave offence. Allow me to ask what charge you have to give us. Although your ruler has to mourn the death of [the duke of Loo], that is also an occasion of sorrow to our State. If we shall be permitted to present our offerings, and to depart after repairing the walls, it will be a kindness on the part of your ruler—shall we presume to shrink from performing the labour diligently?"

Wan pih reported the result of his commission, and Chao Wán-tze said, "It is true. We are verily wanting in virtue. That we cause the princes to take up their residences within walls only fit for very inferior officers is our crime." See Wán-pih was then sent to apologize for the want of attention. The marquis saw the earl, and showed him more than ordinary courtesy. He entertained him liberally sent him away with proofs of his friendship, and built reception houses for the princes. Shih-hsing said, "Thus indispensable is the gift of *ch'ang-mak*! Tze-ch'an has that gift, and all the States are under obligations to him. On no account may speeches be dispensed with. The words of the ode (Sho, III. li. ode X. 2),

Let your words be in harmony with the right,  
And the people will agree with them.  
Let your words be gentle and kind,  
And the people will be settled,

show that the author knew this.

Tze-p'ei of Ch'ing sent Yin T'wan to T'ao, to put bow [the earl] had gone to Tsin—which was proper."

Par. 7 The Chuen says:—Duke Le-pe of K'ou had two sons, K'ou-t'ah and Chen-yu. He first decided that the succession would be in Chen-yu, and then disannulled that arrangement. He was tyrannical, and the people were distressed by their sufferings. In the 11th month, Chen-yu, with the help of the people, attacked and murdered him, and then took his place. K'ou t'ah fled to T'ie, to which State his mother belonged, while Chen-yu was the son of a daughter of the House of Woo. The text, in saying that the people of K'ou murdered their ruler, Mao-choo-t'ao, shows that he was a criminal (?).

[There follow here five narratives:—

1st The viscount of Woo sent K'ueh Hoo-yung (The son of Woo-shin; see on VII. vii. 5) on a complimentary mission to Tsin, to keep the way [between the two States] open. Chao Wán-tze asked him, "Has Ke-tze of Yen and Chow las (Ke-chah) really become your ruler? At Ch'ao you lost Choo-fan (See xxv. 10); a door keeper killed Tse-woo (See xxix. 4)—it would seem as if Heaven had been opening [the way] for him. How is it?" The envoy replied, "He has not been appointed our ruler. That was the fate of the two kings, and not any opening [of the way] for Ke-tze. If you speak of Heaven's opening the way I should say it was for our present ruler who has succeeded [to his brother]. He has great virtue and takes [wise] measures.

Virtuous, he does not lose the [attachment of the] people. Taking [wise] measures, he does not err in [the conduct of] affairs. By this attachment of the people, and by his orderly conduct of affairs, Heaven has opened the way for him. The rulers of the State of Woo must be the descendants of this ruler—yes, to the end. Ke-tze is one who maintains his purity. Although he might have had the State, he refused to be ruler.

2d. In the 12th month, Pih-kung Wán tze attended duke Seang of Wei on a visit to T'ao, undertaken in compliance with the covenant of Sung and as they passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing. Yin T'wan went out to comfort them under the folds of the journey using the ceremonies of a complimentary visit, but the speeches appropriate to such a comforting visit. Wán-tze entered the city to pay a complimentary visit [in return]. Tze-yu was the intermediary. Ping K'ien-tze and Tze-t'ao-shuh met the guest. When the business was over and [Wán-tze] had gone out [again], he said to the marquis of Wei, "Ch'ing observes the proprieties. This will be a blessing to it for several generations and save it, I apprehend, from any inflictions from the great States. The ode says (Sho, III. li. ode III. 5),

Who can hold anything hot?  
Must he not dip it [first] in water?"

The rules of propriety are to government what that dipping is to the consequences of the heat. With the dipping to take away the heat, there is no distress. Tze-ch'an, in the administration of his government, selected the able and employed them. Ping K'ien-tze was able to give a decision in the greatest matters. Tze-t'ao-shuh was handsome and accomplished. Kung-sun Hwuy told what was doing in the States round about, and could distinguish all about their great officers, their clans surnames, order positions, their rank whether noble or mean, their ability or the reverse and he was also skilful in composing speeches. P'ei Chiu was a skilful counsellor—skilful when he concocted his plans in the open country but not when he did so in the city. When the State was going to have any business with other States, Tze-ch'an asked Tze-yu what was doing round about and caused him to compose a long speech. He then took P'ei Chiu in his carriage into the open country and made him consider whether the speech would suit the occasion or not. Next he told Ping K'ien-tze, and made him give a decision in the case. When all this was done, he put the matter into the hands of Tze-t'ao-shuh to carry it into effect, replying to the visitors [from the other States]. In this way it was seldom that any affair went wrong. This was what Pih-kung Wán-tze meant in saying that Ch'ing observed the proprieties. Comp. Ana. XIV. ix.

3d. A man of Ch'ing rambled into a village school, and fell discoursing about the conduct of the government.

[In consequence], Jen-ming proposed to Tze-ch'an to destroy [all] the village schools; but that minister said, "Why do so? If people retire morning and evening, and pass their judgment on the conduct of the government, as being good or bad, I will do what they approve of, and I will alter what they condemn;—they

are my teachers. On what ground should we destroy [those schools]? I have heard that by loyal conduct and goodness enmity is diminished, but I have not heard that it can be prevented by acts of violence. It may indeed be hastily stayed for a while, but it continues like a stream that has been dammed up. If you make a great opening in the dam, there will be great injury done,—beyond our power to relieve. The best plan is to lead the water off by a small opening. [In this case] our best plan is to hear what is said, and use it as a medicine." Jen-ming said, "From this time forth I know that you are indeed equal to the administration of affairs. I acknowledge my want of ability. If you indeed do this, all Ch'ing will be benefited by it, and, not we two or three ministers only."

'When Chung-ne heard of these words, he said, "Looking at the matter from this, when men say that Tsze-ch'an was not benevolent, I do not believe it."

4th 'Tsze-p'e wanted to make Yin Ho commandant of his city. Tsze-ch'an said, "He is young, and I do not know that he can be so employed." "He is honest and careful," replied Tsze-p'e. "I love him. He does not go against me. Let him go and learn, and he will by-and-by know all the better how to rule." Tsze-ch'an objected, "When a man loves another, he seeks to benefit him, but when you, in your love for [this man], wish to confer a post on him, it is as if you would employ a man to cut before he is able to handle a knife,—the injury done to him must be great. If your love for a man only issues in your injuring him, who will venture to seek your love? You are the main support of the State of Ch'ing. If the main support be broken, the rafters will tumble down. I shall be crushed beneath them, and I must therefore speak out all my mind. If you have a piece of beautiful embroidered silk, you will not employ a [mere] learner to make it up. A great office and a great city are what men depend on for the protection of their persons, and you will employ a [mere] learner to undertake them!—are they not much more important than your beautiful embroidery? I have heard that a man must first learn, and then enter on the conduct of government, I have not heard that one is to learn in the exercise of that conduct. If you do indeed do this, you are sure to do injury. Take the case of hunting—when a man is accustomed to shoot and to drive, his hunting will be successful. If he have never mounted a chariot nor shot nor driven, he will be utterly unsuccessful, and amid his fear lest he should be overturned, what leisure will he have to think of the game?" Tsze-p'e said, 'Good. I have shown myself unintelligent. I have heard that what the superior man makes it a point to know is the great and the remote, while the small man is concerned to know the small and the near. I am a small man. The garment which fits to my body I know and am careful about, but the great office and the great city, on which my body depends for protection, were far off and slighted by me. But for your words, I should not have known [my error]. On a former day I said that if you governed the State and I governed my family, and so preserved myself, it would do. Henceforth I know that I am insufficient even for this, and must be allowed even in the rule of my family to act

as I shall be instructed by you." Tsze-ch'an said, "Men's minds are different just as their faces are. How should I presume to say that your face must be as mine? But if [I see] that which makes my mind, as we say, uneasy, I will tell you of it." Tsze-p'e, impressed with his faithfulness, entrusted to him the government, and thus it was that Tsze-ch'an was able to conduct the affairs of Ch'ing."

5th 'When the marquis of Wei was in Ts'oo, Pih-kung Wän-tsze, perceiving the carriage and display of the chief minister Wei, said to the marquis, "The [pom] of the chief minister is like that of the ruler, he must have his mind set on some other object. But though he may obtain his desire, he will not hold it to the end. The ode (She, III iii ode I 1) says,

'All have their beginning,  
But there are few that can secure the end'

The difficulty is indeed with the end. The chief minister will not escape [an evil death]." The marquis said, "How do you know it?" Wän-tsze replied, "The ode (She, III iii ode II 2) says,

'Let him be reverently careful of his dignified manner,  
And he will be the pattern of the people'

But the chief minister has no dignified manner [such as becomes him], and the people have no pattern in him. Let him, in whom the people find no pattern, be placed above them, yet he cannot continue to the end." "Good!" said the duke. "What do you mean by a dignified manner?" The reply was, "Having majesty that inspires awe, is what we call dignity. Presenting a pattern which induces imitation is what we call manner. When a ruler has the dignified manner of a ruler, his ministers fear and love him, imitate and resemble him, so that he holds [firm] possession of his State, and his fame continues through long ages. When a minister has the dignified manner of a minister, his inferiors fear and love him, so that he can keep [sure] his office, preserve his clan, and rightly order his family. So it is with all classes downwards, and it is by this that high and low are made firm in their relations to one another. An ode of Wei (She, I iii ode I 3) says,

'My dignified manner is mixed with ease,  
And cannot be made the subject of remark,'

showing that ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder and younger brother, at home and abroad, in great things and small, all have a dignified manner [which is proper to them]. An ode of Chow (She, III ii ode III 4) says,

'Your friends assisting at the service  
Have done so in a dignified manner,'

showing that it is the rule for friends, in their instruction of one another, to exhibit a dignified manner. One of the books of Chow says, 'The great States feared his strength, and the small States cherished his virtue,' showing the union of awe and love. An ode (She, III i ode VII 7) says,

'Unconscious of effort,  
He accorded with the example of God,'

showing the union of imitation and resemblance

Chow imprisoned king Wán for 7 years, and then all the princes of the kingdom repaid to the place of his imprisonment, and on this Chow became afraid and restored him [to his State]. This may be called an instance of how [king Wán] was loved. When he invaded T'ung, on his second expedition, [the lord of that State] ordered and acknowledged his duty as a subject. All the wild tribes [also] led on one another to submit to him. These may be pronounced instances of the awe which he inspired. All under heaven praised his meritorious services with songs and dances, which may be pronounced an instance of their tak'g him as a pattern. To the present day the actions of king Wán are acknowledged as laws, which may

be pronounced an instance of his power to make men resemble himself. The secret was his dignified manner. Therefore when the superior man, occupying a high position, inspires awe; and by his beneficence produces love; and his advancing and retiring are according to rule; and all his intercourse with others affords a pattern; and his countenance and steps excite the gaze [of admiration] and the affairs he conducts serve as laws; and his virtuous actions lead to imitation; and his voice and air diffuse joy; and his movements and doings are elegant; and his words have distinctness and brilliancy;—when thus he brings himself near to those below him, he is said to have a dignified manner.”]

BOOK X. DUKH CH'AOU.

First year.

昭公

元年一章春王正月公即位。二章叔孫豹會晉趙武。

楚公子圍齊國弱宋向戌衛齊惡陳公子招。

蔡公孫歸生鄭罕虎許人曹人丁鉞。

三月取郕。三章夏秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉。四章六月。

丁巳邾子貜卒。五章荀吳帥師敗狄于夷。

秋莒去疾自齊入於莒。七章莒展與出奔吳。八章冬十有

叔弓帥師疆郕田。九章葬邾悼公。十章十有

月山西楚子麇卒。十一章楚公子比出奔晉。十二章

左傳曰元年春楚公子圍聘於鄭且娶於公孫段氏伍舉爲介將入館鄭人惡之使行人了羽與之乃館於外既聘將以衆逆了彥患之使了羽辭曰以敝邑褊小不足容從者請以聽命令尹命大夫伯州犂對曰君辱貶寡人入圍

謂圍，將使豐氏撫有而室，圍布几筵，告於莊共之廟而來。若野賜之，是委君貶於草莽也。是寡大夫不得列於諸卿也。不寧唯是，又使圍蒙其先君，將不得爲寡君老，其蔑以復矣。唯大夫圖之。子羽曰：小國無罪恃實其罪，將恃大國之安靖已，而無乃包藏禍心以圖之。小國失恃，而懲諸侯，使莫不憾者，距違君命，而有所壅塞不行，是懼，不然，敝邑，館人之屬也，其敢愛豐氏之祧？伍舉知其有備也，請垂囊而入，許之正月。乙未，入逆而出。遂會于穀。尋宋之盟也。祁午謂趙文子曰：宋之盟，楚人得志於晉，今令尹之不信諸侯之所聞也。子弗戒懼，又如宋，子木之信稱於諸侯，猶昨晉而駕焉，況不信之尤者乎？楚重得志於晉，晉之恥也。子相晉國，以爲盟主，於今七年矣，再合諸侯，三合大夫，服齊狄，寧東夏，平秦亂，城淳子，師徒不顧國家，不罷民，無謗譏諸侯，無怨天，無大災，子之力也。有令名矣，而終之以恥，午也是懼。吾子其不可以不戒。文子曰：武受賜矣，然宋之盟，子木有禍人之心，武有仁人之心，是楚所以駕於晉也。今武猶是心也，楚又行僭非所害也，武將信以爲本循而行之，譬如農夫，是穰是獲，雖有饑饉，必有豐年。且吾聞之，能信不爲人下，吾未能也。詩曰：不僭不賊，鮮不爲則。信也，能爲人，則者不爲人下矣。吾不能是，雖楚不爲患。楚令尹圍請用牲，讀舊書，加於牲上而已。晉人許之。三月甲辰盟。楚公子圍殷服離衡，叔孫穆子曰：楚公子美矣。君哉。鄭子皮曰：二執戈者前矣。蔡子家曰：蒞官有前，不亦可乎？楚伯州犂曰：此行也，辭而假之寡君。鄭行人揮曰：假不反矣。伯州犂曰：子姑憂子皙之欲背旣也。子羽曰：當璧猶在，假而不反，子其無憂乎？齊國子曰：吾代二子愍矣。陳公子招曰：不憂何成？二子樂矣。衛齊子曰：苟或知之，雖憂何害？未合左師曰：大國令小國共，吾知共而已。晉樂王鮒曰：小旻之卒章善矣。吾從之。退會。子羽謂子皮曰：叔孫絞而婉，宋左師簡而禮，樂王鮒字而敬，子與子家持之，皆保世之主也。齊衛陳大夫其不免乎？國子代人憂，子招樂憂齊子，雖憂弗害，夫弗及而憂，與可憂而樂，與憂而弗害，皆取憂之道也。憂必及之，夫誓曰：民之所欲，天必從之。三大夫兆憂，憂能無至乎？言以知物，其是之謂矣。



BOOK X. DUKE CH'AOU.

First year.

昭公

元年春王正月公即位。  
叔孫豹會晉趙武。  
楚公子圍齊國弱宋向戌衛齊惡陳公子招。  
蔡公孫歸生鄭罕虎司人曹人丁號。  
三月取郕。  
夏秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉。  
六月。  
丁巳邾子革卒。  
荀息帥師敗狄于夷。  
秋莒去疾自齊入於莒。  
莒展與出奔吳。  
九月。  
叔弓帥師疆郕田。  
葬邾悼公。  
冬十有二月。  
楚公子比出奔晉。

左傳曰元年春楚公子圍聘於鄭日娶於公孫段氏伍舉爲介將入館鄭人惡之使行人了羽與之二乃館於外既聘將以衆逆了產患之使了羽辭曰以敝邑褊小不足以容從者請弭聽命令尹命大宰伯州犂對曰君辱貺寡人大圍

謂圍，將使豐氏撫有而室，圍布几筵，告於莊井之廟而來。若野賜之，是委君貶於草莽也。是寡大夫不得列於諸卿也。不埒唯是，又使圍蒙其先君將不得爲寡君老，其蔑以復矣。唯大夫圖之子羽曰：小國無罪，恃實其罪，將恃大國之安靖已，而無乃包藏禍心以圖之。小國失恃，而懲諸侯，使莫不憾者，距違君命而有所壅塞不行，是懼，不然，敝邑館人之屬也。其敢愛豐氏之祧，伍舉知其有備也。請垂綏而入，許之正月。乙未，入逆而出。遂會于穀。宋之盟也。祁午謂趙文子曰：宋之盟，楚人得志於晉，今令尹之不信，諸侯之所聞也。子弗戒懼，又如宋，子木之信稱於諸侯，猶昨晉而駕焉，況不信之尤者乎？楚重得志於晉，晉之恥也。子相晉國，以爲盟主於今年矣，再合諸侯，三合大夫，服齊狄，寧東夏，平秦亂，城淳于，師徒不顧，國家不罷，民無飭聽，諸侯無怨，天無大災，子之力也。有令名矣，而終之以恥，午也是懼。吾子其不可以不戒。文子曰：武受賜矣，然宋之盟，子木有禍人之心，武有仁人之心，是楚所以駕於晉也。今武猶是心也，楚又行僭非所害也。武將信以爲本，循而行之，譬如農夫，是穰是獲，雖有饑饉，必有豐年。且吾聞之，能信不爲人下，吾未能也。詩曰：不僭不賊，鮮不爲則。信也，能爲人則者，不爲人下矣。吾不能是，雖楚不爲患。楚令尹圍請用牲，饋舊書，加於牲上而已。晉人許之。三月甲辰盟。楚公子圍設服離衛，叔孫穆子曰：楚公子美矣。君哉。鄭子皮曰：二執戈者，前矣。蔡子家曰：蒲宮有前，不亦可乎？楚伯州犁曰：此行也，辭而假之寡君，鄭行人揮曰：假才反矣。伯州犁曰：子姑憂子皙之欲背旣也。子羽曰：當璧猶在，假而不反，子其無憂乎？齊國子曰：吾代二子愍矣。陳公子招曰：不憂何成？二子樂矣。衛齊子曰：苟或知之，雖憂何害？宋合左師曰：大國令小國共，吾知共而已。晉樂王黹曰：小旻之卒，章善矣。吾從之。退會子羽謂子皮曰：叔孫絞而婉，宋左師簡而禮，樂王黹字而敬，子與子家持之，皆保世之主也。齊、衛、陳大夫，其不免乎？國子代人憂，子招樂憂，齊子雖憂弗害，夫弗及而憂，與可憂而樂，與憂而弗害，皆取憂之道也。憂必及之，犬豕曰：民之所欲，天必從之。三大夫兆憂，憂能無至乎？晉以知物，其是之謂矣。

季武子伐莒，取郕。莒人告於會，楚告於晉曰：「尋盟未退，而魯伐莒，瀆齊盟，請戮其使。」樂桓子相趙文子，欲求貨於叔孫，而爲之請，使請帶焉。弗與，梁其涇曰：「貨以藩身，了何愛焉？」叔孫曰：「諸侯之會，衛社稷也，我以貨免，魯必受師，是禍之也。何衛之爲？人之有牆，以蔽惡也，牆之隙壞，誰之咎也？衛而惡之，台又甚焉。雖怨季孫，魯國何罪？」叔出季處，有自來矣。晉又誰怨？然鮒也，賄弗與，不曰：「召使者，裂裳帛而與之。」曰：「帶其褊矣。」趙孟聞之曰：「臨患不忘國，忠也。思難不越官，信也。圖國忘死，貞也。謀一者，義也。有是四者，又可戮乎？乃請諸仲曰：「魯雖有罪，其執事不辟難，畏威而敬命矣。了若免之，以勸左右，可也。若了之羣吏，處不辟汚，出不逃難，其何患之有？患之所生，汚而不治，難而不守，所由來也，能是二者，又何患焉？不靖其能，其誰從之？魯叔孫豹可謂能矣，請免之，以靖能者。了會而赦有罪，又賞其賢，諸侯其誰不欣焉？望楚而歸之，視遠如邇，疆場之邑，彼此何常之有？十伯之令也，引其封疆，而樹之官，舉之衣旗，而著之制令，過則有刑，猶不可壹於是乎？虞有苗，夏有觀扈，商有旻，周有徐奄，自無令十諸侯逐進，狎一齊盟，其又可壹乎？恤人舍小，足以爲盟，又焉用之？封疆之削，何國蔑有？」上齊盟者，誰能辯焉？吳濮有戮，楚之執事，豈其顧盟？莒之疆事，楚勿與知，諸侯無煩，不亦可乎？呂魯爭郕，爲日久矣，苟無人害於其社稷，可無亢也。去煩有善，莫不競勸，了其圖之，固請諸楚，楚人許之，乃免叔孫令尹。趙孟賦大明之首章，趙孟賦小宛之一章。事畢，趙孟謂叔向曰：「令尹自以爲一矣，何如？」對曰：「一弱，令尹彊，其可哉。雖可不終。」趙孟曰：「何故？」對曰：「彊以克弱，而安之，彊不義也。不義而彊，其斃必速。」詩曰：「赫赫宗周，褒姒滅之。」彊不義也，令尹爲一，必求諸侯，皆少懦矣。諸侯將往，若獲諸侯，其虐滋甚，民弗堪也，將何以終？人以彊取，不義而克，必以爲道，道以淫虐，弗可久矣。」

○夏四月，趙孟叔孫豹曹人入於鄭，鄭伯兼享之。了皮戕趙孟，禮終，趙孟賦瓠葉。了皮遂戕穆叔，目告之。穆叔曰：「趙孟欲獻了，其從之。」了皮曰：「敢乎？」穆叔曰：「大人之所欲也，又何不敢？」及亨，貝力獻之，邊曰於幕下。趙孟

辭私於子產曰武請於冢宰矣乃用一獻。趙孟爲客禮終乃宴。穆叔賦鵲巢。趙孟曰武不堪也。又賦采芣。曰小國爲繁大國省穡而用之。其何實非命。子皮賦野有死麕之卒章。趙孟賦常棣。且曰吾兄弟比以安。虢也可使無吠。穆叔子皮及曹大夫與拜。舉兕爵曰小國賴子知免於戾矣。飲酒樂。趙孟出曰吾不復此矣。

○天王使劉定公勞趙孟於穎館。於雒納。劉子曰美哉禹功明德遠矣。微禹吾其魚乎。吾與子弁冕端委以治民臨諸侯禹之力也。子盍亦遠績禹功而大庇民乎。對曰老夫罪戾是懼焉。能恤遠吾儕偷食朝不謀夕。何其畏也。劉子歸以語王曰諺所謂老將知而毫及之者其趙孟之謂乎。爲晉正卿以主諸侯而儕於隸人朝不謀夕棄神人矣。神怒民叛何以能久。趙孟不復年矣。神怒不赦其祀民叛不卽其事祀事不從。又何以年。

○叔孫歸會天御季孫以勞之。旦及日中不出。曾天謂曾阜曰旦及日中吾知罪矣。魯以相忍爲國也。忍其外不忍其內焉。用之阜曰數月於外一旦於是庸何傷。賈而欲贏而懸踵乎。阜謂叔孫曰可以出矣。叔孫指楹曰雖惡是其可去乎。乃出見之。

○鄭徐吾犯之妹美。公孫楚聘之矣。公孫黑又使強委禽焉。犯懼告子產。子產曰是國無政非子之患也。唯所欲與犯請於二子。請使女擇焉。皆許之。子皙盛飾入布幣而出。子南戎服入左右射超乘而出。女自房觀之曰子皙信美矣。抑子南夫也。夫夫婦婦所謂順也。適子南氏子皙怒既而轅甲以見子南欲殺之。而取其妻。子南知之執戈逐之及衝擊之以戈。子皙傷而歸告大夫曰我好見之不知其有異志也。故傷大夫皆謀之子產曰直鈞幼賤有罪罪在楚也。乃執子南而數之曰國之大節有五。汝皆奸之。畏君之威聽其政尊其貴事其長養其親五者所以爲國也。今君在國收用兵焉不畏威也。奸國之紀不聞政也。子皙上大夫汝嬖大夫而弗下之不尊貴也。幼而不忌不事長也。兵其從兄不養親也。君曰余不汝忍殺。宥女以遠勉速行乎。無重而罪五月庚辰鄭放游楚於吳。將行子南子產咨於犬叔。犬叔曰吉不能亢身焉能亢宗。彼國政也非私難也。子圖鄭國利。

則行之。又何疑焉。周公殺管叔而蔡蔡叔。夫豈不愛。上室故也。古若獲戾。了將行之。何有於諸游。

秦后子有寵於桓。如二君於景。其母曰弗人。懼選。癸卯。鍼適晉。其車千乘。書曰秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉。罪秦伯也。后了亨首侯。造舟於河。十里舍車。自雍及絳。歸取酬幣。終事八反。司馬侯問焉。曰了之車。盡於此而已乎。對曰此之謂多矣。若能少此。台何以得見。汝叔齊以台公。曰秦公了必歸。臣聞君了能知其過。必有令圖。令圖人所贊也。后了見趙孟。趙孟曰台了其曷歸。對曰鍼懼選於寡君。是以此將待嗣君。趙孟曰秦君何如。對曰無道。趙孟曰亡乎。對曰何爲。世無道。國人不艾也。國於人地。有與立焉。不數世淫。弗能斃也。趙孟曰人乎。對曰有焉。趙孟曰其幾何。對曰鍼聞之。國無道。而年穀和熟。人贊之也。鮮不五稔。趙孟視蔭曰朝夕不相及。誰能待力。后了出而告人曰趙孟將死矣。主民翫歲而愒日。其與幾何。

○鄭爲游楚亂故。六月丁巳。鄭伯及其大夫盟於公孫段氏。罕虎。公孫倫。公孫段。印段。游吉。駟帶。私盟於闔門之外。實薰隧。公孫黑強與於盟。使人史書其名。且曰七了。了產弗討。

管中行穆了敗無終。及羣狄于大原。崇卒也。將戰。魏舒曰彼徒我車。所遇又阨。以什其車。必克。困諸師。又克。諸皆卒。自我始。乃毀車以爲行。力乘爲一伍。荀吳之嬖人。不肯卽卒。斬以徇。爲力陳以相離。兩於前。伍於後。專爲右角。參爲左角。偏爲前拒。以誘之。翟人笑之。木陳而薄之。人敗之。

莒展輿立。而奪羣公子秩。召失疾於齊。秋。齊公了鉅納失疾。

展輿介吳。

叔弓帥師疆鄆田。因莒亂也。於是莒務婁。晉胡。及公了滅明。以人彪。與常儀靡。介齊。君了曰莒展之不立。衆人也。人人可乘乎。詩曰無競維人。善矣。

○首侯有疾。鄭伯使公孫倫如晉聘。且問疾。叔向問焉。曰寡君之疾病。卜人曰實沈臺駘爲祟。史莫之知。敢問

此何神也。子產曰：昔高辛氏有二子，伯曰閼伯，季曰實沈，居於曠林，不相能也，日尋干戈，以相征討。后帝不臧，遷閼伯於商丘，主辰，商人是因，故辰爲商星。遷實沈於大夏，主參，唐人是因，以服事夏商。其季世曰唐叔虞，當武王邑，妻方震，犬叔，夢帝謂己，余命而子曰虞，將與之唐，屬諸參而蕃育其子孫。及生，有文在其手，曰虞，遂以命之。及成，王滅唐，而封犬叔焉，故參爲晉星。由是觀之，則實沈，參神也。昔金天氏有裔子曰昧，爲玄冥師，生允格，靈昭，靈昭能業其官，宣汾洙，障大澤，以處大原，帝用嘉之，封諸汾川，沈，姒，蓀，黃，實守其祀。今晉主汾而滅之矣。由是觀之，則靈昭，汾神也。抑此二者，不及君身，山川之神，則水旱厲疫之災，於是乎殲之，日月星辰之神，則雪霜風雨之不時，於是乎禱之。若君身，則亦出入飲食哀樂之事也。山川星辰之神，又何爲焉？僑聞之，君子有四時，朝以聽政，晝以訪問，夕以脩令，夜以安身，於是乎節宣其氣，勿使有所壅閉湫底，以露其體，絃心不爽，而昏亂百度，今無乃壅之則生疾矣。備又聞之內官不及同姓，其生不殖，美先盡矣，則相生疾。君子是以惡之，故志曰：賈姜不知其姓，則卜之，違此二者，古之所慎也。男女辨姓，禮之大司也。今君內實有四姬焉，其無乃是也乎？若由是二者，弗可爲也已。四姬有省，猶可，無則必生疾矣。叔向曰：善哉！肸未之聞也。此皆然矣。叔向出，行人揮送之，叔向問鄭故焉，且問子皙對曰：其與幾何？無禮而好陵人，枯富而卑，其上弗能久矣。晉侯聞子產之言，曰：博物君子也，重賄之。

○晉侯求醫於秦，秦伯使醫和視之，曰：疾不可爲也，是謂近女室，疾如蠱，非鬼非食，惑以喪志，良臣將死，天命不祐。公曰：女不可近乎？對曰：節之，先王之樂，所以節百事也，故有五節，遲速本末以相及，中聲以降，五降之後，不容彈矣。於是有煩手淫聲，慆心耳，乃忘平和，君子弗聽也。物亦如之，至於煩，舍乃也已，無以生疾。君子之近琴瑟，以儀節也，非以慆心也。天有六氣，降生五味，發爲五色，徵爲五聲，淫生六疾。六氣曰陰，陽，風，雨，晦，明也，分爲四時，序爲五節，過則爲菑，陰淫，寒疾，陽淫，熱疾，風淫，末疾，雨淫，腹疾，晦淫，惑疾，明淫，心疾，女陽物而晦時，

淫則生內熱感熱之疾。今君不節不時，能無及此乎？出告趙孟，趙孟曰：「誰當良臣？」對曰：「是謂矣。」相晉國於今八年，晉國無亂，諸侯無闕，可謂良矣。和聞之，國之大臣，榮其寵祿，任其大節，有舊禍興而無改焉，必受其咎。今君至於淫，以生疾，將不能圖恤社稷，禍孰大焉？上不能禦，台是以六也。趙孟曰：「何謂？」對曰：「淫溺惑亂之所生也，於文皿蟲爲蠱，穀之飛，亦爲蠱。在周易，女惑男，風落山，謂之蠱，皆同物也。」趙孟曰：「良醫也，厚其禮而歸之。」

楚公了圍，使公子黑肱、伯州犂、城驪、欒、鄭人懼了產，曰：「不害，令尹將行人事，而先除一了也，禍不及鄭，何患焉？」冬，楚公了圍將聘於鄭，伍舉爲介，木出竟，聞一有疾而還，伍舉遂聘。十一月己酉，公了圍至，入問一疾，縊而弑之，遂殺其二了，及平夏、右尹了丁出奔晉。宮既尹了，哲出奔鄭，殺犬宰伯州犂於鄭，葬之於鄭，謂之郟敖。使赴於鄭，伍舉問應爲後之辭焉。對曰：「寡人犬圍，伍舉史之曰：『以一了之圍爲長了丁介首，從車五乘，叔向使與秦公了同食，皆自人之餽。』」趙文了曰：「秦公了富，叔向曰：『底祿以德，德鈞以年，年同以尊，公了以國，不聞以富。』」犬以「一乘去其國，疆禦已甚，詩曰：『不侮鰥寡，不畏彊禦，秦楚匹也。』」使后了與了丁齒，辭曰：「鍼懼選，楚公了不獲，是以皆來，亦唯命。」且中與藹齒，無乃不可乎？史佚有言曰：「非藹何忌？」楚靈一卽位，遠能爲令尹，遂啟疆爲犬宰。鄭游古如楚，葬郟敖，日聘立君，歸謂了產曰：「具行器矣。」楚一汰侈，而自詭其事，必合諸侯，台往無日矣。了產曰：「不數年，人能也。」

○十一月，晉既烝，趙孟適南陽，將會孟了餘。甲辰朔，烝於溫，庚戌卒。鄭伯如晉中，及雍，乃復。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat
- 2 Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tsin, the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo, Kwoh Joh of Ts'e, Heang Seuh of Sung, Ts'e Goh of Wei, the Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in, the Kung-sun Kwei-sang of Ts'ae, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, a minister of Heu, and a minister of Ts'aou, in Kwoh.
- 3 In the third month, we took Yun.
- 4 In summer, K'een, younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, fled from that State to Tsin
- 5 In the sixth month, on Ting-sze, Hwa, viscount of Choo, died

- 6 Seun Woo of Ts'in led a force, and defeated the Tsih at Ta loo
- 7 In autumn, H'eu tsih of H'eu entered into that State from Ts'a.
- 8 Chen yu of H'eu fled from that State to Woo
- 9 Shuh Kung led a force, and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yun
- 10 There was the burial of duke Taou of Choo
- 11 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke 30, H'eu, viscount of Ts'oo, died
- 12 The Kung tzu P'ei of Ts'oo fled from that State to Ts'in

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—昭公, Duke Ch'ao.

We have seen, in the Chuen on par. 3 of last year that duke Ch'ao's name was Chow (稠), and that he was a son of duke K'ang by a concubine called Tse Kwei (齊歸), of the State of Hoo (胡). He was 19 years old at his accession, and still possessed a boy's heart, more fond of sport than best used his position. He was marquis of Loo from B.C. 510 to 509. His honorary title denotes "In demeanour capacious and intelligent" (威儀弘明曰昭).

Ch'ao's 1st year synchronized with the 4th of King King (景王); the 17th of Ping (平公) of Ts'in; the 7th of King (景) of Tse; the 3d of S'ang (襄) of Wei; the 2d of Ling (靈) of Ts'ao; the 2nd of K'een (簡) of Ch'ing; the 14th of Woo (武) of Ts'ao; the 28th of G'e (哀) of Ch'ing; the 9th of Wan (文) of Ke; the 30th of Ping of Sung; the 30th of King of Ts'in; the 4th of K'eh-g'ao (邾敖) of Ts'oo, and the 3d of E-mei (莒末) of Woo.

Par. 2. For 國弱 Kung-yang has 國酌; for 齊惡石惡; for 罕虎軒虎. For 戰 Kung has 戰 and K'eh 郭. Kw'oh was in Ch'ing. It had been the capital of the State of east Kw'oh, which had been extinguished by Ch'ing before the commencement of the Ch'ao Ts'ao period—in the dia. of Fan-shway (汎水), dep. K'uei-fung. The object of the meeting in Kw'oh was to cement the covenant of Sung which was repeated here though not with all the formalities; and many critics see the pruning style and its serious meaning of the sage in making mention of the meeting only. The dot II in the Chuen illustrate the remarks appended to IX. xx II 2 3 on the decadence of Ts'in, the growing power of Ts'oo, and the encroachments of the great officers on the prerogatives of the princes of the States.

The Chuen says:—In spring the Kung tzu Wei of Ts'oo went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, and at the same time to marry a daughter of Kung sun T'ao; Woo K'uei being the assistant concubine. They proposed lodging inside the capital, but the people of Ch'ing were

adverse to this, and sent the Internuncios Tze-yu to speak with them on the subject; on which they occupied a reception-house outside. When the business of the visit was over [Wei] proposed [entering the city], with all his company to meet his bride. The thing troubled Tze-ch'ao, who sent Tze-yu to decline the proposal saying, "In consequence of the smallness of our poor city which is not sufficient to contain your followers, we beg to level a piece of ground outside and rear a high structure where we can receive your command." The chief minister ordered the grand administrator H'ui Chow to reply "Your ruler condescended to confer his kindness on our great officer Wei, saying that he would send the lady Fung (Fung was the surname of Kung-sun T'ao) to take soothing possession of his family. Wei then set forth his offerings on the stands in the temples of [the kings] Ch'wang and Kung (his grand father and father), and is come here. If the lady be given to him in the open country it will be throwing your ruler's gift among the grass and weeds; and our great officer will not have his rank among the other ministers [of our State]. And not only this:—the proceeding will also make Wei to have deceived his former rulers, and he will not be able to retain his place as an ancient of our [present] ruler. He will not [dare to] return [to Ts'oo]. Let your great officers consider it." Tze-yu said, "Our small State [means] no offence; its offence has been in the confidence [it has placed in you]. Meaning to confide in your great State's desire to secure its repose and quiet, and you, on the contrary having hid in your breasts an evil mind to scheme against it, it will have erred in its confidence, and must announce the thing to the States, moving the indignation of them all, so that they will resist your ruler's orders, and your [excesses] will be stopped:—this is what we are afraid of. If it were not for this, our State is but a sort of keeper of a reception-house for you; would it presume to grudge you the use of the temple of the Fung family?"

Woo K'uei knowing that they were prepared [in Ch'ing against any hostile attempt], begged that they might enter the city, with their quivers slung upside down;—which was granted. In the 1st month, on Yih-wei [Wei] entered the city received his bride, and went out again.

He then went on to meet [the representatives of the States] in Kw'oh, the object being to renew the covenant of Sung. K'uei Woo said to Ch'ao Wan tzu "At the covenant of Sung the men of Ts'oo got their will, as against Ts'in. The want of faith of the present chief-minister [of Ts'oo] is what all the States have heard of.



If you do not take precautions, things will turn out as in Sung. The good faith of Tsze-muh was celebrated among the States, and still he deceived Ts'in, and got the advantage over it, how much more may we expect deceit from one notorious for his want of faith! If Ts'oo a second time get its will as against Ts'in, it will be a disgrace to Ts'in. You have guided the government of Ts'in, maintaining it as lord of covenants now for 7 years. Twice have you assembled the princes of the States, and three times their great officers. You brought to submission Ts'e and the Teih, you tranquillized the States of the east, you pacified the confusion of Ts'in, you walled Shun-yu (The capital of Ke), yet our troops have not been exhausted, the State has not been wearied, the people have uttered no slanders nor revilings, the other States have felt no resentment, Heaven has inflicted no great calamities—all this has been due to you. You have got a good name, and what I am afraid of is, lest you should bring shame on it in the end. Sir, you must not neglect to take precautions." Wän-tsze said, "Thank you for the lesson you have given me. But at the covenant of Sung, the heart of Tsze-muh was set on injuring others, while my heart was set on the well-being of others, and it was thereby that Ts'oo got the advantage of Ts'in. And now I still cherish the same heart, and Ts'oo is still assuming and arrogating. No harm will result from it. Good faith shall be held by me as a fundamental thing, and I will act in accordance with it. The case will be like that of the husbandman who clears away the weeds and digs up the earth about his plants, although there may be seasons of famine or scarcity, he will, as a rule, have abundant harvests. Moreover, I have heard that he who can maintain his good faith is sure not to be below others—I cannot fully attain to this. The ode (She, III in ode II 8) says,

'Not going beyond the right, inflicting no injury,  
Seldom is it that such an one does not become a pattern to others.'

showing the power of good faith. He who can be a pattern to others, is not beneath them. My inability to attain this is my difficulty, I am not troubled about Ts'oo."

'Wei, the chief minister of Ts'oo begged that they might simply use a victim, and having read the words of the former covenant, place the writing over its [blood]. This was agreed to on the part of Ts'in, and on the 3d month, on Keah-shun, they covenanted. Wei was in [ruler's] robes, with guards displayed [before him]. Shuh-sun Muh-tze said, "The Kung-tsze of Ts'oo is beautiful, how ruler-like!"

Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing said, "Yes, with those two spearmen before him!"

'Tsze-kea of Ts'ae said, "They are before the P'oo palace, may he not have them [here] also?"

'Pih Chow-le of Ts'oo said, "In taking leave for this journey, he borrowed them from our ruler."

'Hwuy, the internuncius of Ch'ing, said "He borrowed them, but will not return them!"

'Pih Chow-le replied, "You may find a subject for your sorrow in the rebellious, incoherent ambition of Tsze-seih." Tsze-yu rejoined, "While the designate of the *peih* (See the Chuen on XIII

8) remains, do you find no subject for sorrow in the borrowing these things, and not returning them?"

'Kwoh-tsze of Ts'e said, "I commiserate the two of you."

The Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in said, "But for their anxious sorrow, what would they accomplish? They will have occasion for joy."

'Ts'e-tze of Wei said, "If they know it [before-hand], although they may be sorrowful, what harm will there be?"

'The master of the Left of Sung—he of Hoh—said, "A great State commands, and a small State obeys. I know nothing but to obey."

'Yoh Wang-foo of Ts'in said, ["The sentiment of] the last stanza of the *Sünou min* (She, I L v ode I) is good, I will follow it."

'When they retired from the meeting, Tsze-yu said to Tsze-p'e, "Shuh-sun was sharp, and yet mild. The master of the Left of Sung was sententious, and agreeable to propriety. Yoh Wang-foo was loving and reverent. You and Tsze-kea held [the Mean]. You are all men who will preserve your families for generations. But the great officers of Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'in, will not escape [an evil death]. Kwoh-tze was sorry for them, Tsze-shaou found in sorrow ground for joy, and Ts'e-tze said that though they were sorrowful, there would be no harm. Now to be sorry before the thing happens, to find joy in what is occasion for sorrow, and to see no harm in being sorry,—all this is the way to bring sorrow. Sorrow will come to them. The Great Declaration says, 'What the people desire, Heaven is sure to grant.' Those three officers prognosticated sorrow,—is it possible but that sorrow should come to them? This is an illustration of the saying, 'From words you know things.'"

Par 3 Yun,—see on IX xii 1, 2. The Chuen says —'Ke Woo-tze invaded Keu and took Yun. The people of Keu sent word [of the outrage] to the meeting, and Ts'oo represented to Ts'in, "Before we have retired from this renewal of the covenant, Loo has invaded Keu, thus treating contumeliously our common stipulations. Allow us to execute its envoy." Yoh Hwan-tze (Wang-foo) was in attendance on Chaou Wän-tze, and wishing to ask a bribe from Shuh-sun, he interceded for him, and sent a messenger to ask from him a sash. Shuh-sun refused it, on which Leang K'e-hung said, "Why should you grudge giving your property to protect yourself?" Shuh-sun replied, "The meeting of the States is for the defence of our altars. If I by such a method secure my own escape, yet Loo will be attacked. I shall have brought calamity on it, instead of being a defence to it. Men build walls to prevent the approach of evil. When there are cracks in a wall, or it falls to ruin, on whom will the blame be laid? If I, set for the defence [of Loo], should yet do it evil, I should be more to blame [than the wall]. Though I can resent the conduct of Ke-sun [in this matter], what offence has Loo committed? That the Shuh should go abroad [on missions], and the Ke remain at home, is an established custom [of our State]—with whom should I feel dissatisfied? But as to a gift to Wang-foo, if I do not give him something, he will not cease [importuning me]." With this he called the messenger, tore up a piece of silk for a lower garment, and gave it to him saying, "The sash-silk is all done."

When Chao-ming heard of all this, he said, "In misfortune not forgetting his State, he is loyal; in respect of difficulties, not [wishing] to enlarge his office, he is faithful. Forgetting the risk of death in his interest for the State, he is incorrupt. Holding to those three things in his counsels, he is righteous. Ought a man with these four qualities to be executed? He therefore made a request to [the minister of] Te'oo, saying, "Although Loo be chargeable with an offence its minister here has not [sought to] avoid difficult services, and [now] in awe of your majesty he [is prepared] to submit reverently to your orders. It will be well for you to spare him as an encouragement to all about you. If your officers, in the State, do not seek to avoid laborious services, and when they go abroad, do not try to evade difficulties [that they may meet with] to what penalties will you in that case be exposed? What calamities arise from its officers not performing laborious services, and not maintaining their characters on occasions of difficulty. If they are able for these two things, there will be no calamities. If you do not quiet [the apprehensions of] those who are able, who will follow you? Shuh-sun P'ao may be pronounced such an able man, and I beg you to spare him, in order to quiet the minds of others who are so [also]. If you, having enabled [the ministers of] the States, will pardon the guilty [Loo], and reward its worthy officer which of the States will not rejoice? They will look to Te'oo and turn to it, and see it, though far off, as if it were near. The States that lie on their borders [between] Tain and Te'oo follow now the one and now the other, without any regularity. The good kings and providing princes draw out for them their bound aries, set up for them their officers, raised in them their flags of distinction, and issued among them enactments and ordinances. Transgressors among them they punished, and yet they could not secure a cessation [of obedience]. Thus it was that Yu had his San-meng; Hsia its Kwan and Hoo; Shang its Beon and P'ei; and Chow its Ben and Yen. After there ceased to be good kings, the States struggled for the precedence and one and another have predated in turns over the general crown. Under such a condition can absolute ones be looked for? The State which can sympathize with others in great calamities and overlook small matters, is fit to be lord of covenants; why should it occupy itself [with the small matters]? What State has not questions about encroachments on its borders? What presiding State could attend to them all? If Woo or Pui were to commit a trespass, would the ministers of Te'oo pay any regard to our covenants? There is no reason why Te'oo should not decline to take notice of this matter about the borders of K'ou, and why the States should be troubled about it. K'ou and Loo have quarrelled about Yin for long. If there be no great harm done to the altars [of K'ou] you need not resist [the present aggression]. Do you remove this occasion of trouble, and deal kindly with this good man, and all will be strong to encourage [one another in the application of] Te'oo. Do you consider the matter. He [thus] earnestly urged his request, and the minister of Te'oo granted it, so that Shuh sun was spared.

The chief minister feasted Chao-ming and sang the first stanza of the Ta ming (She, III ode II.). Chao ming sang the second stanza of the Shao yuen (She II. v ode II.). When the feast was over (Chao ming said to Shuh-hung "The chief minister looks upon himself as king. How will it be?" Shuh-hung replied, "The king is weak, and the minister is strong. His ambition will be gratified, but notwithstanding he will not die a natural death. "Why so?" "When strength overcomes weakness, and is satisfied in doing so, the strength is not righteous. Of strength which is unrighteous the doom will come quick. The ode (She, II. iv ode VIII. 8) says,

The majestic honoured capital of Chow  
Is extinguished by a son Sze—

that was a case of strength which was not righteous. When the chief minister becomes king, he will be sure to ask [from Tain] the presidency of the States; and Tain is somewhat weakened. The States will go [to Te'oo]; and when he has got them his oppressiveness will be greatly increased. The people will not be able to bear it, and how shall he obtain a natural death? Taking [his position] by strength over-coming by unrighteousness, he must look on these things as the proper course. Pursuing that course in dissoluteness and oppression, he cannot continue long.

[We have four narratives appended here — 1st. "In summer in the 4th month, Chao ming, Shuh-sun P'ao, and the great officer of Te'oo, entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl gave them all an entertainment. Tze-p'ao conveyed to Chao ming the notice of the time; and when the ceremony [of doing so] was over Chao ming sang the Hoo yen (She, II. viii ode VII.). Tze-p'ao went on to give the notice to Muh-shuh and told this to him, when Muh-shuh said, "Chao ming wishes that there should only be one cup and the response to it. You should order it so." "How dare I?" said Tze-p'ao. "When it is what a man wishes, why should you not dare to do a thing? was the reply. When the time came, the vessels for the ceremony of five cups were all provided under a tent. Chao ming declined [such a celebration] and told Tze-ch'an apart how he had begged of the chief minister [that it might be otherwise]. On this only one cup was presented, Chao ming being the [principal] guest; and when that ceremony was over they proceeded to the feast. Muh-shuh sang the Fa'oh-ch'ao (She, I. li. ode I.), when (Chao ming said, "I am not worthy of that. The other then sang the Ta'ao fan (I. li. ode II.), and added, "Our small States are like that southern wood. If your great State will gather it sparingly and use it, we will do everything obey your commands." Tze-p'ao sang the last stanza of the Yai yao sze keun (I. li. ode XII.). Chao ming sang the Chang to (II. I. ode IV.), and said, "Let us who are brothers seek to rest in harmony and that dog may be kept from barking at us." Muh-shuh, Tze-p'ao and the great officer of Te'oo, rose up at this, and bowed their acknowledgments. Each of them raised a cup made of a rhinoceros' horn, and said, "We small States depend on you, and know that we shall escape punishment. They then drank and were joyous. When Chao

māng went out, he said, "I shall not have a repetition of this [enjoyment]"

2d 'The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Ting of Lōw to the Ying to compliment Chaou-māng on the accomplishment of the toils of his journey, and [he accompanied him] to his lodging-house near a bend of the Loh. "How admirable," said the viscount of Lōw, "was the merit of Yu! His intelligent virtue reached far. But for Yu, we should have been fishes. That you and I manage the business of the princes in our caps and robes is all owing to Yu. Why should you not display a merit as far-reaching as that of Yu, and extend a great protection to the people?" Chaou-māng replied, "I am old, and constantly afraid of incurring guilt, how should I be able to send my regards far into the future? We can but think about our food, in the morning laying no plans for the evening, and are incapable of any long forethought." When the viscount returned [to the court], he told the king of this conversation, saying, "The common saying, 'An old man is just becoming wise, when senility comes upon him,' might be spoken of Chaou-māng. He is the chief minister of 'I sin, and presides over the States, and yet he likens himself to a common servant, who in the morning has no plans for the evening, casting from him [the care of] both spirits and men. The spirits must be angry with him, and the people revolt from him—how can he continue long? Chaou-māng will not see another year. The spirits, angry with him, will not accept his sacrifices, the people, revolting from him, will not repair to execute his affairs. His sacrifices and affairs both unattended to, what should he do with more years?"

3d 'When Shuh-sun returned [to Loo], Tsāng Yaou drove Ke-sun to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his journey. The morning passed and mid-day came without his coming forth. Tsāng Yaou said to Tsāng Fow, "[Kept here] from morning to mid-day, we know our offence. But the government of Loo goes on through the mutual forbearance [of the ministers]. Abroad he could bear [with our master], and [now] in the State he does not do so,—what is the meaning of this?" Fow (Shuh-sun's steward) said, 'He has been several months abroad,—what does it harm you to be here one morning? Does the trader who desires his profit dislike the clamour [of the market-place]?' Fow then said to his master that he might come forth, and Shuh-sun pointing to one of the pillars [of his house], said, 'Though I should dislike this, could it be removed?' With this he went out and saw Ke-sun.'

4th 'Seu-woo Fan of Ching had a beautiful sister, who was betrothed to Kung-sun Ts'oo (Designated Tse-nan). Kung-sun Hih (Tse-seih), however also sent a messenger who violently insisted on leaving a goose at the house (A ceremony of espousal). Fan was afraid, and reported the matter to Tse-ch'an, who said, "This is not your sorrow [only], it shows the want of government in the State. Give her to which of them you please." Fan then begged of the two gentlemen that they would allow him to leave the choice between them to the lady, and they agreed to it.

'Tse-seih then, splendidly arrayed, entered the house, set forth his offerings, and went out

Tse-nan entered in his military dress, shot an arrow to the left and another to the right, sprang into his chariot, and went out. The lady saw them from a chamber, and said, "Tse-seih is indeed handsome, but Tse-nan is my husband. For the husband to be the husband, and the wife to be the wife, is what is called the natural course." So she went to Tse-nan's. Tse-seih was enraged, and by-and-by went with his bow-case and in his buff-coat to see Tse-nan, intending to kill him and take away his wife. Tse-nan knew his purpose, seized a spear, and pursued him. Coming up to him at a cross road, he struck him with the weapon. Tse-seih went home wounded, and informed the great officers, saying, "I went in friendship to see him, not knowing that he had any hostile purpose, and so I received the wound."

'The great officers all consulted about the case. Tse-ch'an said, "There is a measure of right on both sides, but as the younger, and lower in rank, and chargeable with an offence, we must hold Ts'oo to be the criminal." Accordingly he [caused] Tse-nan to be seized, and enumerated his offences, saying, "There are the five great rules of the State, all of which you have violated—awe of the ruler's majesty; obedience to the rules of the government, honour to the nobler in rank, the service of elders, and the kindly cherishing of relatives. These five things are necessary to the maintenance of the State. Now you, while the ruler was in the city, presumed to use your weapon,—you had no awe of his majesty. You violated the laws of the State,—not obedient to the rules of government. Tse-seih is a great officer of the 1st degree and you would not acknowledge your inferiority,—you have not honoured the nobler in rank. Younger than he, you showed no awe of him,—not serving your elder. You lifted your weapon against your cousin,—not kindly cherishing your relative. The ruler says that he cannot bear to put you to death, and will deal gently with you in sending you to a distance. Make an effort and take your departure quickly, so as not to incur a second offence."

'In the 5th month, on Kāng-shun, Ch'ing banished Yōw (Tse-nan's clan-name) Ts'oo, to Woo. When he was about to send him away, Tse-ch'an consulted with Tse-shuh (Yōw Keih) on the subject. Tse-shuh said, "I cannot protect myself, how should I be able to protect the members of my clan? The affair belongs to the government of the State, and is not any private hardship. If you have planned for the benefit of the State carry out your decision. Why should you have any hesitancy? The duke of Chow put to death Kwan-shuh, and banished Tse-shuh, not because he did not love them, but because it was necessary for the royal house. If I were to be found in any crime, you would send me away, what difficulty need you have in the case of any other Yōw?"

Par 4 'The Chuen says—'How-tse of Ts'in had been a favourite with [his father, duke] Hwan, and was like another ruler by the side of [his brother, duke] King. Their mother said to him, "If you do not go away, I am afraid you will be found fault with." On Kwei-maou, therefore, K'ēn went to Ts'in, with his chariots amounting to a thousand. The words of the text, "K'ēn, younger brother of the earl

of Tsin fled from that State to Tsin," are condemnatory of the earl.

How tze gave an entertainment to the marquis of Tsin, when he made a bridge of boats over the Ho. His chariots were placed at stages 10 & distant from one another [all the way] from Yang to K'ang, returning [to Tsin] to fetch the offerings for the different pledgings [at the entertainment], thereby completing the business in eight journeys back to it.

The marshal How asked him whether those were all his chariots, and if he had no more to which he replied, "These may be pronounced many; if they had been fewer how should I have got to see you?" Joo Shuh t'ei (The marshal) told this to the marquis, and added "The prince of Tsin is sure to return to that State. I have heard that when a superior man is able to know his own way, he is sure to take good measures in regard to them; and good measures receive the assistance of Heaven."

How tze visited Chao-ming, who asked him when he would return [to Tsin], and he replied, "I was afraid of being found fault with by my ruler and therefore I am here. I will wait for the accession of his successor. The other then asked him about the character of the ruler of Tsin, and he replied that he was without principle. "So that [the State] will perish?" asked Chao-ming. "How should that be?" replied he. "For one rule without principle a State will not come to an end. The State stands related to Heaven and Earth—they stand together. Unless licentiousness has prevailed for several incumbencies, it will not come to ruin." Chao-ming said, "Does Heaven act in the matter?" "Yes." "And for how long?" "I have heard," was the reply "that when [a ruler] is without principle, and yet the yearly harvest is good, Heaven is assisting him; it is seldom it does not do so for 5 years." Chao-ming, observing the howa, said, "The morning may not extend to the evening, nor the evening to the morning. Who can wait for five years?" When How tze went out [from the interview], he said to his friends, "Chao ming will [soon] die. When the president of the people trifles about years, and desires [length of] days, he cannot endure long."

The Kang he editors say that the three Chuen agree in regarding the words of the text as condemnatory of the earl of Tsin, because he had not done his duty in the training of his younger brother; but they also quote the criticism of K'ea Hsien ung (家鉉翁; end of Sung dyn.), who finds a condemnation of K'een in it as well—and of this view they approve. But both the views are imported into the text, we may believe. Certainly the latter is. A more serious difficulty presents itself to my mind in connexion with the text. Admitting the narrative in the Chuen, though parts in it are not easy to believe or understand the going of K'een to Tsin was of a very different character from all the departures from one State and flights to another which we have yet met with. A faithful and accurate chronicler would have varied his language to mark that difference.

[We have appended here:—Because of the troubles connected with the affair of Yü Tao in Ching in the 6th month, the earl and his great officers made a covenant in the house of

Kung-sun T'wan Han Woo, Kung-sun K'uen hung un T'wan, Yin T'wan, Yü Keih and Kao T'ae privately covenanted together outside the Kwei gate which was in fact [the covenant of] Hsien-suy. Kung-sun Hui violently insisted on taking part in the covenant, and made the grand historiographer write his name and enter the phrase—"the seven officers." T'ao-ch'uan did not attempt to punish him.]

Par 6. For 大國 Kung and Kih have 大原; and Kih observes that the place or tract was called by the former name among the T'eh, and by the latter among the States of the kingdom. The name of T'ae-uen remains in the Ho and dep. so called in Hsiao-so.

The Chuen says:—Chung hung Mui-tze defeated the Woo-chung and other tribes of the T'eh in T'ae-yuen, through collecting the men attached to the chariots and making them foot soldiers. When they were about to fight, Wei Hsiao said, "They are all foot-men, while our force consists of chariots. We must meet them, moreover in a narrow pass. Let us substitute ten men for each chariot and we shall win and them I can though straiten in the pass we shall do so. Let us all turn ourselves into foot men. I will begin." Accordingly he put aside his chariots, and formed the men into ranks of 5 chariots furnishing three ranks of five men each. A favourite officer of K'een Woo (The Chung-hung Mui-tze) was not willing to take his place among the soldiers, and K'uei beheld him, and made the execution known through the army. Five dispositions were then made at a distance from one another:—kung in front; woo, behind; ch'ao, on the right horn; ts'ao, on the left; and p'ao, in the rear. This was done to deceive the T'eh who laughed at the arrangement. [The troops of Tsin] then fell on the enemy before they could form in order and inflicted on them a great defeat.

Par 7. K'een on 11 xxi. 7. The Chuen here says:—When Chen-yu succeeded to the rule of K'eu, he deprived all the sons of previous rulers of their offices. In consequence of this, they called K'een ts'ao from T'ae; and in autumn the Kung tze Ts'ao of T'ae instated him in K'eu, while Chen-yu fled to Woo. Kung and Kih leave out the 喪 after 展.

Par 9. The Chuen says:—Shuh Kung led a force and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yun—taking advantage of the disorder in K'eu. At this time Woo Low, Mow Hui, and the Kung-tze M'eh-ung fled to T'ae offering to that State the cities of Ta-mang and Chiang-mei. The superior man will say that Chen is not maintaining himself in K'eu was owing to his throwing men from him. Can men be thrown away? The odo (Sbe, IV L [L] odo IV) says,

"Nothing gives strength more than [the use of right] men."

The sentiment is good.

Par 10. This is the first time that we meet, in the Chuen Ts'ao with the burial of a prince of Chiao; and the same thing is recorded also, for the 1st time under duke Ch'ao in reference to rulers of T'ang, S'ach, and T'eh. The entries mark the decay of Lo, now seeking by such an attention to ingratiate itself with small States

like Choo, T'ang, and Seeh, and with a distant State like Ts'in

[We have here the two following narratives —

1st. 'The marquis of Ts'in being ill, the earl of Ching sent Kung sun K'eaou to Ts'in on a complimentary visit, and to inquire about the marquis's illness. Shuh-hiang then asked K'eaou, saying, "The diviners say that our ruler's illness is inflicted on him by [the Spirits] Shuh-ch'in and T'ae-t'ae, but the historiographers do not know who these are. I venture to ask you." T'ze ch'ian said, "Anciently, [the emperor] Yaou sin had two sons, of whom the elder was called Oh-pih, and the younger Shuh-ch'in. They dwelt in K'wang-lin, but could not agree, and daily carried their shields and spears against each other. The sovereign emperor (Yaou) did not approve of this and removed Oh-pih to Shang-k'ew, to preside over the star *Ta-ho* (See the Chuen on IX ix 1). The ancestors of Shang followed him [in Shang k'ew], and hence *Ta-ho* is the star of Shang [Yaou also] removed Shuh-ch'in to T'ia hia, to preside over the star *Sim* (? in Orion). The descendants of T'ang (Yaou) followed him, and in T'ia-hia served the dynasties of Hsia and Shang. The prince at the end of their line was T'ang Shuh-yu. When Yih K'ang, the wife of king Woo, was pregnant with T'ae shuh she dreamt that God said to her, "I have named your son Yu, and will give T'ang to him,—T'ang which belongs to the star *Sim*, where I will multiply his descendants." When the child was born, there appeared on his hand the character Yu [by which he was named accordingly]. And when king Ch'ing extinguished [the old House of] T'ang, he invested T'ae-shuh with the principality, and hence *Sim* is the star of Ts'in. From this we may perceive that Shuh-ch'in is the Spirit of *Sim*.

"[Again], anciently, among the descendants of the emperor Kin-t'een was Mei, chief of the officers of the waters, who had two sons, Yun-kih and T'ae-t'ae. T'ae-t'ae inherited his father's office, cleared the channels of the Lun and T'iaou, and embanked the great marsh, so as to make the great plain habitable. The emperor (Chuen-hen) commended his labours, and invested him with the principality of Lun-ch'uen [The States of] Ch'in, Sze, Juh, and Hwang maintained sacrifices to him. But now Ts'in, when it took on itself the sacrifices to the Fun, extinguished them. From this we may perceive that T'ae-t'ae is the Spirit of the Fun.

"But these two Spirits cannot affect your ruler's person. The Spirits of the hills and streams are sacrificed to in times of flood, drought, and pestilence. The Spirits of the sun, moon, and stars are sacrificed to on the unseasonable occurrence of snow, hoarfrost, wind, or rain. Your ruler's person must be suffering from something connected with his movements out of the palace and in it, his meat and drink, his griefs and pleasures, what can these Spirits of the mountains and stars have to do with it?

"I have heard that the superior man [divides the day] into 4 periods—the morning, to hear the affairs of the government, noon, to make full inquiries about them, the evening, to consider well and complete the orders [he has resolved to issue], and the night, for rest. By this arrangement [of his time], he attempers and dis-

sipates the humours [of the body], so that they are not allowed to get shut up, stopped and congested, so as to injure and reduce it. Should that take place, his mind loses its intelligence, and all his measures are pursued in a dark and confused way. But has not [your ruler] been making these four different periods of his time into one? This may have produced the illness.

"I have heard again that the ladies of the harem should not be of the same surname as the master of it. If they be their off-spring will not thrive. When their first admiration for each other [as relatives] is exhausted, they occasion one another disease. On this account the superior man hates such unions, and one of our Books says, 'In buying a concubine, if you do not know her surname, consult the tortoise shell for it.' The ancients gave careful attention to the two points which I have mentioned. That husband and wife should be of different surnames is one of the greatest points of propriety, but now your ruler has in his harem four ladies—may it not be from this [that his illness has arisen]? If it have come from the two things [I have mentioned], nothing can be done for it. If he had seldom to do with the four ladies he might get along, if that be not the case, disease was the necessary result."

Shuh-hiang said "Good. I had not heard of this. But both the things are so. When he went out, the intendant Hsue escorted him, and Shuh-hiang asked him about the affairs of Ching, and especially about T'ze, with "He will not remain long," was the reply. Un-observant of propriety, and fond of insulting others, trusting in his riches and despising his superiors,—he cannot continue long."

When the marquis heard of what T'ze-ch'ian had said, he remarked that he was a superior man of vast information, and gave him large gifts.

2d. 'The marquis of Ts'in asked the help of a physician from Ts'in, and the earl sent one Ho to see him, who said, "The disease cannot be cured,—according to the saying that when women are approached, the chamber disease becomes like insanity. It is not caused by Spirits nor by food, it is that delusion which has destroyed the mind. Your good minister will [also] die, it is not the will of Heaven to preserve him." The marquis said, "My women [then] not be approached?" The physician replied, "Inter-course with them must be regulated. The ancient kings indicated by their music how all other things should be regulated. Hence there are the five regular intervals. Or slow or quick, from beginning to end, they blend in one another. Each note rests in the exact intermediate place, and when the five are thus determined, no further exercise on the instruments is permitted. Thus the superior man does not listen to music where the hands work on with licentious notes, pleasing the ears but injurious to the mind where the rules of equable harmony are forgotten. So it is with all things. When they come to this, they should stop, if they do not do so, it produces disease. The superior man repairs to his lutes, to illustrate his observance of rules, and not to delight his mind [merely].

'[In the same way] there are six heavenly influences, which descend and produce the five tastes, go forth in the five colours, and are verified in the five notes, but when they are in

...they produce the six diseases. Those six influences are denominated the *yin*, the *yang*, wind, rain, obscurity and brightness. In their separation, they form the four seasons; in their order they form the five [elementary] terms. When any of them is in excess there ensues calamity. An excess of the *yin* leads to diseases of cold; of the *yang* to diseases of heat; of wind, to diseases of the extremities; of rain, to diseases of the belly; of obscurity to diseases of delusion; of brightness, to diseases of the mind. [The desire of] woman is to the *yin* and [she is used in the] season of obscurity. If this be done to excess, disease is produced of internal heat and utter delusion. Was it possible for your lordship, paying no regard to moderation or to time not to come to this?

When [the physician] went out, he told what he had said to Chao-ming, who asked who was intended by "the good minister." "You," was the reply. "You have been chief minister of Tsin now for 8 years. There has been no disorder in the State itself and the other States have not failed [in their duty to it]; that epithet of good may be applied to you. But I have heard that when the great minister of a State enjoys the glory of his dignity and emoluments, and sustains the burden of his great employments, if calamity and evil arise, and he do not alter his ways [to meet them], then he must receive the blame and the consequences. Here is your ruler who has brought disease on himself by his excesses so that he will [soon] be unable to consult at all for [the good of] the State. What calamity could be greater? And yet you were unable to ward it off. It was on this account that I said what I did."

Chao-ming [further] asked what he meant by "insanity," and [the physician] replied, "I mean that which is produced by the delusion and disorder of excessive sensual indulgence. Look at the character;—it is formed by the characters for a vessel and for insects ( $\frac{1}{2}$  =

$\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ). It is used also of grain which [moulders and] flies away. In the Chow Yih, [the symbols of] a woman deluding a young man, [of] wind throwing down [the trees of] a mountain, go by the same name ( $\frac{1}{2}$ );

under  $\frac{1}{2}$ —all three point to the same signification." Chao-ming pronounced him a good physician, gave him large gifts, and sent him back [to Tsin].

Par 11. For  $\frac{1}{2}$  Kung and Kue have  $\frac{1}{2}$ . See the account of Kuan's accession in the Chuen after IX. xxix 2.

The Chuen says:—The Kung tzu Wei of T'oo sent the Kung tzu Hsi kwang and Pih Chow to wall Ch'ao, Loh, and K'eh; which frightened the people of Ch'ing but T'ao-ch'an said, "It will not harm [us]. The chief minister is about to make the grand coup, and will first take off those two. The evil will not reach Ch'ing; there is no occasion for our being troubled. In winter Wei was proceeding on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing with Woo Kue as his subordinate in the mission, when he heard, before they had crossed the borders [of the State] that the king was ill. On this he

returned [to the capital], leaving Woo Kue to proceed to Ch'ing. On the 11th month on K'ue he entered [as if] to inquire about the king's illness, and strangled him. He then succeeded to put to death the king's two sons, Moh and Ping hie. T'ao-kan, director of the Night fled to Tsin; and T'ao-wei, director of the royal stables fled to Ch'ing. [Wei] put to death the grand-administrator Pih Chow in K'eh; and there he buried the king whom he called in consequence K'eh-gao. He sent an announcement [of the king's death] to Ch'ing and Woo Kue a ked what was said about who ought to be the successor. "Our great officer, Wei," was the reply which Woo Kue changed into "King Kung Wei is the first [in the line]."

When T'ao-kan fled to Tsin, he had 5 chariots with him. Shih-heng caused him to receive the same allowance as the prince of Tsin,—enough to each to support 100 men, on which Chao Wan tzu observed that the prince of Tsin was rich. Shih-heng replied, "Allowances are made according to the virtue [of the parties]; where their virtue is equal, according to their years; where their years are equal, according to their rank; to the sons of rulers of States, according to the State. I have not heard that they are to be regulated by a consideration of their wealth. Moreover that [the prince of Tsin] left his State with 1000 chariots shows how strong and powerful he was. And the ode (Shu, III. III. ode VI. 5) says,

He does not insult the widows of the widow.  
He does not fear the strong or the powerful,

Tsin and T'oo are peers. In accordance with this, How tzu and T'ao-kan were made to take place according to their years. The former declined, saying "I was afraid of being found fault with, and the prince of T'oo could find no safety [in his State]. We are therefore both here, and it is for you to assign us our places according to your pleasure. And does it not seem [to you] that I should be made equal to him who is a stranger? The historiographer Yih said, To whom will you show respect if not to a stranger?"

When King Ling of T'oo came to the rule of that State, Wei P'ao was made chief minister and Wei K'ue-kang grand-administrator. Y'ue K'eh of Ch'ing went to T'oo to the funeral of K'eh-gao and on a complimentary visit to the new ruler. On his return, he said to T'ao-ch'an, Make all your preparations for travelling. The extravagance of the king of T'oo is excessive, and he is delighted with his position. He is sure to call the States together. We shall be going there in no time. T'ao-ch'an replied, "He cannot do that till some years have elapsed."

Par 12. The Kung-tzu P'ao here is the T'ao-kan mentioned in the Chuen on the preceding page. Chan Joh-shway ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Ming dyn.) says that this entry makes it clear that the death of the king of T'oo was a deed of atrocious wickedness. But the criticism is a very lame attempt to excuse the silence of the classic in reference to the true nature of that event.

[There is appended here:— In the 12th month, when [the marquess of] Tsin had offered the winter sacrifice Chao-ming went to Nan-yang, to be present [at the sacrifice to] King T'ao-ya

夫欲殺之子產在蹕，聞之，懼弗及，乘遽而至。使吏救之曰：「伯有之亂，以大國之事，而未爾討也。爾有亂心，無厭國，不汝堪，專伐伯有而罪一也。昆弟爭室而罪二也。蒸隧之盟，汝矯君位而罪三也。有死罪三，何以堪之？不速死，大刑將至，再拜稽首。」辭曰：「死在朝夕，無助天爲虐。」子產曰：「人誰不死？凶人不終，命也。作凶事爲凶人，不助天其助凶人乎？請以印爲褚師子產曰：「印也。若才，君將任之，不才，將朝夕從汝。汝罪之，不恤，而又何謂焉？不速死，司寇將至。七月，壬寅，繼尸諸周氏之衢，加木焉。」晉少姜卒，公如晉，及河，晉侯使士文伯來辭曰：「非伉儷也，請君無辱公還。」季孫宿遂致服焉。叔向言，諱無字於晉侯曰：「彼何罪？君使公族逆之，齊使上大夫送之，猶曰：『不共。』君求以會國，則不共而執其使，君刑已頗，何以爲盟？」主且少姜有辭，冬十月，陟無字歸。十一月，鄭印改如晉，甲。

- II 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'in sent Han K'c to Loo on a complimentary visit  
2 In summer, Shuh Kung went to Ts'in  
3 In autumn, Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung sun Hih  
4 In winter, the duke was going to Ts'in, but when he got to the Ho, he returned, and K'c-sun Suh went to Ts'in

Par 1 Han K'c was a son of Han Kueh or Han Hsien-tzu (韓厥 韓獻子), who retired from public life in the 7th year of duke Ssang, and a younger brother of Han Woo-ko (韓無忌), known as Kung-tsun Muh-tzu (公族穆子). He is frequently mentioned as Han Ssen-tzu (韓宣子), and, on the death of Chao Wu in the end of last year, had succeeded to him as the principal minister of Ts'in.

The Chuen says:—The marquis of Ts'in sent Han Ssen-tzu on this complimentary visit (With reference to duke Chao's accession), and he came also to inform Loo that the administration of Ts'in was now in his hands;—which was seen to rule. When he looked at the [various] documents in the change of the grand historiographer and the Ch'un T'ai-w of Loo, he said, "The Institutes of Chow are all in Loo. Now indeed I know the virtue of the duke of Chow and how it was that [the House of] Chow attained to the royal dignity. The duke gave him an entertainment at which Ko Woo-tzu sang the last stanza of the Mien (S'he, III I, ode III), and Han-tzu sang the K'ch kung (S'he II vii ode IX). [When Han-tzu had done], Ke Woo-tzu bowed to him saying, "I venture to make you a acknowledgment for the kind feeling you express to our poor State.

Our ruler may [now] have hope!" and he went on to sing the last stanza of the T'ach (S'he II iv ode VII).

When the entertainment was over [Han-tzu] went to a feast at Ke's, and praised a beautiful tree [in the garden]. Woo-tzu said, "Shall I not encourage the growth of this tree so as not to forget the K'ch kung?" And he sang the Kan-t'ang (S'he I II, ode V), on which the other said, "I am not worthy of it. It is impossible for me to attain to be like the duke of Shaoan."

[From Loo] Ssen-tzu went on to T'ao, and presented the marriage-offerings [of the marquis]. Visiting there T'ao ya (the Kung-sun Tsao), [that prince] called [his son] T'ao-ko and introduced him, when Ssen-tzu said, "He is not one who will preserve his family. He has not the air of a subject. Visiting T'ao-wo (the Kung sun Ch'ue), [that prince] introduced [his son] K'yang to him of whom he said, "He is like T'ao-ko." Many of the great officers laughed at these remarks, but Gao-tzu believed them, and said, "He is a superior man. A superior man I to be believed; he has means of knowing what he says."

From T'ao [Ssen-tzu] went on a complimentary visit to Wei, the marquis of which gave him an entertainment. Ph'kung Kw'oh-tzu sang the Ke yuh (S'he, I v ode I), and Ssen-tzu the Muh kwa (I v ode X).

Tso-she says above that this visit of Han K'e was 'according to rule.' But he is in error. There is no other instance in the classic of the chief minister of the leading State going on a complimentary mission. It was below his dignity to do so. Han K'e probably took the step, thinking thereby to gratify the States and confirm their attachment to the failing fortunes of Lsin.

It is mentioned in the narrative that K'e presented the marriage offerings in Ts'e, the marquis of Tsin, heedless of the warnings of Tsze-ch'an and the physician of Ts'in, having now arranged to give a new mistress to his harem in the person of a lady of Ts'e. The sequel is appended — 'In summer, in the 4th month, Han Sen (Son of K'e) went to Ts'e to meet the [marquis's] bride. Ch'in Woo-yu escorted her—the young Keang—to Tsin, and was to be there till the completion of the marriage. She obtained favour with the marquis, who called her the young Ts'e. Thinking, however, on the circumstance that Woo-yu was not of the rank of minister, he seized him in Chung-too, but the young Keang pleaded for him saying, "The escort was chosen according to the rank of your officer who met me. [Ts'e] stood in awe of your great State, and thought that it also might make a change, and so the disorder arose."

Par. 2 The Chuen says — 'Shuh Kung [now] went to Tsin, to return the visit of Senen-tse. The marquis sent to comfort and refresh him after the toils of his journey in the suburbs, but he declined the honour, saying, "When my ruler sent me to continue the old friendship [between our States], he gave me a strict charge that I should not presume to take the position of a guest. Let me communicate my message to your ministers, and the favour to our poor State will be great. I dare not trouble a messenger to come to the suburbs. Let me decline the honour." When a reception-house was assigned to him, he declined it, saying, "My ruler commissioned me to come here to continue the old friendship [between our States]. If I can but establish the friendly union, that is my reward. I dare not accept this great reception-house." Shuh-h'ang said, "Tsze-shuh-tsze knows the rules of propriety. I have heard that loyalty and good faith are vessels containing the [principle of] propriety, and that humility and submission are essential things in it. In declining [the honours offered to him], he is not forgetful of his State,—thus showing his loyalty and good faith. His State is the first consideration with him, and himself the last,—thus showing his humility and self-abasement. The ode (She, III. n. ode IX. 3) says,

'Be reverently careful of your demeanour,  
In order to approximate to the virtuous.'

He is one who approximates to virtue."

Par. 3 The Chuen says — 'In autumn, the Kung-sun Hih was about to raise an insurrection, desiring to remove the chief of the Yew clan, and to take his place [in the govt]. His wound (See the 4th narrative after par. 3 of last year), however, broke out afresh, and he did not carry out his purpose. The Sze and the other great officers wished to put him to death, and when Tsze-ch'an, who was in the borders, heard of it, he was afraid he should be too late, and

hurried by rapid stages to the capital. [Arrived there], he sent an officer to enumerate in the following away his offences to Hih — "At the time of the insurrection of Pih-yew (IX. xxx. 7), being occupied with the business of the great State, we did not punish you, but your insubordinate disposition is insatiable, and the State cannot endure you. Your taking it on yourself to attack Pih-yew was one offence, your contention with your cousin about his wife (See the 4th nar. after par. 3 of last year) was a second, your acting as if you had been the ruler at the covenant of Heun-suy (See the nar. after par. 4 of last year) was a third. With those three capital offences, how can the State endure you? If you do not quickly die [by your own hand], the great punishment will come upon you." Hih bowed twice with his head to the ground, and replied, "Death may occur any morning or evening, but do not you aid [the act of] Heaven by cruelty." Tsze-ch'an said, "Who of men is exempted from death? but that bad men should not die a natural death, is the appointment. He who does bad villainous things is a villain. If we do not aid Heaven, shall we aid him?" Hih then begged that [his son] Yin might be made superintendent of the market, and Tsze-ch'an replied, "If Yin have ability, the ruler will give him office, if he have not, he will [at any time] follow you, morning or evening. You have no consideration of your offences, how do you continue making such requests? If you do not quickly die, the minister of Crime will visit you."

'In the 7th month, on Jin-yin, Hih strangled himself, and his body was exposed in the street of Chow-shie, with [an inscription on] a board by it.'

Par. 4 The Chuen says — 'The young Keang, [married to the marquis] of Tsin, having died, the duke was proceeding to Tsin, but when he had gone to the Ho, the marquis sent Sze Wan-pih to meet him, and decline his visit, saying, "She was not my equal wife. I beg you will not condescend to come further." On this the duke returned, and Ke-sun Suh proceeded to Tsin to present the grave-clothes [for the deceased].

'Shuh-h'ang spoke to the marquis about Ch'in Woo-yu, saying, "Of what offence was he guilty? You sent [a great officer of] a ducal clan to meet your bride, and [Ts'e] sent a great officer of the highest rank to escort her, and if you still say that was not respectful, you desire what was excessive. It was our State which was not respectful, and in seizing the messenger [of Ts'e], you are punishing him unjustly — how can you thus be the lord of covenants? The young Keang moreover, explained and

interceded for him." In winter, in the 10th month, Ch'in Woo-yu returned [to Ts'e]. In the 11th month, Yin T'wan of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to present the condolences of that State.

Evidently duke Ch'ou was going to Tsin at this time, contrary to precedent and rule, demeaning himself to curry favour with the marquis, and he returned on receiving the rebuke. Kung-yang and the glossarist of Kuli-leang strangely imagine that he returned because he was afraid that Tsin had an intention to seize him, and hold him a prisoner.



## Third year

<sup>一</sup>年春，<sup>二</sup>木，<sup>三</sup>滕子原卒。  
<sup>四</sup>夏，<sup>五</sup>叔弓如滕。  
<sup>六</sup>九月，<sup>七</sup>葬滕成公。  
<sup>八</sup>秋，<sup>九</sup>小邾子來朝。  
<sup>十</sup>八月，<sup>十一</sup>人雩。  
<sup>十二</sup>冬，<sup>十三</sup>人雨雹。  
<sup>十四</sup>比，<sup>十五</sup>燕伯欵出介。  
<sup>十六</sup>齊。

①左傳曰：三年春，王正月，鄭游吉如晉，送少姜之葬。梁丙與張趯見之，梁丙曰：「甚矣哉！子之爲此來也。」子犬叔曰：「將得已乎？」背文，襄之霸也，其務才煩諸侯，令諸侯三歲而聘，五歲而朝，有事而會，不協而盟。君薨，大夫弔卿共葬事。夫人、士甲、大夫送葬，足以昭禮命事，謀闕而已，無加命矣。今嬖寵之喪，不敢擇位而數於守適，唯懼獲戾，豈敢憚煩少姜有寵而死，齊必繼室，今茲吾又將來賀，不唯此行也。張趯曰：「善哉！吾得聞此數也。」然自今子其無事矣。譬如火焉，火中寒暑乃退，此其極也，能無退乎？晉將失諸侯，諸侯求煩，不獲二大夫，退，子犬叔告人曰：「張趯有知，其猶在君子之後乎？」

丁未，滕子原卒同盟，故書名。

②齊侯使晏嬰饋繼室於晉曰：「寡君使嬰曰：寡人願事君，朝夕不倦，將率賈幣以無失時，則國家多難，是以不獲，不勝先君之適，以備內官，焜燿寡人之望，則又無祿。早世頃命，寡人失望，君若不忘先君之好，惠顧齊國，辱收寡人，微福於犬公。丁公，照臨敝邑，鎮撫其社稷，則猶有先君之適及選姑姊妹若而人，君若不棄敝邑，而辱便蒞振擇之，以備嬪嬙，寡人之望也。韓宣子便叔向對曰：寡君之願也。寡君不能獨任其社稷之事，未有仇讎，在纓絰之中，是以未敢請。君有辱命，惠莫大焉。若惠顧敝邑，撫有晉國，賜之內主，豈唯寡君舉羣臣實受其貺，其自唐叔以下，實寵嘉之。既成昏，晏子受禮，叔向從之，宴相與語。叔向曰：齊其何如？晏子曰：此季世也。吾弗知，齊其爲陳氏矣。公棄其

民而歸於陳氏。齊舊四量：豆、區、釜、鍾。四升爲豆，各自其四以登於釜，釜十則鍾。陳氏量皆登一焉。鍾乃人矣，以家量貸，而以公量收之，山木如市，弗加於山，魚鹽蜃蛤，弗加於海，民參其力，一入於公，而衣食具，公聚朽蠹而老凍餒，國之諸市，屢賤踊貴，民人痛疾，而或煥伏之，其愛之如父母，而歸之如流水，欲無獲民，將焉辟之？箕伯、直柄、虞遂、伯戲，其相胡公人姬已，在齊矣。叔向曰：然雖吾公室，今亦季世也。戎馬不駕，卿無軍行，公乘無人，卒列無長，庶民罷敝，而宮室滋侈，道殣相望，而女富溢尤，民聞公命如逃寇讐，欒郤、胥原、狐續、慶伯降在阜隸，政在家門，民無所依，君日不悛，以樂怙憂，公室之卑，其何日之有？讒鼎之銘曰：昧日不顯，後世猶怠，況日不悛，其能久乎？晏子曰：將若何？叔向曰：昔之公族盡矣，辟聞之，公室將卑，其宗族枝葉先落，則公從之，辟之宗一族，唯羊舌氏在而已，辟又無了，公室無度，幸而得死，豈其獲祀初？景公欲更晏了之，亡曰了之，亡近市，湫隘囂塵，不可以居，請更諸爽塏者，辭曰：君之先君容焉，中不足以嗣之，於臣侈矣。且小人近市，朝夕得所求，小人之利也，敢煩里旅。公笑曰：了近市，識貴賤乎？對曰：既利之，敢不識乎？公曰：何貴何賤？於是景公繁於刑，有鬻踊者，故對曰：踊貴履賤。既而告於君，故與叔向詒而稱之。景公爲是省於刑，君了曰：仁人之言，其利博哉。晏了而齊侯省刑，詩曰：君了如祉，亂庶遄已，其是之謂乎？及晏了如首，公更其宅，反則成矣。既拜，乃毀之，而爲里室，皆如其舊，則使宅人反之，曰：諺曰，非宅是卜，唯鄰是卜。了先卜鄰矣，違卜不祥，君了不犯非禮，小人不犯不祥，古之制也。吾敢違諸乎？卒復其舊宅，公弗許，因陳桓子以請，乃許之。

○夏四月，鄭伯如首，公孫段相甚敬而卑，禮無違者，首侯嘉焉，授之以策，曰：了豐有勞於首國，余聞而弗忘，賜安州川，以昨乃舊勳。伯石再拜稽首受策以出。君了曰：禮，其人之急也乎？伯石之汰也，一爲禮於晉，猶苟具祿，況以禮終始乎？詩曰：人而無禮，胡不遄死，其是之謂乎？初，州縣、欒豹之邑也，及欒氏亡，范宣子趙文子、韓宣子皆欲之，文子曰：溫，台縣也，一宣子曰：自郤稱以別，傳矣，晉之別縣不唯州，誰獲治之？文子病之，乃舍之，一了

曰：吾不可以正辭而自與也。皆舍之。及文子爲政，趙獲曰：「可以取州矣。」文子曰：「退。」二子之言義也。違義禍也。余不能治余縣，又焉用州？其以微禍也。君子曰：「弗知實難，知而弗從，禍莫大焉。」有言州必死，豈氏故主韓氏伯石之獲州也。韓宣子爲之請之，爲其復取之之故。

五月，叔弓如滕，葬滕成公子，服椒爲介及郊，遇懿伯之忌，敬子不入。惠伯曰：「公事有公利，無私忌。」椒請先入，乃先受館，敬子從之。

○晉韓起如齊，逆女。公孫蔓爲少姜之有寵也，以其子更公女而嫁公子人謂宣子。子尾欺晉，晉胡受之？宣子曰：「我欲得齊而遠其寵寵將來乎？」

○秋七月，鄭罕虎如晉，負夫人且告曰：「楚人日微，敝邑以不朝立王之故，敝邑之往則畏執事，其謂寡君而固有外心，其不往則宋之盟云進退罪也。寡君使虎布之，宣子使叔向對曰：『君若辱有寡君在楚，何害？』修宋盟也。君苟思盟，寡君乃知免於戾矣。君若不有寡君，雖朝夕辱於敝邑，寡君猶焉？君實有心，何辱命焉？君止往也。苟有寡君在楚，猶在晉也。張超使謂犬叔曰：『自子之歸也，小人猶除先人之敝廬。』子其將來，今子皮實來，小人失望。犬叔曰：『吉賤不獲來，畏大國尊夫人也。』且孟曰：『而將無事吉乎？』幾焉。」

小邾穆公來朝，季武子欲卑之。穆叔曰：「不可。曹滕二邾實不忘我，好敬以逆之，猶懼其貳。又卑一睦焉，逆驕好也。其如舊而加敬焉？」志曰：「能敬無災。」又曰：「敬逆來者，天所福也。」季孫從之。

八月，大雩，旱也。

○齊侯田於菑，盧蒲嬖見，泣且請曰：「余髮如此，種種，余奚能爲公？」曰：「諾。」吾告二子歸而告之。子尾欲復之，子雅不可，曰：「彼其髮短而心甚長，其或寢處我矣。」九月，子雅放盧蒲嬖於北甌。

燕簡公多嬖寵，欲去諸大夫而立其寵人。冬，燕大夫比以殺公之外嬖公懼，奔齊。晉曰：「北燕伯欸出奔，齊罪之。」

也。  
 ①十月，鄭伯如楚，了產相，楚了亭之賦。日既亭了，產乃貝田備，以田江南之夢。  
 ②齊公孫竈卒，司馬竈見晏了，口又與了雅矣。晏了口惜也，了旗不免殆哉。姜族弱矣，而嬖將始昌，一患競爽，猶可，又弱，个焉，姜其危哉。

- [The Chuen gives here the following narrative, which comes in before the death of the viscount of T'ang — In the 1st month of this year, Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to attend the funeral of the young Keang, and was visited by Leang Ping and Chang Teih. The former said to him, "It is [too much] that you should have come here on this account." Tsze-t'ae-shuh (Yew Keih) replied, "Could I have stopped away? Formerly, under the presidency of Wan and Seang, they made it their object not to trouble the States [too much], ordering the princes once in three years to send a complimentary visit, once in five years to appear in person at their court, to meet when there was business [to be done], and to covenant when there were cases of discordant [States to be dealt with]. When a ruler died, a great officer [was sent] to present condolences, and a minister to assist at the burial. When a ruler's wife died, a [simple] officer presented condolences, and a great officer attended the funeral. These rules were sufficient to illustrate the ceremonial observances, for orders as to what business was to be done, and to take measures in reference to the shortcomings [of States]. Nothing more was required, no extraordinary commands were given. But now, on the death of [this] favourite lady, we must not presume to regulate our services by her rank, but they must be the same as are due to a wife, the keeper [of the harem]. We are only afraid of being found offenders, and dare not shrink from any trouble. But as this young Keang found favour, and has died [thus soon], Ts'e is sure to propose a successor to her, and then on that occasion I shall come again to offer our congratulations, and shall not have had this journey only." Chang Teih said, "Good! I have heard your statement, but after this you will have nothing to do. This case may be illustrated by [the star] *ho*, according to the culmination of which the cold or the heat retires. Now the case has come to an extreme, — must there not be a recession? Tsin will lose the States. Though it seek to trouble them, it will not be able to do so." On this the two great officers withdrew, and Tsze t'ae-shuh

‘Han Seu-en-tze made Shuh-heang return a reply, saying, “It is the desire of our ruler. He is not able to discharge alone the duties to his altars, but being now in mourning, he has not ventured to prefer a request [for a successor to the young Keang]. No kindness could be greater than the message which your lordship has condescended to send. If you will kindly regard our poor State, and comfort Tsin by giving a mistress to its harem, not our ruler only, but all his ministers as well, will receive the benefit of your gift. Yea, from T’ang-shuh downwards, [our former rulers] will feel the favour and admire it.”

"When the marriage was settled, Gan tze received the courtesy [of an entertainment] from which Shuh hêng followed him to the feast. When they conversed together, Shuh hêng asked about the state of affairs in T'ai, and Gan tze replied, "This is its last age. I know nothing but this,—that T'ai will become the possession of the Ch'in family. The duke is throwing away his people, and they are turning to the Ch'in. T'ai from of old has had four measures, the *tsu*, the *po*, the *foo*, and the *chay*. Four *shing* make a *tsu* and up to the *foo*, each measure is four times the preceding; and then ten *foo* make a *chay*. The Ch'in family makes each of the [first] three measures once again greater, so that the *chay* is [very] large, lending according to their own measure, and receiving back again according to the public measure. The wood on their hills and that in the markets is charged the same price, so that it costs no more in the market than on the hill. Their fish, salt, and frogs cost the same [in the market as at the water]. The produce of the people's strength is divided into three parts, two of which are paid to the State, while only one is [left to them] for food and clothes. The [grain in the] ducal stores rots and is eaten by insects, while the three [clans of the] old are cold and starving. In all the markets of the State, [ordinary] shoes are cheap, while those for criminal whose toes have been cut off are dear. The common people and others groan bitterly [for all this] and there is one who shows an ardent sympathy for them. He loves them as a parent, and they go to him as a flowing stream. Though he wished not to win them to himself, how shall he escape doing so? There were Ke-ph, Chih-ping, Yu-suy and Phi he, whose help was given to duke Hoo and Tse-ke and [now, in their spiritual] *ts'ao*, they are [all] in T'ai."

Shuh hêng said, "Yes; and even with our ducal House, this also is the last age. The war horses are not yoked; the ministers never take the field. There are no men over the duke's chariots, no [superior] officers over the soldiers. The multitudes of the people are weary and worn, while the duke's mansions are multiplied and most costly. The people [feel], when they hear the duke's commands as if they must escape from robbers and enemies. The Lwan, the K'oh, the Sen, the Yuen, the Hoo, the Suh, the K'ing and the Phi, are reduced to the position of menials. The government is ordered by the Heads of the clans. The people have none on whom to rely. The ruler goes on from day to day without stop, burying all sorrow in pleasure. No future day need be waited for the humiliation of the ducal House. The inscription on the tripod of Ch'in says, 'You may get up early in the morning and become greatly distinguished, but in future generations [your descendants] will still become idle. Much more may we say that he who holds on [an evil course] from day to day without stopping cannot continue long. Gan tze then asked him what would become of himself and Shuh hêng replied, 'The ducal clans of T'ai are at an end. I have heard that when the ducal House is about to be brought low its clan-branches first fall to the ground, and that then the duke follows them. Of the same ducal ancestry with me were the *ts'ao* clans, and only the *lang-shih* remain! I moreover have no

son. In the lawless course of the ducal House, I shall be fortunate if I die a natural death, for I shall have none to sacrifice to me."

Before this, duke King had wished to change the residence of Gan-tze, saying, "Your house is near the market, low, small, noisy and dusty. You should not live in it. Let me have it for you for one bright and lofty. The officer *hu* *ei*, declined the offer saying, "Your lordship's father minister [my father], could bear it. I am not fit to be his successor; [the change which you propose] would be extravagance in me. And besides, a small man like me, living near the market, can get what I desire morning and evening, which is a benefit." I dare not trouble the people of the neighbourhood. The duke laughed and asked him whether, through his nearness to the market, he knew what things were cheap and what dear. "Since it is to my advantage to do so," was the reply "should I dare not to know that?" "What things then are cheap, and what dear?" pursued the marquis. Now duke King punished so many that there were people who sold shoes for those whose toes had been cut off. Gan tze therefore answered, "Shoes for people whose toes have been cut off are dear, and [other] shoes are cheap." As he had told this to his ruler, he mentioned it in his conversation with Shuh hêng.

In consequence of this remark duke King more rarely inflicted punishments. The superior man may say "How widely extends the benefit of a benevolent man's words! By one word of Gan-tze the marquis of T'ai was led to reduce the number of his punishments;—an illustration of the words of the ode (Sbe, II. v. ode IV 2),

If he were to rejoice [in the words of the wise],

The disorder perhaps would diminish."

When Gan tze [on this occasion] went to T'ai the duke changed his house into a new one, so that it was completed on his return. After he had made his acknowledgments, however [for the kindness], he pulled the houses down, rebuilt the dwellings in the neighbourhood as they had been before, and sent to the old residents to return to them. [When they declined to do so] he said, "There is the common saying, 'It is not about the house that the tortoise-shell is consulted, but about the neighbourhood. My friends, the tortoise-shell was formerly consulted about this neighbourhood. To go against the divination is inauspicious; and that the superior man do not violate the rules of propriety while smaller men do not incur the risk of what is inauspicious, is an old regulation. "I dare not disobey it!" In the end, he brought them back to their old houses. The duke refused his sanction, but he granted it, when Gan-tze got Ch'in Hwan-tze to intercede with him.

2d. In summer, in the 4th month, the earl of Ching went to T'ai, when Kung-sun T'wan was in attendance on him, and behaved so very respectfully and humbly violating in nothing the *yü* *pei* rules, that the marquis commended him, and gave him a tablet [of investiture], saying "Tze-fung (T'wan's father) did hard service for the State of T'ai. I have heard of it, and do not forget it, and [now] bestow on

you the lands of Chow, as a recompense for the old services of your [father]" Pih-shih bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the tablet, and went out. The superior man will say on this, "How important to a man are the rules of propriety! Here was an extravagant man like Pih-shih, and to his once observing those rules in Tsin he was indebted for dignity and wealth in that State. Here surely was an illustration of what the ode (She, I iv Ode VIII 3), says,

'If a man be not observant of propriety,  
Why does he not quickly die?'"

'Before this the district of Chow had belonged to Lwan P'ao, and on the ruin of the Lwan family, Fan Seu-en-tsze, Chaou Wän-tsze, and Han Seu-en-tsze, all wished to have it. Wän-tsze said, "All Wän (Chow had once been part of it) belongs to me." The two Seu-en-tsze said, "Since the time of K'eh Ch'ing, [Chow] has been handed down, separate [from Wän], in three families. There are other districts in Tsin, separated [in this way], and not Chow only,—who can get the right to take the rule of them?" Wän-tsze was vexed by this, but gave Chow up. The other two ministers said, "We ought not, having given a correct decision [in reference to his claim] to take it to ourselves," and so they all gave it up. When the administration [of Tsin] came into the hands of Wän-tsze, Chaou Hwoh advised him to take Chow, but he said to him, "Begone! The words of those two were righteous, and to oppose righteousness is the way to misery. I cannot rule properly my own district, of what use would Chow be to me? I should only thereby occasion misery to myself."

'The superior man may say on this, "His case is hard who does not know [whence misery will arise]. When one knows this and does not act accordingly, nothing can exceed the misery. There was a saying that [the possessor of] Chow was sure to die."

'Fung-she (Kung-sun T'wan), according to his wont, was a guest with Han-she. His getting Chow was upon the request of Han Seu-en-tsze in his behalf, to be the ground of his taking it [himself] again.'

Par 2 The viscount of T'ang had come to Loo to the funeral of duke Seang, and Loo now returns the compliment by sending a minister to attend his funeral. The one proceeding and the other were contrary to rule and precedent. The Chuen says — "In the 5th month, Shuh Kung went to T'ang, to the burial of duke Ch'ing, Tsze-fuh Tseou being the assistant commissioner. When they got to the suburbs, it happened to be the anniversary of the death of E-pih (Tseou's uncle), and King-tsze (Shuh Kung) proposed not to enter the city. Hwuh-pih (Tseou), however, said, "We are on public business. Where there is a public benefit, there should be no recognition of one's private death-days." With this he preceded the other, and received the reception-house [assigned to them], King-tsze coming after him." See a somewhat different account of this matter in the *Le Ke*, II n Bk II 26.

[We have two narratives appended here —

1st 'Han K'c of Tsin went to Ts'e, to meet the [marquis's] bride, when Kung-sun Ch'ae, because of the favour which the young Keang had found, substituted a daughter of his own for

the duke's, whom he gave in marriage [to another husband]. Some people told Han K'c of the deceit put upon Tsin by Tsze-wei, and said that he should not accept the lady, but that minister replied, "I want to get [the adherence of] Ts'e, and if I keep the favourite [minister] away from us [in that way], will the favourite come to us?"

2d 'In autumn, in the 7th month, Han Hoo of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to offer congratulations on the marquis's marriage. At the same time he made the following announcement,—"The people of Ts'oo are daily summoning our State, because we have not been to the court of their new king. If we go to Ts'oo, we are afraid of your ministers, lest they say that our ruler has done so because his heart is indeed set on that other alliance, while, if we do not go, there is the covenant of Sung. Whether we advance or retreat, we may be held offenders, and my ruler has instructed me to lay the case before you." Seu-en-tsze made Shuh-heang reply, "If your ruler condescends to be true to ours, his being in Ts'oo will do no harm,—it will be but observing the covenant of Sung. If he thinks of that covenant, our ruler knows that he will escape any charge of doing wrong [in regard to it]. If your ruler is not true [in heart] to ours, although he were to condescend morning and evening to come to our poor State, our ruler would be suspicious of him. If he be indeed true in heart, there was no necessity for the trouble of this message. Let your ruler go to Ts'oo. If he be true to ours, his being in Ts'oo is the same as if he were in Tsin."

'[At this time], Chang Teih sent a messenger [to Ch'ing], to say to T'ae-shuh, "After you went back [to Ch'ing], I removed the dirt from the poor cottage of my father, saying to myself that you would be coming [again], now it is Tsze-p'c who has come, and I am disappointed." T'ae-shuh replied, "My rank was too mean to get to come [on this occasion]. We were in awe of your great State, and [wanted] to honour the [new] wife, and moreover you said that I should have nothing [more] to do. It has nearly proved so with me."

Par 4 This was duke Muh (穆公) of Little Choo, who appeared now at the court of Loo, to congratulate duke Ch'ao on his accession. The Chuen says — "Ke Woo-tsze proposed to give the viscount a very slender reception, but Muh-shuh said, "No. Since Ts'ao, I'ang, and the two Choos, do not forget their old friendship with us, we should meet them with respect, and even more, fearful of their being alienated from us. And moreover, if we receive in a humbling way one of those friendly States, we shall provoke the others, our friends, [to fall away]. We should show greater respect than in any former time. It is said in a Book, 'No calamities befall the respectful,' and also, 'They who meet the comer respectfully receive blessing from Heaven.'" Ke-sun followed this advice."

Par 5 Tso-she says that there was now 'a drought.' Of the 21 instances of this sacrifice for rain, which are mentioned in the classic, 7 occur during the time of duke Ch'ao, and Tso leaves only the one in the 8th year unnoted as a time of 'drought.'

[We have a narrative appended with reference to the fortunes of Loo-p'oo P'eeh whose banish-

ment to the northern borders of T'ê is mentioned in the 1 narrative appended to the Chuen on IX xxviii. 6:— The marquis of T'ê was hunting in h'ên, when Loo-p'oo P'êh sought an introduction to him, and begged with tears (1) at he might be permitted to return, saying, "With my hair so short and thin, what can I [now] do? The marquis replied, as if assenting that he would inform the two ministers of it. He did tell them accordingly on his return, and Tsze-wi was willing that P'êh should be allowed to come back, but Tsze-ya objected, saying, "His hair may be short, but his heart is very long. Perhaps he will [still] make our [skins] his beds (See the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6)." In the 9th month, Tsze-ya drove Loo-p'oo P'êh to North Yen."

Par 6. Here and in par 1 of next year the 爾 is the verb. The hall, we must understand, was very large; and we must also remember that though it was now the winter of Chow that embraced two months of autumn.

Par 7. The Chuen says:— Duke Keen of Yen had many favourites, and wanted to make away with all the great officers, and appoint his favourites in their room. The great officers united [in consequence], and killed those favourites who were of other surnames than their own. The duke was frightened, and fled to T'ê. The

style of the text, that "The earl of Yen K'wan, fled to T'ê is condemnatory of him." The K'ang he editors object to this judgment of Tso-sho on the words of the text, and expunge it from their edition of the Ch'un T'ê'w. They will not have it supposed that the sage could, on any grounds, sanction a proceeding of rebellious opposition to a ruler.

[There are here two narratives:—

1st In the tenth month the earl of Ch'ing went to T'ê'w, with Tsze-ch'ian in attendance on him. The viscount entertained him, and sang the Keih Jih (blue II lib. ode VI). When the entertainment was over Tso-ch'ian proceeded to make the preparations for a hunt. The king then hunted along [the marsh of] Mung (See on the Hsiao, III i P' i 50), on the south of the K'ang [having the earl] with him.

2d Kung-sun Tsao of T'ê having died, Tsao, minister of War visited Can tsze and said "We have further lost Tsze-ya. Gao-tso replied, "Alas! [his son] Tsze-k'e will not escape [an evil end]. It is a perilous time! The House of Keang is weak, and that of Hwei will begin to flourish. While the two [grand sons of duke Hwei] were strong and vigorous, they might make head and now there is the weakness induced by the loss of this one. The [House of] Keang is tottering to its fall!"

#### Fourth year

四年春，止月，人雨雹。  
夏，楚了，蔡侯，陳侯，鄭伯，許男，  
徐了，滕了，頓了，胡了，沈了，小  
邾了，宋世了，佐，淮夷，會了，申。  
楚人執徐了。  
秋，七月，楚了，蔡侯，陳侯，許男，  
頓了，胡了，沈了，淮夷，伐吳，  
執齊慶封，殺之。遂滅賴。  
九月，取鄆。  
冬，一有月，乙卯，叔孫豹卒。

左傳曰大雨雹季武子問於申豐曰雹可禦乎對曰平人在上無雹雖有不爲災古者日在北陸而藏冰西陸朝醜而出之其藏冰也深山窮谷固陰沍寒於是乎取之其出之也朝之祿位賓食喪祭於是乎用之其藏之也黑牡秬黍以享司寒其出之也桃弧棘矢以除其災其出入也時食肉之祿冰皆與焉人人命婦喪浴用冰祭寒而藏之獻羔而啟之公始用之火出而畢賦自命夫命婦至於老疾無不受冰山人取之縣人傳之輿人納之隸人藏之夫冰以風壯而以風出其藏之也周其用之也徧則冬無愆陽夏無伏陰春無沍風秋無呂雨雷出不震無霜雹癘疾不降民不夭札今藏川池之冰乘而不用風不越而殺雷不發而震雹之爲甚誰能禦之七月之卒章藏冰之道也

四年春上正月許男如楚楚了止之遂止鄭伯復田江南許男與焉使椒舉如晉求諸侯二君待之椒舉致命曰寡君使舉曰日君有患賜盟於宋曰晉楚之從交相見也以歲之不易寡人願結驩於一君使舉謂閭君若苟無四方之虞則願假寵以請於諸侯晉侯欲勿許司馬侯曰不可楚十方侈人或欲逞其心以厚其毒而降之罰不可知也其使能終亦不可知也晉楚唯人所相不可與爭君其許之而修德以待其歸若歸於德吾猶將事之況諸侯乎若適淫虐楚將棄之吾又誰與爭公曰晉有一不殆其何敵之有國險而多馬齊楚多難有是者何鄉而不濟對曰恃險與馬而虞鄰國之難是殆也四嶽涂陽城太室荆山中南九州之險也是不一姓冀之北十馬之所生無與國焉恃險與馬不可以爲固也從古以然是以先王務修德音以享神人不聞其務險與馬也鄰國之難不可虞也多難以固其國啟其疆土或無難以喪其國失其守守若何虞難齊有仲孫之難而獲桓公今賴之晉有甲子之難而獲文公是以爲盟主衛邢無難敵亦喪之故人之難不可虞也恃此者而不修政德亡於不暇又何能濟君其許之紂作淫虐文十患和殷是以隕周是以興夫豈爭諸侯乃許楚使使叔向對曰寡君有社稷之事是以不獲春秋時見諸侯君實有之何辱命焉椒舉遂請



晉侯許之。楚子問於子產曰：「晉其許我諸侯乎？」對曰：「許君。晉君少安，不在諸侯，其大夫多求，莫匡其君，在宋之盟又曰：『如一若不許君，將焉用之？』」王曰：「諸侯其來乎？」對曰：「必來。從宋之盟，承君之歡，不畏大國，何故不來？不來者其魯衛曹邾乎？曹畏宋，邾畏魯，魯衛偪於齊而親於晉，唯是不來。其餘君之所及也，雖敢不至。王曰：『然則吾所求者無不可乎？』」對曰：「求逞於人，不可，與人同欲盡濟。」

夏，諸侯如楚，魯衛曹邾不會。曹邾辭以難，公辭以時。齊衛侯辭以疾。鄭伯先待於申。六月丙午，楚子合諸侯於申。椒舉言於楚子曰：「臣聞諸侯無歸禮以爲歸。今君始得諸侯，其慎禮矣。蒯之濟否，在此會也。夏敢有鈞臺之享，商湯有景亳之命，周武有孟津之誓，成有岐陽之蒐，康有鄧宮之訓，穆有塗山之會，齊桓有召陵之師，晉文有踐土之盟。君其何用？」朱向戌、鄭公孫僂在。諸侯之良也。君其選焉。王曰：「吾用齊桓王使問禮於左師與子產。左師曰：『小國習之，大國用之，敢不厲聞。』」獻公合諸侯之禮。六子產曰：「小國共職，敢不厲守。」獻伯子男會公之禮。六君子謂合左師善守先代子產善相小國。王使椒舉侍於後，以規過。卒事不規。王問其故，對曰：「禮吾未見者有六焉。又何以規？」宋犬子佐後至。王田於武城，久而弗見。椒舉請辭焉。王使往曰：「屬有宗祧之事於武城，寡君將墮幣焉，敢謝後。」見徐子吳出也，以爲貳焉，故執諸申。楚子示諸侯侈，椒舉曰：「夫六王二公之事，皆所以示諸侯禮也。諸侯所由用命也。夏桀爲仍之會有緡叛之，商紂爲黎之蒐，東夷叛之，周幽爲犬室之盟，戎狄叛之，皆所以示諸侯汰也。諸侯所由棄命也。今君以汰，無乃不濟乎？」王弗聽。子產見左師曰：「吾不患楚矣，汰而懷諫，不過十年。」左師曰：「然不十年侈，其惡不遠，遠惡而後棄，善亦如之。」德遠而後興。

秋七月，楚子以諸侯伐吳。宋太子鄭伯先歸宋，華賁遂。鄭大夫從。使屈申圍朱方。八月甲申，克之，執齊慶封，而盡滅其族。將戮慶封，椒舉曰：「臣聞無瑕者可以戮人，腰封惟逆命，是以在此。其肯從於戮乎？」播於諸侯，焉用之王弗聽。負之斧鉞，以徇於諸侯。使言曰：「無或如齊慶封弑其君嗣。」

其孤以盟其大夫，處封，無或如楚。其子之庶子圍弑其君兄之了，燼而代之以盟諸侯。一使速殺之。遂以諸侯滅賴，賴子面縛銜壁，上袒輿觀從之，遁於中軍。一問諸椒舉，對曰：「成，一克許，許僖公如是。」一親釋其縛，受其辟，焚其觀，一從之。遷賴於鄢。楚了欲遷許於賴，使鬬韋龜與公了乘疾城之，而薳申無宇曰：「楚禍之首將在此矣。」召諸侯而來伐國，而克城，竟莫校。一心不違，以其居乎民之不處，其誰堪之，不堪，一命乃禍亂也。九月，取鄆。一易也。莒亂，著丘公立而不撫鄆，鄆叛而來，故曰取。凡克邑，不用師，徒曰取。

⑤鄭了產作丘賦，國人謗之曰：「其父死於路，已爲鬻尾，以令於國，國將若之？」何了寬以告了產，曰：「何古？苟利社稷，死生以之。」且台聞爲善者不改其度，故能有濟也。民不可逞，度不可改。詩曰：「禮義不愆，何恤於人？」且台不遷矣。渾罕曰：「國氏其先亡乎？」君了作法於涼，其敝猶貪，作法於貪，敝將若之？何姬在列者，蔡及曹滕，其先亡乎？偪而無禮，鄭先衛亡，偪而無法，政不率法，而制於心，民各有心，何卜之有。

⑥冬，吳伐楚，入棘櫟，麻以報朱方之役。楚沈尹射奔命於夏汭，箴尹官咎城鍾離，遠啟疆城，巢然，乃城州來，東國水，不可以城。彭小罷賴之師。

初，穆了去叔孫氏及庚宗，遇婦人，使私爲食而宿焉，問其行，告之故，哭而送之。適齊，娶於國氏，生孟內，仲丁。夢人壓己，弗勝，顧而見人，黑而卜僂，深目而顰，喙號之曰：「牛助余，乃勝之。」日而皆召其徒，無之，且曰：「志之。」及宣伯介齊饋之，宣伯曰：「魯以先了之故，將存古宗，必召汝，召汝何如？」對曰：「願之久矣。」魯人召之，不告而歸。既立，所宿庚宗之婦人獻以雉，問其姓，對曰：「余了長矣，能奉雉而從我矣。」召而見之，則所夢也。木問其名，號之曰：「牛。」曰：「唯皆召其徒，使視之。」遂使爲醫，有龍長使爲政。公孫明知叔孫於齊歸，木逆國，了明取之，故怒其了。長而後使逆之，用於丘猶，遂遇疾焉。醫牛欲亂其室而有之，強與孟盟，不可。叔孫爲孟鐘曰：「爾木際，饗人大以落之。」既具，使豎牛請日入弗謁，出命之日，及賓至，聞鐘聲，牛曰：「孟有北婦人之客，怒將往。」牛止之。賓出，使拘而殺諸外。牛

又與仲盟不可仲與公御萊齊觀於公公與之環使牛入示之入不示出命佩之牛謂叔孫見仲而何叔孫曰何爲曰不見既自見矣公與之環而佩之矣遂逐之奔齊疾急命召仲牛許而不召杜洩見告之飢渴授之戈對曰求之而至又何去焉賁牛曰夫子疾病不欲見人使寡餽於今而退牛弗進則置虛命徹十二月癸丑叔孫不食乙卯卒牛立昭子而相之公使杜洩叔孫豎牛賁叔仲昭子與南遺使張杜洩於季孫而去之杜洩將以路葬且盡卿禮南遺謂季孫曰叔孫未乘路葬焉用之且彖卿無路介卿以葬不亦左乎季孫曰然使杜洩舍路不可曰夫子受命於朝而聘於王王思舊勳而賜之路復命而致之君君不敢逆王命而復賜之使三官書之吾子爲司徒實書名夫子爲司馬與工正書服孟孫爲司空以舊勳今死而弗以是棄君命也書在公府而弗以是廢三官也若命服生弗敢服死又不以將焉用之乃使以葬季孫餽去中軍賁牛曰夫子固欲去之

- IV 1 In the [dukes] fourth year, in spring, in the kings first month, there was a great fall of hail
- 2 In summer the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ao and Ch'in, the earl of Ching, the baron of Hsu, the viscounts of Seu, T'ang, Tun, Hoo, Shin, and Little Choo, Tso, heir-son of Sung, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwa, had a meeting in Shin
- 3 The people seized and held the viscount of Seu
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ao and Ch'in, the baron of Hsu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwa, invaded Woo
- 5 They seized King Fung of Ts'ao, and put him to death
- 6 They then went on to extinguish Lai
- 7 In the ninth month, we took Ts'ang
- 8 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih maou, Shuh sun P'ao died

Par 1 Too says that there ought now to have fallen snow and not hail, and the fall of the hail is counted as a calamity. Kao K'ang connects the par with the 6th of last year and supposes that the hail had continued to fall all the winter. This would account reasonably for the notice of the phenomenon.

The Chuen says:—Ko Woo-tze asked Shin Fung whether the hail could be stopped and was answered, "When a sage is in the highest place, there is no hail; or if some should happen to fall, it does not amount to a calamity. Anciently

they stored up the ice, when the sun was in his northern path; and they brought it out when he was in his western and [the Kwei (奎) constellation] was seen [in the east] in the morning. At the storing of the ice, they took it from the low valleys of the deep hills, where the cold was most intense and as it were shut in; and when it was brought out the dignitaries and place-men of the court, in their entertainment of guests, for their food, on occasions of death and of sacrifice, shared in the use of it. At the

storing of it, a black bull and black millet were presented to the Ruler of cold, and when it was brought out, a bow of peach wood and arrows of thorn were employed to put away calamitous influences. For the delivery and the storing of it there were their seasons, and it was given to all who were entitled by their station to eat flesh. Great officers and their declared wives used it in their washings on occasions of death. It was deposited with a sacrifice to the [Ruler of] cold, the depositories were opened with the offering of a lamb. The duke first used it, and when the [star] *Ho* made its appearance, it was distributed. From the commissioned [great] officers and their wives, down to officers retired from age or illness, all received the ice. The commissioners of hills took it, the officers of districts sent it on, the cart-men received it, and the inferior servants stored it. Now it is the [cold] wind which makes the ice strong, and it was when the [warm] winds [prevailed], that it was brought forth. The depositories were made close, the use of it was very extensive. In consequence there was no heat out of course in the winter, no lurking cold in the summer, no biting winds in the spring, and no pitiless rains in the autumn. When thunder came, it was not with a shaking crash. There were no calamitous horrfrosts and hail. Pestilences did not descend [on the land]. The people died no premature deaths.

'But now the ice of the streams and pools is what is stored up, [much also] is cast away and not used. The winds go abroad as they ought not to do and carry death with them, so does the thunder come with shaking crash. Who can put a stop to this plague of hail? The last stanza of the 'Ts'ih yueh (She, I and I) shows the method of storing ice.'

[We have here a long narrative about a further step on the part of Ts'oo towards wresting the presidency of the States from Ts'in.—In the 1st month, the baron of Heu went to Ts'oo, where the viscount detained him, going on also to detain the earl of Ch'ing, with whom he again hunted on the south of the K'ang, having the baron of Heu with them. [At the same time] he sent Tseou Keu to Ts'in, to ask from that Power the attendance of the States, the above two princes waiting in Ts'oo for the answer. Tseou Keu delivered his message in the following terms.—"My ruler has sent me to say in his own words, 'Formerly your lordship's kindness granted the covenant of Sung, by which it was agreed that the States which adhered to Ts'in and Ts'oo respectively should appear at the courts of both. Because of the troubles occurring from year to year, I wish to knit more closely a good understanding with the princes, and have sent Keu to ask from you an opportunity to do so. If your lordship have no anxiety in regard to the States around you, I wish to borrow your favour to make a request of the various princes.'" The marquis of Ts'in wanted to give a refusal to this application, but the marshal How said to him, "Do not do so. The [course of the] king of Ts'oo is extravagant. Heaven perhaps wishes, by gratifying his ambition, to increase the poison of his [mood], and send down punishment on him. That we cannot know, nor can we know whether it means to grant him a [peaceful] end. But Ts'in and Ts'oo depend on the aid of Heaven for the

superiority of the one over the other. Let us not quarrel with it, but let your lordship grant the [king's] request, and cultivate your virtue, while we wait and see to what he will turn. If he turn to virtue, even we will serve him, and how much more will the States do so! If he go on to licentiousness and oppression, Ts'oo itself will abandon him, and we shall have no one to contend with."

'The marquis said, "Ts'in has three securities against peril, and needs not to fear an enemy. There are the mountainous passes of the State, its many horses, and the many troubles of Ts'e and Ts'oo. With these three securities, we must be successful in every direction." The marshal replied, 'Trust in mountains and in horses, and to calculate on the difficulties of neighbouring States, are three sources of peril. The four Yoh, San-t'oo, Yang-shing, T'ac-shih, mount King, and Chung-nan, are the most difficult mountains of the 9 provinces, and they do not all belong to one surname. The northern region of K'e is most noted for its production of horses, but no [distinguished] State has there arisen. A trust in mountains and horses cannot be considered a sure one. So it has been from of old and therefore the ancient kings made the cultivation of virtue their object, in order to affect both Spirits and men. I have not heard that they made it their object to have difficult mountains and horses. And [the result of] the difficulties of neighbouring States cannot be calculated on. They may have many difficulties, which will issue [only] in strengthening them and the enlargement of their boundaries, or they may have no difficulties and the result will be their ruin, and their losing the boundaries of which they were in charge. How is it possible to foresee the [issue of such] difficulties? Ts'e had the troubles with Chung-sun (The Kung-sun Woo-che, who was marquis of Ts'e for a month, see the 9th year of duke Chwang), and the result was that it got duke Hwan, whose influence on it extends till now. Ts'in had the troubles of Le and P'ei (Le K'ih and P'ei Ch'ing, see the 9th and other years of duke He), and the result was that it got duke Wan, through whom it became lord of covenants. Wei and Hing had no troubles [of the same kind], and yet their enemies brought them to ruin. The difficulties of others therefore cannot be calculated on. If you trust in the three things you have mentioned, and do not diligently attend to the duties of government and to virtue, we shall find that the danger of ruin leaves us no leisure for anything but to escape from it—how can you speak of our being sure of success? Let your lordship grant the request [of Ts'oo]. Chow acted licentiously and oppressively, while king Wan behaved kindly and harmoniously, and the result was the fall of Yin and the rise of Chow. How then should you quarrel about the States?"

'Accordingly, [it was resolved to] grant the request of Ts'oo, and Shuh-heang was appointed to give the following reply, "Our ruler, being occupied with the business of his altars, has not been able always to visit [your court] in spring and autumn. Your ruler in fact has the States, there was no necessity to take the trouble of your message." Tseou Keu then proceeded to beg a marriage with a daughter of Ts'in [on the part of his king], to which the marquis agreed.

The viscount of Ts'oo asked Tze-ch'an whether Tsin would grant him the States. "It will," said that minister. "The ruler occupies himself only with small matters, and does not think about the States. His great officers have many desires of their own and not one seeks to correct his ruler's [error]. At the command of Sung it said also that [Tsin and Ts'oo] were as one. If it do not grant your request, of what use will that [covenant] have been? The king further asked whether the States would come [at his call]. "They are sure to come," replied Tze-ch'an. "In obedience to the covenant of Sung; to gratify your lordship; not standing in fear of the great State—why should they not come? Perhaps Loo Wei, Ts'ao, and Choo may not come. Ts'ao stands in fear of Sung; Choo stands in fear of Loo; Loo and Wei are pressed on by Tsin, and the best-affected to Tsin. Only these will not come. The others are under your influence;—what one of them will not come?" The king said, "Then, may I succeed in all that I seek for?" "Not," was the reply, "if you seek from others for your own gratification. But if you seek what they and you wish and can share together you will be entirely successful."

Par 2 We have here the result of Ts'oo's application to Tsin for the presidency of the States. Of the northern States, however only Tsin, Ch'in, Ch'ing, and Hsu responded to its call, for Little Choo is hardly to be taken account of and the princes of Ch'ing and Hsu were in a manner detained and obliged to be present at the meeting.

At the commencement of the Ch'un Tsin'w period, Shih was a marquise, held by K'ang, having for its capital S'ay (沙), 20 li to the north of the dep. city of Nan yang Ho-nan. In the Chuen at the end of III. vi. we find it invaded by the then king of Ts'oo, who seems to have extinguished it, and incorporated it with his own State.

The Chuen says—In summer the [other] princes of the States went to Ts'oo, but those of Loo, Wei, Ts'ao and Choo did not attend the meeting Ts'ao and Choo declining on account of troubles, the duke on the ground of the seasonal sacrifice, and the marquess of Wei on the ground that he was ill. The earl of Ch'ing preceded the others, and was waiting at Shih, where in the sixth month, on Ping woo, the viscount of Ts'oo attended the States.

Ts'ao K'ou said to him "I have heard that with the States the thing which regulates their preference and adhesion is the ceremonies which are observed to them. Your lordship has now got them for the first time and must be careful of your ceremonies. Whether you will secure the presidency of the States or not depends on this meeting. K'ou of the Hsia dynasty gave the entertainment of Kuan-t'ao; T'ang of the Shang dynasty gave his commands at King poh Woo of Chow issued his declaration at Ming tsin; [King] Ch'ing had the review at K'o-yang; [King] K'ang held his audience in the palace of Yang; [King] Min had the meeting at mount Too Hwan of Ts'ao had the campaign of Shao-ling and Wan of Tsin had the covenant of Ts'ao-t'oo—the ceremonies of which of those occasions will your lordship use? H'ang Souh of Sung and Kung sun K'ao of Ch'ing are

both here, the best men of all the States. Let your lordship make a choice." The king said, "I will use those employed by Hwan of Ts'ao."

The king sent to ask the master of the Left and Tze-ch'an about the ceremonies. The master of the Left said, "They are what a small State practices, what a large State employs. I will describe them according to my knowledge. He then exhibited six ceremonies for a duke assembling the States. Tze-ch'an said, "A small State [like ours] discharges its duties. I will describe what we have observed." He then exhibited six ceremonies to be observed by earls, viscounts, and barons, at meetings with a duke. A superior man will say that the master of the Left—he of Hoh—knew well how to guard [the rules of] former dynasties, and that Tze-ch'an knew well how to add and direct a small State. The king caused Ts'ao K'ou to stand behind him, to regulate any errors [which they might make]; but the whole thing was concluded without any action. The king asked him the reason, and he replied, "Those six ceremonies I had never seen; how could I make any action?"

The eldest son of [the duke of] Sung was late in arriving and the king was then hunting in Woo shing, so that he was long in giving him an interview. Ts'ao K'ou begged that he would send an explanation [of the delay], on which the king sent him to say "It happens that we are engaged in the business of the ancestral temple at Woo-shing. My ruler must bury the offerings set forth [in the temple];—I venture to apologize for the delay in seeing you. The viscount of Hsu was the son of a daughter of Woo; and [the viscount of Ts'oo] thinking that he was disaffected, caused him to be seized in Shih. He also displayed his extravagance to all the princes. Ts'ao K'ou said to him, "The instances of the six kings and two dukes, [which I adduced], all illustrated the courtesy which they showed to the States, and were the reason of the States' accepting their commands. K'ou of the Hsia dynasty held the meeting of Jing, and the prince of Min revolted from him. Chow of the Shang dynasty held the review of Le, and the E of the east revolted from him. Yaw of Chow made the covenant of Ts'ao-shih, and the Jung and the Teih revolted from him. In all these cases, [those kings] showed to the States the extravagance [of their aims] and so it was that the States cast their commands away from them. Since your majesty is now showing your extravagance, will it not interfere with your success?"

The king would not listen to him; and Tze-ch'an, seeing the master of the Left, said to him, "I am not troubled about Ts'oo. So extravagant, and deaf to remonstrance, [the king] will not endure more than ten years. The master of the Left replied, "Yes, but without ten years' extravagance his wickedness will not have reached far. When that has reached far, he will be cast off. So it is with goodness. When goodness has reached far there ensues advancement and prosperity."

It deserves to be mentioned further that at this first meeting of the States called by Ts'oo we find that the wild tribes of the east were represented. We met before with an instance of the Teih being present at one of the meetings called by Tsin; but our knowledge of the fact

was derived from the Chuen. No notice of it was taken in the text of the classic.

Par 4, 6 The Chuen says — 'In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, taking the princes [who had been present at Shin] with him, invaded Woo. The prince of Sung, however, and the earl of Ch'ing returned to their States, before [the expedition set out], but Hwa Fei-suy of Sung and a great officer of Ch'ing accompanied it.

'[The viscount] made K'ueh Shin lay siege to Choo-fang, which was reduced in the 8th month on Keah-shun. K'ing Fung was then seized (See the Chuen on IX xviii 6) and the members of his clan exterminated. When [the viscount] was about to execute K'ing Fung, Ts'auou Keu said to him, "I have heard that [only] he who is without flaw may [safely] execute another [publicly]. K'ing Fung is here because of his opposition to [his ruler's] orders — will he be willing to submit [quietly] to be executed? Of what use is it to publish his case before the States?" The king would not listen to this counsel, but made Fung go round [the encampment of] the various States, with an axe upon his shoulder, and ordered him to say, "Let no one follow the example of K'ing Fung of Ts'e, who murdered his ruler, despised the weakness of his young successor, and imposed a covenant on the great officers." K'ing Fung, however, said, "Let no one follow the example of Wei, son by a concubine to king Kung of Ts'oo, who murdered Keu, his ruler and the son of his elder brother, and went on to impose a covenant upon the States." The king caused him to be quickly put to death, and then he proceeded with [the forces] of the States to extinguish Lae. The viscount of that State repaired to the army of the centre, with his hands bound behind him, and a *peih* in his mouth, followed by officers with the upper part of their bodies half-bared, and by a carriage with a coffin in it. The king asked Ts'auou Keu [what this meant], and was answered, "When king Ch'ing reduced Heu (See the Chuen at the end of V vi), duke He of Heu appeared before him in this manner. The king loosed his bonds, received his *peih*, and burned his coffin." The king followed this example, and removed [the prince and people of] Lae to Yen. As he wished to remove Heu to Lae, he made Tow Wei-kwei and the Kung-tsze K'e-tshai wall the city [for Heu], and returned [to Ts'oo].

'Shin Woo-yu said, "The beginning of Ts'oo's calamity will be here. [The king] called the princes, and came with them here, invading States and vanquishing them, and walling cities on the borders, while no one offered any opposition. The king will allow no resistance to his will, but will the people dwell [here quietly]? When the people refuse to dwell [quietly], who will be able to endure him? From that inability to endure the king's commands, calamity and disorder will ensue."

For 賴 Kung and Kuh have 厲. It was a small State, whose principal city was in the pres dis of Shang-shung (尙城), in Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan.

Par 7 Ts'ang, — see on IX vi 5, where it is said that Keu extinguished the State of Ts'ang. What Loo now took, therefore, was the city of

Ts'ang from Keu. The Chuen says — '[The words] that "In the 9th month we took Ts'ang," indicate the ease [with which the thing was done]. Keu had been in confusion, and when duke Chao-k'ew obtained the rule of it, he showed no kindly treatment to Ts'ang. In consequence of this, [the commandant of] Ts'ang revolted, and came with it to Loo. Hence it is said, "We took it." Any reduction of a city where soldiers were not employed is expressed by this phrase.'

[The Chuen takes us here to Ch'ing and Tsze-ch'an, and to Woo — 'Tsze-ch'an of Ch'ing made [new and harder regulations for the] contributions from the K'ew (See on VIII 1 4), on which the people of the State reviled him, saying, "His father died on the road, and he himself is a scorpion's tail. Issuing such orders for the State, what will the State do under them?"' Tsze-k'wan reported these remarks to Tsze-ch'an, who said, "There is no harm in it. If it only benefit the altars, I will either live or die. Moreover, I have heard that when the good-doer does not change his measures, he can calculate on success. The people are not to be gratified in this, the measure must not be altered. The ode (A lost ode) says,

'If one's rules and righteousness be not in error,  
Why regard the words of people?'

I will not change it."

Iiwan Han (Isze-k'wan) said, "The Kwoh, I apprehend, will be the first [of the families of Ch'ing] to perish. The superior man makes laws with slight requirements. The danger is of his still desiring more. If he makes his laws at first under the influence of that desire, what will the danger not be? Of the Ke among the various States, Is'ac with Ts'auou and T'ang, are likely to perish first. They are near [to great States], and observe no rules of propriety. Ch'ing will perish before Wei, for it is near [to the great States], and has no [good] laws. If the government do not follow the [established] laws, but one may make new ones according to his own mind, every one of the people has a mind of his own, — what place will be left for the ruler?"

'In winter, Woo invaded Ts'oo, and entered [the cities of] Keih, Loh, and Ma — in return for the campaign of Choo-fang. Shay, director of Shin, hurried away with orders [from the King] to Hea-juy. E kew, director of Remonstrances, fortified Chung-le. Wei K'e-k'ang fortified Ch'au. Jen Tan fortified Chow-lae. The places in the east of the State could not be fortified because of the water. P'ang-sung withdrew the troops from Lae.'

Par 8 Shuh-sun Paou had been actively engaged in the business of the State from the 2d year of duke Seang. On the way in which he became Head of the Shuh-sun clan, see on VIII xvi 14. The Chuen here gives a strange narrative of his life — 'At an early period [of his life], Muh-tsze left [his brother], the Head of the Shuh-sun family, [and went to Ts'e]. When he had got to K'ang-tsung [on his way], he met a woman, whom he asked to prepare some food for him, and then passed the night with her. She asked him where he was going, and when he told her all about it, she wept and escorted him [part of the way]. He then went to Ts'e, and married there a lady of the Kwoh

family by whom he had M'ang-ping and Chung-fu. [One night], he dreamt that the sky came down upon him and when he tried to hold it up, he was not able to do so. Looking round, he saw a man, black and hump-backed with deep-set eyes and a jagged mouth, to whom he called out, "N'ew help me and on this he was able to hold the sky up. In the morning he called all his followers but there was no such man among them. He told them, however, to remember the circumstances, [which he had mentioned].

When [his brother] Senen-pih fled to T'ie he supplied him with food. Senen-pih said to him, "Out of regard to [the services of] our father Loo will preserve our ancestral temple, and is sure to call you back to it. If it call you, what will you do?" "It is what I have desired for long," was the reply. The people of Loo did call him, and he returned, without informing [his brother].

When he had been appointed [a minister] the woman of K'ang-tung with whom he had spent the night [came and] presented him with a pheasant; and when he asked her whether she had a son, she replied, "My son is a big boy; he was able to carry the pheasant and follow me." M'uh-tze called for him, and as soon as he saw him, but it was the first time he had seen in his dream. Without a king him, he called out to him,—"N'ew!" and the boy answered, "Here I am!" He then called all his followers, and made them look at him, after which he made him his waiting boy. The lad became a favourite with him, and, when grown up, was entrusted with the management of his house.

The Kung-sun Ming had known Shuh-sun in T'ie and when, after his return [to Loo], he did not send for [his wife] Hsueh K'ang. T'ie-ming took her to himself. This enraged Shuh-sun, and it was not till his sons [by her] were grown up, if at he sent for them.

Having hunted [on one occasion] in K'ew-y'ew he became ill in consequence. The waiting boy N'ew had wanted to create a confusion in the house and get possession of it and tried to force M'ang to act with him, but he refused to do so. [Now], Shuh-sun made a bell for M'ang, [to celebrate the declaration of him as his successor], and said to him, "You have not yet had any intercourse with the great officers. Invite them to an entertainment at which you may consecrate it." When all was made ready for this, [M'ang-ping] sent N'ew to ask his father to fix a day for the entertainment. N'ew went in to the house but did not see Shuh-sun, and then came out and spent [a] day. When the guests arrived, [Shuh-sun] heard the sound of the bell, and N'ew said to him, "M'ang has got [the husband of] your northern wife as his guest." The father in a rage wanted to go [to M'ang's apartment], but N'ew prevented him. However when the guests were gone he caused him to be seized and put to death outside [the house].

N'ew then tried likewise to force the second son to act with him, but he [also] refused. [Once], this Chung was looking about the duke's palace with the duke's charioter Loo-shou, when the duke [saw him and] gave him a ring. He sent N'ew with it to show it to his father and N'ew went into the house, but did not show it; and when he came out, he

told Chung [as from his father] to wear it at his girdle. N'ew then said to Shuh-sun, "Why did you introduce Chung [at the court]?" "What do you mean?" asked Shuh-sun. N'ew replied, "If you did not introduce him, he has introduced himself. The duke gave him a ring and he wears it at his girdle." On this Shuh-sun drove out Chung-fu, who fled to T'ie.

When his illness became severe he ordered [N'ew] to call Chung [from T'ie]. N'ew promised, but did not do it. T'ie K'uei went to see Shuh-sun, who told him how he was suffering from hunger and thirst, and gave him a spear [with which to kill N'ew]. But K'uei replied, "If you desire anything it will be brought you. Why must you seek to make away with him?"

N'ew giving out that the master was very ill and did not wish to see any one [made the attendants place the food in the two side-chambers, and retire; while he himself instead of taking it in, emptied the dishes, replaced them, and ordered them to be removed. From the end of the 12th month to 1st moon, when he died, Shuh-sun had nothing to eat. N'ew raised [his son by a concubine], Ch'ao-tze to his place, and acted as manager and helper to him.

The duke commissioned Foo-kuei to bury Shuh-sun but the waiting boy N'ew bribed Shuh-chung Ch'ao-tze and Nan K, and got them to make K'uei order to Ko-sun, and have him carried. K'uei was putting on the coffin to the grave in the carriage [which the king had given to M'uh-tze] and to use all the ceremonies proper to a minister. Nan K, however said to Ko-sun, "Shuh-sun never rode in this carriage; what is the use of employing it at his funeral? A carriage moreover is not used at the funeral of our chief minister. Is it not improper to use it at the funeral of an assistant-minister?" Ko-sun said, "Yes" and ordered K'uei to leave the carriage out. But that officer would not do so. "The master," he said, "received this commission in the court, and went on a complimentary mission to the king. The king thinking of the ancient services of his family conferred this carriage upon him. When he returned with the report of his mission, he surrendered it to our ruler; but he did not dare to go against the king's order and returned it, making the three [great] officers make a record of the matter. You were minister of Instruction, and wrote the name. My master was minister of War and made the chief of his subordinate officers write the royal gifts. M'ang-sun was minister of Works and recorded [my master's] service. If now that he is dead we do not use the carriage we shall be casting away our ruler's orders. Since the record is in the public repository if we do not use it we shall be setting at naught the three [great] officers. When alive he did not presume to wear the robes given to him by the king and if we do not put them on him now that he is dead of what use were they? Accordingly the carriage was used at the funeral.

Ko-sun took counsel to do away with the army of the Centre; and N'ew said, "The master did certainly wish to do away with it."

Fifth year.

五年春，王正月，舍中軍。  
楚殺其大夫屈申。  
公如晉。夏，莒平火，以  
平妻及防茲來奔。  
秋七月，公至自晉。  
戊辰，叔弓帥師，敗莒師。  
丁未，蚡泉七章。余伯卒。  
冬，楚子紫侯、陳侯、許男、  
頓子、沈子、徐人、越人伐  
吳。

左傳曰：五年春，十十月，舍中軍。中，公室也。毀中軍於施氏，成諸臧氏。初，作軍，分公室，而各有其一。季氏盡征之，叔孫氏亡其子弟。孟氏取其半焉。及其舍之也，四分公室，季氏擇一，了各皆盡征之，而貢於公。以書使杜洩告於殯曰：了固欲毀中軍，既毀之矣，故告。杜洩曰：夫了唯不欲毀也，故盟諸僖闕，誅諸力父之衢，受其書而投之。帥士而哭之。叔仲了謂季孫曰：帶受命於了，叔孫曰：葬鮮者自西門。季孫命杜洩杜洩曰：卿喪自朝，魯禮也。了為國政，不敗禮而又遷之，卒臣懼死不敢自也。既葬而行，仲平自齊，季孫欲立之。南遺使叔孫氏厚則季氏薄，彼實家亂了勿與知，不亦可乎。南遺使國人助鬻牛以攻諸人庫之庭，可宮射之，中目而死。鬻牛取東鄙一邑以與南遺。昭了即位，朝其家衆曰：鬻牛禍叔孫氏，使亂人從殺適立庶，又披其邑將以赦罪，罪人焉必速殺之。鬻牛懼，介齊孟仲之了，殺諸塞關之外，投其首於寧風之棘上。仲尼曰：叔孫昭了之不勞，不可能也。周任有言曰：為政者不賞私勞，不罰私怨。詩人：有覺德行，四國順之。初，穆了之生也，莊叔以周易筮之，遇明夷之謙，以示卜楚丘曰：是將行，而歸為了祀，以譏人入其名曰牛，卒以餒死。明夷，日也，日



之數十，故有十時，亦當十位，自王已下，其二爲公，其三爲卿，日土其中，食日爲二，旦日爲三，明夷之醴，明而未融，其當旦乎，故曰爲子祀，日之謙當鳥，故曰明夷于飛，明而未融，故曰垂其翼，象日之動，故曰君子于行，當三在旦，故曰三日不食，離火也，艮山也，離爲火，火焚山，山敗於人爲言，敗言爲醴，故曰有攸往，主人有言，言必醴也，純離爲牛，世亂醴勝，勝將適離，故曰其名曰牛，謙不足飛不翔，垂不峻，翼不蔚，故曰其爲子後乎，吾子，亞卿也，抑少不終。

楚子以屈申爲貳於吳，乃殺之，以屈生爲莫敖，使與令尹子旗如晉，逆女過鄭，鄭伯勞子旗於汜，勞屈生於范氏，晉侯送女於邢丘，子產相鄭伯，會晉侯於邢丘。

公如晉，自郊勞至于贈賄，無失禮，晉侯謂女叔齊曰：「魯侯不亦善於禮乎？」對曰：「魯侯焉知禮？」公曰：「何爲？」自郊勞至于贈賄，禮無違者，何故不知對曰：「是儀也，不可謂禮，禮所以守其國，行其政令，無失其民者也，今政令在家，不能取也，有子家驪，弗能用也，奸大國之盟，陵虐小國，利人之權，不知其私，公室四分，民食於他，思莫在公，不圖其終，爲國君，雖將及身，不恤其所，禮之本末，將於此乎在，而屑屑焉習儀以亟，言善於禮，不亦遠乎？」君子謂叔侯於是乎知禮。

○晉韓宣子如楚，送女，叔向爲介，鄭子皮，子犬叔，勞諸索氏，大叔謂叔向曰：「楚王汰侈已甚，子其戒之。」叔向曰：「汰侈已甚，身之災也，焉能及人？若奉吾幣帛，慎吾威儀，守之以信，行之以禮，敬始而思終，終無不復從而不失儀，敬而不失威，迨之以訓辭，奉之以舊法，考之以先王，度之以二國，雖汰侈，若我何？及楚，楚子朝其大夫曰：『晉吾仇敵也，苟得志焉，無恤其他。』今其來者，上卿，上大夫也，若吾以韓起爲閹，以羊舌肸爲司官，足以辱晉，吾亦得志矣，可乎？」大夫莫對，還啟彊曰：「苟有其備，何故不可？」恥匹夫不可以無備，況恥國乎？是以聖王務行禮，不求恥人，朝聘有珪享，頌有璋，小有述職，大有巡功，設机而不倚，爵盈而不飲，宴有好貨，殯有陪鼎，入有郊勞，出

有贈賄禮之全也。國家之敗，失之道也，則禍亂興。城濮之役，晉無楚備，以敗於邲。邲之役，楚無晉備，以敗於鄢。自鄢以來，晉不失備，而加之以禮，重之以睦，是以楚弗能報，而求親焉。既獲姻親，又欲恥之，以召寇讐，備之若何？誰其重此？若有其人，恥之可也。若其未有，君亦圖之。晉之事君，臣曰可矣。求諸侯而縻至，求昏而薦女，君親送之。卜卿及卜人大致之，猶欲恥之。君其亦有備矣。不然，奈何？韓起之下，趙成中行吳、魏舒、范鞅、知盈、羊舌肸之下，祁午、張趯、籍談、夬齊、梁丙、張骼、輔趯、苗賁、申皆諸侯之選也。韓襄爲公族大夫，韓須受命而使矣。貧賤邢帶、叔禽、叔椒、了羽皆人家也。韓賦七邑皆成縣也。羊舌四族皆彊家也。晉人若喪韓起、楊肸、五卿八大夫輔韓須、楊石，因其一家九縣，長轂九百，其餘四十縣遺守四千，奮其武怒，以報其人恥。伯辛謀之，中行伯、魏舒帥之，其蔑不濟矣。君將以親易怨，實無禮以速寇，而未有其備，使孕中往遺之禽，以逞君心，何不可之有！曰：不穀之過也，人人無辱，厚爲韓了禮。士欲教叔向以其所不知，而不能，亦厚其禮。韓起反，鄭伯勞諸圍，辭不敢見，禮也。

⑤鄭平虎如齊，娶於了氏。晏了驟見之，陳桓子問其故，對曰：「能用善人，民之幸也。」

夏，晉平夷以平妻及防茲來奔。平夷非卿而書，尊地也。

呂人愬于晉，晉侯欲止公。范獻子曰：「不可。人朝而執之，誘也。討不以師，而誘以成之，情也。爲盟而犯此二者，無乃不可乎？」請歸之，閒而以師討焉。乃歸公。秋七月，公至自晉。

呂人來討，不設備。戊辰，叔弓敗諸蜚泉。呂不陳也。

冬十月，楚了以諸侯及東夷伐吳，以報棘、櫟、麻之役。濠射以繁楊之師，會於夏浦。越大大常壽過帥師，會楚了於瑣。聞吳師出，遂啟彊帥師從之，遽不設備。吳人敗諸鵲岸。楚了以駟个、小羅洩、吳了使其弟蹇山犒師。楚人執之，將以釁鼓。一使問焉，曰：「汝下來告乎？」對曰：「寡君聞君將治兵於敝邑，卜之以守龜，曰：余亟使人犒師，請。」

○秦后子復歸於秦，景公卒故也。

行以觀王怒之疾徐而爲之備，尙克知之。龜兆告吉曰：克可知也。君若驩焉，好逆使臣，滋傲邑休，怠而忘亡死，亡無日矣。今君奮焉，震電，僇虐，執使臣，將以戮鼓，則吳知所備矣。傲邑雖靡，若早修完，其可以息師難易有備，可謂吉矣。且吳社稷是卜，豈爲一人使臣獲戮軍鼓而傲邑知備以禦不虞，其爲吉孰大焉？國之守龜，其何事不卜一臧一否？其誰能常之？城濮之兆，其報在郕。今此行也，其所有報，志乃弗殺楚師，濟於羅汭。沈尹亦會楚子，久於萊山，遠射帥繁揚之師，先入南懷，楚師從之。及汝清，吳不可入。楚子遂觀兵於坻箕之山，是行也，吳早設備，楚無功而還，以蹶由歸。楚子懼吳，使沈尹射待命于巢，遂啟疆待命于雩婁，禮也。

- V 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, we disbanded the army of the centre.
- 2 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, K euh Shun
- 3 The duke went to Ts'in
- 4 In summer, Mow-e of Keu came a fugitive [to Loo], giving over to it [the cities of] Mow low, Tang, and Tsze
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from Ts'in
- 6 On Mow-shin Shuh Kung led a force, and defeated an army of Keu at Fun ts'ueu
- 7 The earl of Ts'in died
- 8 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ue and Ch'in, the viscounts of Tun and Shin, an officer of Sen, and an officer of Yuch, invaded Woo

Par 1 See the account of the formation of the 3d or army of the centre under IX. xl. 1. The Chuen here says:— The disbanding of the army of the centre was to reduce [still] lower the dual House. The disbanding was [proposed] at the house of the Shu family and determined on at that of the Tsang.

Formerly when the army of the centre was first constituted the dual House was [as it were] divided into three parts, each [of the three families] having one of them. The Ko family took to itself all the men and contributions of its part. The Shuh sun made [only] the sons and younger brothers of its part to be its subjects. The Mung took the one half. When they [now] disbanded that army they divided [the prerogative of] the dual House into four parts of which the [head of the] Ko family took two and each of the other ministers one; but they all took the entire control of the men and their contributions, paying [only] a tribute to the duke. They gave a notice to Too Szei and required him to announce it to [Muh tsu in] his coffin, to this effect, "You did desire the

disbanding of the middle army. We have disbanded it, and therefore announce the thing to you." Too Szei said, "But my master did not wish the army to be disbanded, and therefore he inscribed on the covenant at the gate of the temple, and the imprecations in the street of Woo-sue (see on IX. xl. 1). He then took the notice, and threw it on the ground, led [to the coffin] the officers [of Muh tsu] and wept over it.

Shuh-chung tzu said to Ke-sun, "I received a charge from my father Shuh-sun, that, in burying [a minister] who had not died a natural death from age the coffin should be taken from the western gate [of the court]. Ke-sun gave orders accordingly to Too Szei; but that officer said, "The coffin of a minister according to the rules of Loo, is taken from [the principal gate of] the court. The government of the State is in your hands, but you have not changed this rule. If we notwithstanding [now] depart from it, we are afraid of dying [for it] and dare not follow your order. When the funeral was over Szei went away."

‘[Soon after,] Chung [-jun, the second son of Muh-tsze by his Ts’e wife], arrived from Ts’e (See the Chuen at the end of last year), and Ke-sun proposed to appoint him in his father’s place. Nan E, however, said to him, “The stronger the Shuh sun, the weaker the Ke-sun. You had better simply take no knowledge of the disorder in that family.” At the same time Nan E made the people of the State assist New in an attack in the open space before the grand arsenal on Chung, who received an arrow in one of his eyes from the superintendent of the palace, and died. New then took 30 towns in the eastern borders, [belonging to the Shuh-sun], and gave them to Nan E.

‘Ch’ou-tsze [finally] succeeded to his father’s place, when he gave audience to all the members of his clan, and said: “The waiting boy New has done evil to the House of Shuh-sun, and thrown into confusion the grand [principle of] natural order. Having put to death the children by the wife, and secured the succession to the son of a concubine, he has gone on to distribute its towns, that he might thereby get forgiveness for his offences. His crimes could not be more heinous, and we must quickly put him to death.” New got frightened, and fled to Ts’e, where he was killed, outside the gate between the two States, by the sons of Ming and Chung, who threw his head into a thorn tree near Ning-fung. Chung-ne said, “The conduct of Shuh-sun Ch’ou-tsze in not being influenced by services done to himself is what [few] could attain to.” [The historiographer] Chow Jin has said, “The administrator of government does not reward services done to himself, nor does he punish his private wrongs.” As the ode (She, III in ode II. 2) says,

“To an evident virtuous conduct  
All States render their homage!”

‘At an earlier period, on the birth of Muh-tsze, [his father] Chwang-shuh, consulted the Chow Yih by the reeds about him, and got the diagram Ming-e (明夷, ䷣), which then

became K’een (謙, ䷎). He showed this to the diviner Ts’oo K’ew, who said, “This [son] will have to leave [the State], but he will return and offer the sacrifices to you. The entrance of a slanderer, of the name of New, will be sufficient to make him die of starvation. [The diagram] Ming-e relates to the sun. The solar numbers are 10. Hence there are 10 periods in the day, which correspond also to the ten ranks. Reckoning from the king downwards, the rank of duke is the 2d, and that of minister is the 3d. The highest point of the day is when the sun is in the meridian. When it is meal time, that represents the 2d rank, and early dawn represents the third. Ming-e’s becoming K’een represents brightness, but that which is not yet fully developed,—corresponding, we may presume, to the early dawn. Therefore I say, [this child will be minister and] offer the sacrifices for you. [The diagram for] the sun’s becoming K’een has its correspondency in a bird. Hence we read (On the lowest line of the diagram Ming-e), ‘The brightness is injured in its flight.’ And as the brightness is not fully developed, we read, ‘It droops its wings.’ There is an emblem of the movement of the sun, and hence we read, ‘The superior man goes away.’ This

happens with the third rank, in the early dawn, and hence we read, “Three days he does not eat.”

“[Again] Le (—, the lower half of Ming-e)

represents fire, and Kin (—, the lower half of K’een) represents a hill. Le is fire, fire burns the hill, and the hill is destroyed. But applied to men, [Kin] denotes speech, and destroying speech is slander. Hence we read, ‘He goes whither he would, and to him, the lord, there is speech.’ That speech must be slander. In [the diagram of] the double Le (—) there is [mention made of] a cow. The age is in disorder and slander overcomes, the overcoming goes on to dismemberment, and therefore I say, “His name will be New (牛) — bull or cow.” K’een denotes insufficiency. The flight is not high. Descending from on high, the wings do not reach far. Hence, while I say that this child will be your successor, yet you are the second minister, and he will fall somewhat short of your dignity.”

Par 2 The Chuen says — ‘The viscount of Ts’oo, considering that K’eh Shun was disaffected and leant towards Woo, put him to death. He then made K’eh Säng the Moh-gaou, and sent him, along with the chief minister, Tsze-tang, to Tsin to meet his bride. As they passed by [the capital of] Ch’ing, the earl sent to pay the compliments of the journey to Tsze-tang at Fan, and to K’eh Säng at T’oo-she. The marquis of Tsin escorted his daughter to Hing-k’ew, where the earl of Ch’ing had an interview with him, with the attendance and under the direction of Tsze-ch’an.’

Par 3 The Chuen says — ‘The duke went to Tsin, and from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not fail in any point of ceremony. The marquis of Tsin said to Joo Shuh-ts’e, “Is not the marquis of Loo good at propriety?” “How does the marquis of Loo know propriety?” was the reply. “Wherefore [do you say so]?” asked the marquis. “Considering that, from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not err in a single point, why should you say that he does not know propriety?” “That was deportment,” said Shuh-ts’e, “and should not be called propriety. Propriety is that by which [a ruler] maintains his State, carries out his governmental orders, and does not lose his people. Now the government [of Loo] is ordered by the [three great] clans, and he cannot take it [from them]. There is Tsze-kea Ke, (A descendant of duke Chwang, called elsewhere Tsze-kea E-pih) and he is not able to employ him. He violates the covenants of our great State, and exercises oppression on the small State [of Keu]. He makes his gain of the distresses of others, and is ignorant of his own. The [patrimony] of his House is divided into four parts, and [like one of] the people he gets his food from others. No one thinks of him, or takes any consideration for his future. The ruler of a State, calamity will come upon him, and he has no regard to what is proper for him to do. The beginning and end of his propriety should be in these matters, and in small particulars he practises deportment, as if that were all-important — is it not far from correct to say that he is well acquainted with propriety?”

The superior man will say that Shuh-hoow showed by these remarks that he knew propriety.

[We have now a long narrative of a visit to Ts'oo by Han K'o and Shuh-h'ang.—Han Seu-tzu of Tsin went to Ts'oo as escort to [the king's] bride, Shuh-h'ang being the assistant commissioner. Tzu-p'ei and Tzu-tao-shuh of Ch'ing visited them on their journey at Soh she, and the latter said to Shuh-h'ang, "The extravagance of the king of Ts'oo is excessive; you must be on your guard against it." "His excessive extravagance," replied Shuh-h'ang, "will be calamitous to himself, but how can it affect others? If we sent our offerings, and be careful of our deportment, maintaining our good faith, and observing the rules of propriety, attentively to our first proceedings and thinking at the same time of our last, so that all might be done over again; if we comply [with his requirements] so as not to lose our decorum, and, while respectful, do not lose our dignity; if our communications be according to the lessons [of wisdom], our service be performed according to the laws of antiquity and our duty be discharged according to [the rules of] the ancient kings, and regulated by a consideration of [what is due to] our two States, how or what agent be he, what can he do to us?"

When they arrived at [the capital of] Ts'oo, the viceroy gave audience to his great officers, and said, "Tsin is my enemy. If I can get my will, I have no regard to anything else. Those who are now come from it are its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank. If I [cut off his feet, and] make Han K'o a janitor, and [castrate] Yang-shih Heli and make him superintendent of my harem, that will be enough to disgrace Tsin, and I shall get my will. May it be done?" None of the great officers gave any reply till Wei K'o-k'ang said, "It may. If you are prepared for it, why may it not be done? But a common man may not be put to shame without preparations for it, and how much less a State! On this account the sage kings made it their object to observe the rules of propriety and did not seek to put people to shame. For appearances at court and complimentary visits there were the jade tokens of rank; for entertainments and receptions there were the semi tokens; the small (—all the princes) had to make a report of their duties; the great one (—the king) had to make tours to observe the merits [of the princes]; when the banquets were spread [with the dishes] there was no leaning forward on them, and when the cup was filled, there was no drinking of it, [till the time came], for feasts there was the provision of good gifts; for meals there were double the usual number of dishes; on the arrival of guests they were met in the suburbs and condoled with on the toils of their journey and at their departure, there were gifts presented to them. These embrace the most important usages of ceremony. The ruin of States and families has been from the neglect of these, which has given occasion to miseries and disorders.

After the battle of Shing pah, Tsin made no preparations against Ts'oo, and was defeated at Peh. After the battle of Peh, Ts'oo made no preparations against Tsin, and was defeated at Yen. Since Yen, Tsin has not neglected its preparations, and has added to them the observance of propriety and a double measure of harmony

in itself, so that Ts'oo had not been able to retaliate [for that defeat at Yen], but has sought marriage with Tsin. You have obtained that affinity of marriage, and you wish further to put Tsin to shame, thereby calling forth its violent animosity—what preparations have you made for such an issue? If you have the men [to meet it] well—put Tsin to shame. If you have them not, your lordship should consider well what you propose to do. In my opinion the service which Tsin has done to you may be pronounced sufficient. You sought the States from it, and they have all come to you; you sought marriage with it, and it has sent you its daughter. Its ruler himself escorted her. Its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank have come to the completion of the union; and still you wish to put it to shame. You must surely be prepared for such a thing; if you are not, what will be the consequences?

Below Han K'o there are [in Tsin] Chao Ch'ing, Chung-hang Woo, Wei Shoo, Fan Yang and Che Ying. Below Yang-shih Heli there are K'o Woo, Chang Teli, Teli T'an, Joo T'e, L'ang Ping, Chang Koh, Foo Leli, and Meeou Fun hwang;—all of them the chiefs of all the States. Han Sh'ang is great officer of a ducal clan. Han Seu receives his ruler's orders, and goes forth with them to other States; Ke Sh'ang Hing Tso, Shuh-kin, Shuh-t'aoou, and Tzu-yu, all belong to great families. The Han draw their levies from seven cities, round each of which is a full district. The Yang-shih embraces 4 clans,—all consisting of strong families. If the people of Tsin lose Han K'o and Yang Heli, those 6 [other] ministers, and 8 [other] great officers, will give their aid to Han Seu and Yang-shih. From their 10 families and 9 districts they can raise 900 chariots of war while 4000 chariots will be left to guard the remaining 40 districts [of the State]. With their martial rage all in fury they will come to be revenged for the great disgrace [put upon them]. With Pih-hwa to direct their plans, and with Chung-hang Pih and Wei Shoo to lead on their armies, they are sure to be successful. Your lordship intends to change the friendship of marriage for enmity, and violate all safety to accelerate the approach of the enemy; and if you have not made preparations for such an issue, you will be sending all of us your servants, and leaving us to be captured, to gratify yourself. But what is there in this that may not be done?" The king said, "It was my error. Do not you, my great officers, trouble yourselves [any further]." He then treated Han-tzu with courtesy. He wished, however to get a triumph over Shuh-h'ang on matters he might not be acquainted with, but was not able to do so; and he also showed great courtesy to him.

When Han K'o was returning, the earl of Ch'ing came to Yu, to show him there the compliments of the journey; but Han declined to be introduced to him,—which was according to rule.

There is another short narrative:—Han Hoo of Ch'ing went to T'e, to marry a daughter of Tzu-wei. Gan-tzu paid him frequent visits, and when Chin Hwan-tzu asked the reason, he replied, "He is able to employ good men;—he is a fitting lord of the people."

PART 3. Now low—see on I, p. 1. Fang was 60 li to the southwest of the pres. dia. city

of Gan-k'ew (安丘), dep of Ts'ing-chow Tsze was in the northwest of Choo-shing (諸城) dis, in the same dep Tso-she says, 'Mow-e was not a minister, yet his name is given here, importance being attached to the territory [which he surrendered] (?) The people of Keu made a complaint on the subject to Tsin, and the marquis wished to detain the duke [as a prisoner] Fan H'een-tsze, however, said to him, "You should not do so. When a prince comes to your court, if you seize him there, you have enticed him. To punish him without using your troops, and entice him, thereby effecting your purpose, is the procedure of indolence. Would it not be improper for the lord of covenants to be guilty of these two things? I beg you to send him back. When we have leisure, we can go with troops and punish him." The duke accordingly was allowed to return, and in autumn, in the 7th month, he arrived from Tsin.'

Par 6 For 蚡 Kung-yang has 濱, and Kuh-l'ang, 賁 Fun-ts'eu'en was in Loo, but its site is not determined more particularly. The Chuen says — 'A body of men from Keu came to make reprisals [for the reception of] Mow-e. They made no preparations [against surprise], and on Mow-shin, Shuh Kung defeated them at Fun-ts'eu'en, before they could form in order of battle.'

Par 8 Here for the first time in the text of the classic there appears the great State of Yueh, which was held by viscounts, who had the surname of Sze (姒), and claimed to be descended from king Shaou k'ang of the H'ea dyn. Their capital was Hwuy-k'e (會稽), in the present dis of Shan-yin (|| 陰), dep Shaou-hing (紹興), Cheh-keang. Yueh was helpful to Ts'oo, as a counterpoise to the power of Woo, and became subsequently a powerful antagonist of Ts'oo itself.

The Chuen says — 'In winter, in the 10th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, along with several princes and [the chiefs of] the eastern E, invaded Woo, in retaliation for that State's taking Keih, Leih, and Ma (See the 2d narrative after par 7 of last year). Wei Shay joined him with the army of Fan-yang at H'ea-juy. Chang Show-kwo, a great officer of Yueh, joined him with a force at So. Hearing that the army of Woo had come forth, Wei K'e-k'ang led a force and pursued, but in his hurry he did not make [sufficient] preparations, and the men of Woo defeated him at Ts'eah-gan. The viscount came by hasty stages to the bend of the Lo, and there the viscount of Woo sent his brother, Kwei-yew, with refreshments for the troops. The people of Ts'oo seized him, and were about to smear their drums with his blood, when the king caused him to be asked whether he had consulted the tortoise-shell if his coming would be fortunate. Kwei-yew replied, "[We were told it would be] fortunate. My ruler having heard

that your lordship was going to regulate your troops in our State, consulted our guardian shell in this way,—"I will at once send a messenger with refreshments to the army [of Ts'oo], and ask him to go and observe whether the king's anger be furious or slow, that we may make preparations accordingly. Shall we be able to ascertain this?" The reply given by the indications of the shell was, "That may be known." If your lordship had been gracious, and received me, the messenger, in a friendly way, that would have increased the feeling of ease and indifference in our State, and it would have forgotten that its ruin might soon happen. But now your lordship is furious, surcharged with rage as with thunder and lightning. You have oppressively seized me, and are going to smear your drums with my blood. —Woo will thus know what preparations to make. Feeble though our State is, with all its equipment put early in good order, it may secure rest for its army. To be prepared alike for a difficult or for an easy contest may be said to be fortunate.

"And moreover, the tortoise shell was consulted with reference to the altars of Woo, and not for a single individual. If my blood be used to smear the drums of your army, and our State thereby knows to make preparations to meet all casualties, what could be more fortunate than this? The State has its carefully guarded shell, which in all things it consults. Who can calculate on the regularity of the good fortune or the evil? Shing-puh gave an omen, and the answer to it was at Peih. As to this present journey of mine, [Woo] will keep it in mind to make you a return for it." After this the envoy was not put to death.

'The army of Ts'oo crossed the river at the bend of the Lo, when Ch'ih, director of Shin, effected a junction with the viscount at mount Lae. Wei K'e-k'ang then led forward the army of Fan-yang, and entered Nan-hwae, while the [rest of] the army followed as far as Joo-ts'ing, but it was found that Woo could not be penetrated. The viscount therefore made [simply] a display of his troops at the hill of Ch'e-ke. In this campaign, Woo had made early preparations, so that Ts'oo was obliged to return without effecting anything, [only] taking Kwei-yew back with it. The viscount, being afraid of Woo, made Shay, the director of Shin, wait for orders from him at Ch'aou, and Wei K'e-k'ang do the same at Yu-low — which was according to rule.'

[We have a short notice here about the prince of Ts'in, who fled to Tsin in the duke's 1st year — 'How-tsze of Ts'in returned again to his position in Ts'in, — in consequence of the death of duke King']

Sixth year

六年春，卜，杞

伯益姑。个。

葬，奈景公。

夏，季孫宿如晉。

杞文公。

宋，平，合比，出，介衛。

秋，九月，大雩。

楚，薳罷帥師伐吳。

冬，叔弓如楚。

齊侯伐北燕。

左傳曰：六年春，王正月，杞文公卒，弔如同盟，禮也。大夫如祭，葬景公禮也。

○三月，鄭人歸刑書，叔向使貽子產，書曰：始吾有虞於子，今則已矣。昔先王議事以制，不爲刑辟，懼民之有爭心也。猶不可禁禦，是故閑之以義，料之以政行之，以禮守之以信，奉之以仁，制爲祿位，以勸其從，嚴斷刑罰以威其淫，懼其未也。故晦之以忠，鐸之以行，教之以務，使之以和，臨之以敬，泄之以強，斷之以剛，猶求聖哲之上，明察之官，忠信之長，慈惠之師，民於是乎可任，使也而不生禍亂。民知有梯，則不忌於上，竝有爭心，以徵於書，而徵幸以成之，弗可爲矣。夏有亂政，而作禹刑，商有亂政，而作湯刑，周有亂政，而作九刑，三刑之典，皆叔世也。今吾子相鄭國，作封漁，立謫政，制參機，鑄刑書，將以靖民，不亦難乎？時曰：儀式刑文王之德，日靖四方。又曰：儀刑文王，萬邦作孚。如是何陋之有？民知爭端矣，將棄禮而徵於書，錐刀之末，將盡爭之，亂獄滋豐，賄賂竝行，終子之世，鄭其敗乎？胥聞之，國將亡，必多制，其此之謂乎？復書曰：若吾子之言，僭不才，不能及子孫，吾以救世也。既不承命，敢忘大惠。士文伯曰：火見，鄭其火乎？火未出而作火以鑄刑器，藏爭，辟焉，火如象之，不火何爲？夏，季孫宿如晉，拜莒田也。晉侯享之，有加籩，武子退，使行人告曰：小國之事大國也，苟免於討，不敢求貺，得貺不過三獻。今豆有加，下臣弗堪。

無乃戾也。韓宣子曰：寡君以爲驩也。對曰：寡君猶不敢，況下臣。君之隸也，敢聞加貶，固請徹加，而後卒事。晉人以爲知禮，重其好貨。

宋寺人柳有寵，人佐惡之。華合比曰：我殺之。柳聞之，乃坎用牲埋書，而告公曰：合比將納亡人之族，旣盟於北郭矣。公使視之，有焉。遂逐華合比。合比奔衛，於是華亥欲代右師，乃與寺人柳比，從爲之徵。聞之久矣。公使代之，見於左師。左師曰：汝大也，必亡。汝喪而宗室於人，何有人。亦於汝何有。詩曰：宗子維城，毋俾城壞。毋獨斯畏，汝其畏哉。

⑤六月丙戌，鄭災。

⑥楚公了棄疾如晉，報韓了也。過鄭，鄭罕虎、公孫僑游焉。從鄭伯以勞諸相，辭不敢見。固請見之，見如見一，以具乘馬八匹，私面見了，皮如上卿，以馬六匹，見了產以馬四匹，見了人叔以馬二匹，禁芻牧，探樵不入山，不樵樹，不采蔬，不抽屋，不疆，曰：誓曰，有犯命者，君了廢。小人降，舍不爲暴，下不恩賁，往來如是。鄭卿皆知其將爲士也。韓宣了之適楚也，楚人弗逆。公了棄疾及晉，竟。晉侯將亦弗逆，叔向曰：楚辟我衷，若何效辟。詩曰：爾之教矣，以肯效矣。從我而曰，焉用效人之辟。書曰：聖作則，無寧以善人爲則，而則人之辟乎。凡人爲善，民猶則之，況國君乎。晉侯說，乃逆之。

秋九月，大雩，旱也。

徐儀楚聘於楚，楚了執之，逃歸，懼其叛也，使濞洩伐徐。吳人救之，令尹了蕩帥師伐吳，師於豫章，而次於乾谿。吳人敗其師於房鍾，獲宮廐，尹棄疾了蕩歸，罪於遠洩而殺之。

冬，叔弓如楚，聘，且弔敗也。

十一月，齊侯如晉，請伐北燕也。一曰：相一軌逆諸河，禮也。晉侯許之。十一月，齊侯遂伐北燕，將納簡公，易了曰：



可也。 信未嘗 事不以 諛作大 左右諸 吾君賄 民不貳 有君矣 不入跡

- VI 1 In the duke's sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Yih koo, earl of K'e, died  
 2 There was the burial of duke King of Ts'in  
 3 In summer, Ke-sun Suh went to Ts'in  
 4 There was the burial of duke Wan of K'e.  
 5 Hwa Hoh pe of Sung fled from that State to Wei  
 6 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain  
 7 Wei P'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo  
 8 In winter, Shuh Kung went to Ts'oo  
 9 The marquis of Ts'e invaded North Yen

Par 1. Yih-koo is the viscount of K'e, who came to the court of Loo in the 29th year of S'ang. Here he is mentioned with the rank of earl. The marquis of Ts'in, interested in K'e through his mother, had probably obtained the advancement of rank for the viscount.

Two says, Duke Wan of K'e now died, and [the duke] sent his condolences to that State as the deceased ruler had covenanted with a marquis of Loo—which was according to rule.

Par 2. The Chuen says:—A great officer went to Ts'in, to attend the funeral of duke King—which was according to rule. This is the first instance in the classic where the burial of an earl of Ts'in is mentioned. It shows how with the progress of time, the intercourse between States at a considerable distance from one another was increasing.

[We have here the following narrative about a proceeding of Tze-ch'an in Ch'ing:—In the 8d month, they cast [tripods] in Ch'ing with descriptions [of crimes and their] punishments [upon them]. In consequence of this, Shih Hsiao sent a letter to Tze-ch'an, saying "At first I considered you [as my model] but now I have ceased to do so. The ancient kings deliberated on [all the circumstances] and determined [on the punishment of crimes]; they did not make [general] laws of punishment, fearing lest it should give rise to a contentious spirit among the people. But still, as crimes could not be prevented, they set up for them the barrier of rigour, sought to bring them all to a conformity with their own rectitude, set before them the practice of propriety, and the maintenance of good faith, and cherished them with benevolence. They also instituted emoluments and places to encourage them to follow [their example], and laid down strictly punishments and penalties to awe them from excesses. Fearing lest these things should be insufficient, they therefore taught the people [the principles of] sincerity urged them by [difficult] functions of] conduct, instructed them in what was most important, called for their services in a spirit of harmony came before them in a spirit of sincerity, met exigencies with vigour and gave their decisions with firmness. And in addition to this, they sought to

have sage and wise persons in the highest positions, intelligent discriminating persons in all offices, that elders should be distinguished for true-heartedness and good faith, and teachers for their gentle kindness. In this way the people could be successfully dealt with, and miseries and disorder be prevented from arising.

"When the people know what the exact laws are, they do not stand in awe of their superiors. They also come to have a contentious spirit, and make their appeal to the cap and words, hoping peradventure to be successful in their argument. They can no longer be managed. When the government of Hsiao had fallen into disorder the penal code of Yu was made; under the same circumstances of Shang, the penal code of Tang; and in Chow the code of the nine punishments—those three codes all originated in ages of decay. And now in your administration of Ch'ing, you have made [your new arrangements for] dykes and ditches (See the narrative at the end of IX xxx.), you have established your [new system of] governmental [regulations], which has been so much spoken against (See the 1st narrative IV 7), and you have framed [this imitation of] those 3 codes, casting your descriptions of [crimes and their] punishments—will it not be difficult to keep the people quiet, as you wish to do? The ode (Shu, IV 1. [L.] ode VII) says,

I imitate follow and observe the virtue of king Wan,  
 And daily there is tranquillity in all the regions;

and again (III. 1. ode L 7),

Take your pattern from king Wan,  
 And the myriad States will repose contented in you.

In such a condition, what need is there for any code? When once the people know the grounds for contention, they will cast propriety away and make their appeal to your descriptions. They will all be contending about a matter as small as the point of an awl or a knife. Disorderly litigations will multiply and bribes will walk abroad. Ch'ing will go to ruin, it is to be feared, in the age succeeding

yours I have heard the saying that 'When a State is about to perish, there will be many new enactments in it' Is your proceeding an illustration of it?"

'To this letter Tsze-ch'an returned the following reply, "As to what you say, I have not the talents nor the ability to act for posterity, my object is to save the present age. I cannot accept your instructions, but I dare not forget your great kindness."

'Sze Wan-pih said, "The Ho (Fire) star has made its appearance. Is there going to be fire in Ch'ing? Before the appearance of the Ho, it made use of fire to cast its punishment-tripods. If the Ho is an emblem of fire, must we not expect fire [in Ch'ing]?"'

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin, to make our acknowledgments for the lands of K'e, [which Mow-e had given over to Loo]. The marquis gave him an entertainment at which there was more than the usual number of dishes. On seeing this, he retired, and sent an internuncius to say, "In its service of [your] great State, [our] small State, if it can [only] escape measures of punishment, does not seek for any gifts. I should get no more than three rounds of the cup. But now there are more dishes than are sufficient for that, and I dare not accept [such distinction] — would it not be an offence if I did so?" Han Seuen-tsze said, "Our ruler intended to promote your joy," but [Woo-tsze] replied, "It is what my ruler would not [accept], how much less dare I, who am but as a menial servant of [your] ruler, listen to such an addition to his gift!" He then firmly requested that the additional dishes might be removed, and only when that was done did he return to the completion of the entertainment. The people of Tsin, out of respect to the knowledge of propriety [which he thus showed], made the [usual] offerings of friendship to him very large.'

Par 5 The Chuen says — 'Lew, master of the eunuchs, of Sung was a favourite, but was hated by Tso, [the duke's] eldest son, and Hwa Hoh-pe undertook to kill him. Lew heard of it, dug a hole, killed a victim and buried [its blood], with the tablets [of a covenant] over it." He then informed the duke, saying, "Hoh-pe is about to bring back the fugitive (Hwa Shin, see on IX xvii 6) and his family, and has made a covenant to that effect in the northern suburbs." The duke sent to see, and [the evidence] was found, on which he drove out Hwa Hoh-pe, who fled to Wei.

'On this, Hwa Hae (Younger brother of Hoh-pe) wished to get the office of master of the Right in the room [of Hoh-pe], and by agreement with the eunuch Lew, came and gave confirmatory evidence, saying that he had heard of his brother's purpose for a long time, so the duke gave him the appointment. [Having received this], he went to see the master of the Left, who said to him, "A fellow like you is sure to come to ruin. You have ruined the members of your own House. What part have you in men, and what part have men in you?" The ode (She, III ii ode X 7) says,

'The circle of relatives is like a wall  
Do not let your wall be destroyed,  
Do not, solitary, be consumed with terrors,

You have reason to live in such terror!"'

[We have here two narratives —

1st 'In the 6th month, on Ping-seuh, a fire broke out in Ch'ing (See the conclusion of the narrative after par 2)'

2d 'The Kung-tze K'e-tsih went to Tsin, — to return the visit of Han-tze. As he was passing by [the capital of] Ch'ing, Han Hoo, Kung-sun K'eaon, and Yüw Keih followed the earl to pay him the compliments of the journey at Cha, but he declined and would not presume to see them. [The earl], however, earnestly begged that he would do so, [which he did], behaving [to the earl] as if he were having an interview with [his own king]. [Afterwards] he had a private audience of [the earl], with eight of his chariots [as his offering], he saw Tsze-p'e, as if he were seeing the highest minister [of Ts'oo], with an offering of 6 horses, Tsze-ch'an, with 4, and Tsze-t'ae-shuh with 2. He forbade his foragers, grooms, and fuel-collectors to go into the fields. No trees were to be cut down for fuel, no grain nor vegetables were to be gathered, no houses were to be unroofed, there was to be no violent begging. He made a declaration that whoever should violate his orders, if he were an officer, he should be dismissed, and if he were a smaller man, he should be reduced still lower. His men were to exercise no oppression where they lodged, hosts should not be troubled by their guests. In going and returning he observed these rules. The three ministers of Ch'ing all knew that he would [yet] be king [of Ts'oo].

'When Han Seuen-tsze went to Ts'oo, they did not meet him, and now when the Kung-tze K'e-tsih was come to the borders of Tsin, the marquis intended in the same way not to meet him. Shuh-h'ang, however, said, "Ts'oo is perverse, and we are correct — why should we imitate its perversity? The ode (She, II vii. ode IX 2) says,

'What you teach  
The people all imitate.'

Let us follow our own way, should we imitate the perversity of others? The Shoo says, 'The sage forms a pattern.' Instead of taking good men for our pattern, shall we find it in men who are perverse? If an ordinary man do what is good, the people will take him for their pattern, — how much more will they do so in the case of the ruler of a State!"

'The marquis of Tsin was pleased, and sent to meet the envoy accordingly.'

Par 6 This sacrifice was offered because, as Tso says, there was now 'a drought.'

Par 7 The Chuen says — 'E-ts'oo, of Seu came on a complimentary visit to Ts'oo, where he was seized by the viscount, but he effected his escape and returned home. The viscount, fearing that Seu would revolt, sent Wei Seeh to invade it, when a body of men from Woo went to its aid. On this, Tsze-tang, the chief minister, led a force and invaded Woo. He collected his troops at Yu-chang, and halted at Kan-k'e. The men of Woo defeated his army at Fang-chang, taking prisoner K'e-tsih, director of the palace stables. Tsze-tang laid the blame [of the defeat] on Wei Seeh, and put him to death.'

Par 8 Tso says this was a complimentary visit, and to offer Loo's condolences on the defeat [sustained from Woo].

Par 9 The Chuen says — 'In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'e went to Tsin, to ask



罪，所以封汝也。若從有司，是無所執逃也。逃而舍之，是無陪臺也。十事無乃闕乎？昔武王數紂之罪，以告諸侯。紂爲人卜，逋逃，萃淵藪，故大致死焉。君始求諸侯，而則紂無乃不可乎？若以文之法取之，盜有所在矣。上取而中以往，盜有寵，不可得也。遂赦之。

楚了成章華之臺，願與諸侯落之。大宰蕀啟彊曰：「臣能得魯侯。」遠啟彊來召公，辭曰：「昔先君成公命我先人，嬰齊曰：『台不忍先君之好，將使衡父照臨楚國，鎮撫其社稷，以輯寧爾民。』嬰齊受命於蜀，奉承以來，弗敢失隕，而致諸宗祧。我先君共王引領北望，日月以冀，傳序相授，於今四一矣。嘉惠不台，唯襄公之辱臨我喪，孤與其悼心失圖，社稷之不阜，況能懷思君德？今君若步玉趾，辱見寡君，寵靈楚國，以信蜀之役，致君之嘉惠，是寡君既受賜矣。何蜀之敢望？且先君鬼神實嘉賴之，豈唯寡君？君若不來，使臣請問行期，寡君將承質幣而見於蜀，以請先君之貺。」公將往，夢襄公祖梓慎曰：「君不果行，襄公之適楚也。夢周公祖而行，今襄公實祖，君其不行。」了服患伯曰：「行，先君未嘗適楚，故周公祖以道之。襄公適楚矣，而祖以道君，不行，何之？」月，公如楚，鄭伯勞於師之梁。孟僖了爲介，不能相儀，及楚，不能答郊勞。

夏四月，甲辰朔，日有食之。晉侯問於天文伯曰：「誰將當日食？」對曰：「魯衛忠之，衛人魯小。」公曰：「何故？」對曰：「去衛地如魯地，於是有災，魯實受之。且人咎其衛君乎？魯將卜卿。」公曰：「詩所謂彼日而食，何不臧者，何也？」對曰：「不善政之謂也。國無政，不用善，則自取謫於日月之災，故政不可不慎也。務而曰：『擇人，』因民，口從時。」晉人來治杞田，季孫將以成與之，謝息爲孟孫守，不可。曰：「人有言曰：『雖有挈餅之知，守不假器，禮也。』人子從君，而守臣喪邑，雖台了亦有猜焉。季孫曰：『君之在楚，於晉罪也，又不聽晉，魯罪重矣。』晉師必台，吾無以待之，不如與之。」間晉而取諸杞，台與了桃，成及，誰敢有之，是得一成也。魯無憂而孟孫益邑，了何病焉？辭以無山，與之萊柞，乃遷於桃，晉人爲杞取成。

○楚子享公於新臺，使長鬣者相，好以大屈，既而悔之，遂啟疆聞之，見公，公辭之，拜賀公曰：「何賀？」對曰：「齊與晉，越欲此久矣，寡君無適與也，而傳諸君，君其備禦三鄰，慎守寶矣，敢不賀乎？」公懼，乃反之。

○鄭子產聘於晉，晉侯有疾，韓宣子逆客，私焉，曰：「寡君寢疾於今三月矣，並走羣望，有加而無瘳，今夢黃熊入於寢門，其何厲鬼也？」對曰：「以君之明，子爲大政，其何厲之有？昔堯殛鯀於羽山，其神化爲黃熊，以入於羽淵，實爲夏郊，三代祀之，晉爲盟主，其或者未之祀也乎？」韓子祀夏郊，晉侯有問，賜子產莒之二方鼎。子產爲豐施歸州田於韓，宣子曰：「日君以夫公孫段爲能任其事，而賜之州田，今無祿早世，不獲久享君德，其子弗敢有，不敢以聞於君，私致諸子。」宣子辭，子產曰：「古人有言曰：『其父析薪，其子弗克負荷。』施將懼不能任其先人之祿，其況能任大國之賜，縱吾子爲政而可，後之人若闕有疆場之言，敝邑獲戾，而豐氏受其大討，吾子取州，是免敝邑於戾，而建豐氏也，敢以爲請。」宣子受之，以告晉侯。晉侯以與宣子，宣子爲初言，病有之，以易原縣於欒，大心、○鄭人相驚，以伯有曰：「伯有至矣！」則皆走，不知所往。錡刑書之，歲二月，或夢伯有介而行，曰：「壬子，余將殺帶也。」明年壬寅，余又將殺段也。及壬子，駟帶卒，國人益懼。齊燕平之月，壬寅，公孫段卒，國人愈懼。其明月，子產立公孫洩及良止，以撫之，乃止。子大叔問其故，子產曰：「見有所歸，乃不爲厲。吾爲之歸也。」大叔曰：「公孫洩何爲？子產曰：「說也，爲身無義而圖說，從政有所反之，以取媚也，不媚不信，不信，民不從也。及子產適晉，趙景子問焉，曰：「伯有猶能爲鬼乎？」子產曰：「能。人生始化曰魄，既生魄，陽曰魂，用物精多，則魂魄強，是以有精爽至於神明。匹夫匹婦強死，其魂魄猶能憑依於人，以爲淫厲，況良弔我先君穆公之胄，子良之孫，子耳之子，敝邑之卿，從政三世矣，鄭雖無腆，抑諺曰：『萋爾國而三世執其政柄，其用物也弘矣，其取精也多矣。』其族又大，所憑厚矣，而強死能爲鬼，不亦宜乎？」

○子皮之族，飲酒無度，故馬師氏與子皮氏有惡，齊師還自燕之月，罕朔殺罕魋，罕朔奔晉，韓宣子問其位於

子產了產，君之羈臣，苟得容以逃死，何位之敢擇？卿違從大夫之位，罪人以其罪降，占之制也。朔於敝邑，帶大大也，其官馬師也，獲戾而逃，唯執政所寘之，得免其死，爲患大矣。又敢求位，宣子爲了產之敏也，使從嬖人

秋八月，衛襄公卒。晉大夫言於范獻子曰：「衛事晉爲睦，晉不禮焉，庇其賊人，而取其地，故諸侯貳。」詩曰：「鵲巢在原，兄弟急難。」又曰：「死喪之威，兄弟孔懷。」兄弟之不睦，於是乎不弔，況遠人，誰敢歸之？今又不禮於衛之嗣，衛必叛我，是絕諸侯也。獻子以告韓宣子，宣子說，使獻子如衛弔，且反戚。衛齊忠告喪於周，日請命，一使成簡公如衛弔，日追命襄公。叔父陟恪，在我先王之左右，以佐事上帝。余敢忘周南、中、南。

九月，公卒自楚。孟僖子病，不能相禮，乃講學之，苟能禮者從之。及其將死也，召其大人口，禮人之幹也，無禮，無以立。台聞將有達者，曰：「孔丘，聖人之後也，而滅於宋，其祖弗父何以有宋而授厲公？及止考父佐戴，武宣命茲益只，故其鼎銘云：『命而僂，用命而偃。』命而俯，循牆而走，亦莫余敢侮。饗於是，鬻於是，以餬余口。其且也如是。」臧孫紇有言曰：「聖人有明德者，若不當世，其後必有達人。今其將仕孔丘乎？我若獲沒，必屬說與何忌於人了，使事之而學禮焉，以定其位，故孟懿子與南宮敬叔師事仲尼。仲尼曰：『能補過者，君了也。』」詩曰：「君了是則是效，孟僖子可則效已矣。」

○單獻子棄親用讎。冬十月，辛酉，襄頃之族殺獻公而立成公。

十一月，季武子卒。晉侯謂伯瑕曰：「台所問日食，從父可常乎？」對曰：「不可。六物不同，民心不壹，事序不類，官職不則，同始異終，胡可常也？」詩曰：「或燕燕居息，或惓惓事國，其買終也如是。」公曰：「何謂六物？」對曰：「歲時、日月、星辰，是謂也。公曰：『多，詔寡人，辰而莫同，何謂辰？』」對曰：「日月之會是謂辰，故以配日。」

衛襄公夫人姜氏無子，嬖人嬖始子孟懿子，孔成了夢康叔謂曰：「立元，余使讎之孫圉與史苟相之。」史朝亦夢康

叔謂己、余將命而子苟、與孔烝鉏  
之曾孫圉相元史朝見成子、告之  
夢、夢協晉韓宣子爲政聘於諸侯  
之歲、猶殆生子、名之曰元、孟繁之  
足不良、弱行、孔成子以周易筮之、  
曰元尚享衛國、主其社稷、遇屯又  
曰余尚立、繫尚克嘉之、遇屯之地  
以元史朝史朝曰元亨、又何疑焉  
成子曰非長之謂乎、對曰康叔名  
之、可謂長矣、孟非人也、將不列於  
宗、不可謂長、且其繇曰利建侯、嗣  
吉、何建、建非嗣也、二卦皆云子其  
建之、康叔命之、二卦告之、筮與於  
夢、武王所用也、非從何爲、弱足者  
居侯主社稷、臨祭祀、奉民人、事  
神、從會朝、又焉得居、各以所利、不  
亦可乎、故孔成子立、宣公十二月、  
癸亥、葬衛襄公

- VII 1 In the [dukes] seventh year, in spring in the king's first month, [North Yen] made peace with Ts'e.  
2 In the third month, the duke went to Ts'oo  
3 Shuh-sun Shay went to Ts'e to make a covenant.  
4 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'ueh shun, the sun was eclipsed  
5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow shun, Goh, marquis of Wei, died  
6 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo  
7 In winter in the eleventh month, on Kwei we, Ke-sun Suh died  
8 In the twelfth month, on Kwei hae, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.

Par 1 The Chuen says:— This peace was what Ts'e sought for. On Kwei we, the marquis was halting at Kwoh, and the people of Yen made professions of accommodation, saying "Our poor State knows its guilt, and dares not but listen to your orders. With some worthless articles of our former rulers, we beg to apologize for our offence." Kung-sun Bsh said, "Having received its submission we can return; and when an occasion is presented we can make [another] movement. In the 2d month, on Mow woo, a v. nant was made at Sou-shang. The people of Yen sent to the marquis a daughter of their ruling House, and the bribes of a jooz vase, a casket of jade, and a white jade goblet with ears. He then returned [to Ts'e], without having succeeded in his [professed] object.

According to this Chuen, the peace made in the text was between North Yen and Ts'e, and 北燕 must be supplied from the concluding par of last year. Kung yang and Kuh-liang, however took a different view and supposed that Loo and Ts'e were the parties in the pacification—a view in which they have been followed by a host of critics. Certainly there are many paragraphs in the 1 to where Loo or we has to be supplied as the subject; and so far this would be in line with them.

Still there is no evidence of there being any strife between Loo and Ts'e at this time, which could furnish a reason for their making peace; and considering the allusions to a peace between Yen and Ts'e in subsequent narratives, the view of Ts'o-shu is decidedly to be preferred. No stress is to be laid on the use of 既 which simply — 及. The critics, who find mysteries in the terms of the classic, say that 及 is used from the standpoint of Loo, and 既 from the standpoint of the other party with which Loo has covenanted; that when Loo has taken the initiative, 及 is used, and where it has followed suit, we find 既.

[There is here appended the following narrative about the king of Ts'oo:— When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he had made for himself a royal flag which he used in hunting. The Woo-director Woo-yu broke [the staff of] it, saying, "Two rulers in one State!— this is what no one can endure. When the chief minister became king, he built the palace of Chang hwa, and recalled [a number of] exiles to 54 [the offices in] it, and among them was a

janitor of Woo-yu, whose master tried to seize him. The [king's] officers would not give the man up, saying, "It is a great offence to seize a man in the royal palace," and with this they seized [Woo-yu, and carried him off], to lay the matter before the king. The king was about to fall to drinking, and Woo-yu defended himself, saying, "The dominion of the Son of Heaven extends everywhere, the princes of States have their own defined boundaries. This is the ancient rule,—within the State and the kingdom, what ground is there which is not the ruler's? What individual of all whom the ground supports is there that is not the ruler's subject? Hence the ode (She, II vi ode I 2) says,

'Under the wide heavens  
All is the king's land  
Along the coasts of the land  
All are the king's servants'

The day has its ten divisions of time, and of men there are the ten classes, and so it is that inferiors serve their superiors, and that superiors perform their duties to the Spirits. Hence, the king makes the duke (=the prince of a State) his servant, the duke, the great officer, the great officer, the [simple] officer, the officer, the licitor, the licitor, the crowd of underlings, the underling, the menials, the menial, the labourer, the labourer, the servant, the servant, the helper. There are also grooms for the horses, and shepherds for the cattle,—and thus there is provision for all things.

"Your officers say, 'Why do you seize a man in the king's palace?' but where else should I seize him? A law of king Wän of Chow says 'Make great inquisition for fugitives,' and it was thus he got the kingdom. Our former ruler king Wän made the law of Puh-gow, which says, 'He with whom the thief conceals his booty is as guilty as the thief,' and it was he who extended his boundary to the Joo. If we are to accept what your officers say, we shall have no means of apprehending runaway servants, if we are to let them go without trying to apprehend them, we shall have no servants at all. There is surely some misconduct of your majesty's affairs here.

"Formerly when king Woo was enumerating the crimes of Chow, for the information of the princes, he said, 'Chow is the host of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep (See the Shoo, V in 6).' On this account every one was willing to go to the death [against Chow]. You, our ruler and king, have just begun to seek [the adherence of] the States,—does it not seem improper in you to be imitating Chow? If we are to apprehend them according to the laws of the two Wän, there is [another] thief here!" The king said, "Take your servant and begone. That [other] thief is a favourite, and cannot yet be got!" With this he pardoned [Woo-yu]."

Par 2 The Chuen says —'When the viscount of Ts'oo had completed the tower of Chang-hwa, he wished to have the princes of the States present at the inauguration feast. The grand-administrator Wei K'e-k'ang, having said that he could secure the attendance of the marquis of Loo, came to Loo to call the duke, and made the following speech, "Your former ruler, duke Ch'ing, gave his commands to our former great officer Ying-ts'e, to the

effect that he would not forget the friendship between his predecessors and our rulers, and would send H'ing-foo on a brightening visit to Ts'oo, to support and comfort its altars, in order that the peace of its people might be secured. Ying-ts'e received his commands at Shuh (See on VIII in 9), brought them along with him, careful that nothing should be lost, and made an announcement of them in our ancestral temple. From that time our ruler, king Kung, looked with outstretched neck to the north, from day to day and month to month hoping [that the ruler of Loo would come to his court]. In the order of succession four kings have since given our State one to the other, and the acceptable kindness [of Loo] has not come to us. Duke Ssang alone condescended to come to the funeral [of our last king], and then our ruler and his ministers, in the grief of their hearts, were not able to take proper measures. They had not leisure to attend to the business of the altars, and much less were they able to show how they cherished and thought of his kindness. If now your lordship will direct your gemmeous steps, and condescend to visit our ruler, and extend your favouring influence to our State, so as to make good the agreement at Shuh, and reach to us with your acceptable kindness, our ruler will have received your favour, and not presume to look for anything like what was promised at Shuh. The Spirits of his predecessors will be pleased also, and feel their obligation,—not he only will be indebted to you. If your lordship will not come, let me ask the time when we must put ourselves in motion. Our ruler will bring his hostages and offerings, and see you in Shuh, to beg from you the gift promised by your predecessor."

"When the duke was about to go, he dreamt that duke Ssang was offering [for his safe journey] the sacrifice to the Spirits of the way. [On this], Tsze Shun said, "You must not carry out the purpose of going. When duke Ssang was going to Ts'oo, he dreamt that the duke of Chow offered this sacrifice for him, and went accordingly. And now he himself is offering it for you. Your lordship must not go." Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih, however said, "You must go. Our former ruler had never gone to Ts'oo, and therefore the duke of Chow offered the sacrifice to lead him on. Duke Ssang went to Ts'oo, and now he offers the sacrifice to lead you on the way. If you do not go [to Ts'oo], where should you go to?"

"In the 8d month, the duke went to Ts'oo. The earl of Ch'ing paid him the compliments of the journey at Sze-che-l'ang. M'ang He-tsze, who was with the duke as assistant, could not direct the observances to be employed, and when they arrived at Ts'oo, he could not respond properly at the complimentary meeting in the suburbs."

Par 3 For 舍, here and afterwards, Tso-sho and Kuh-l'ang have 婁. This was the son of Shuh-sun P'aou or Muh-tsze, raised to succeed his father by the 'waiting-boy New,' as related in the narrative at the end of the 5th year. He is called generally in the Chuen by his posthumous title of Ch'aou-tsze (昭了)



**III.** As on V III. 6. Those who contend that the peace in the 1st par. was between Loo and Tse, press this notice in view of their view and understand that the covenant here was in confirmation of that peace. Tse-she says nothing on this par. **III.** is not decisive in the case. It is sometimes employed of the renewal or confirmation of a covenant (**III. III.**); but we find it employed also where there had been no previous agreement.

Par. 4. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of March 11th, A.C. 631.

The Chuen says:—The marquess of Tsin a k'el hse Wan-pih in whom [the omen of] the eclipse would be fulfilled and was answered, "Loo and Wei will both feel its evil effects;—Wei to a greater extent, and Loo to a less. "Why so?" said the marquess. "It went," said Wan-pih, "from Wei on to Loo. There will be calamity in the future, and Loo will also feel it. The greater evil indicated is to light, perchance, on the ruler of Wei, and [the less] on the high est minister of Loo." The marquess said, "What does the ode (Shu, II. IV. ode 12. 2) mean, when it says,

'When the sun is eclipsed,  
How bad it is!

The officer replied "It shows the effects of bad government. When there is not good gov't. in a State, and good men are not employed, it brings a proof to itself from the reality of the sun and moon. Government therefore, must not in any wise be neglected. The three things to be specially attended to in it are—1st, the selection of good men [for office]; 2d, consideration of the people; and 3d, the right observance of the seasons."

[We have five narratives appended here:—

1st. An officer came to Loo from Tsin to settle the question about the lands of K'o (See on IX. xlix. 7), and Ke-sun was about to give Ch'ing [up] to him. Hsueh Keli, who was holding that city for Mang-sun objected, saying "There is a saying that though a man have only knowledge enough to carry a pitcher as he is in charge of it, he must not lend it to another; and it expresses what is proper. My master is in attendance on our ruler; and if I lose the city of which I am in charge [during his absence], even you yourself will be suspicious of me." Ke-sun replied "Our ruler's being in Ts'ao is held by Tsin to be an offence; and if [in this matter] we do not listen to Tsin, Loo's offence will be aggravated. The army of Tsin will be upon us, and I am not prepared for it. We had better give the city [up] and when Tsin affords an opportunity we can take it [again] from K'o. I will give you Ts'ao [instead];—when Ch'ing is got back, who will dare to hold it [but Mang-sun]? You will thus get two Ch'ing. Loo will not have to sorrow and Mang-sun will have an additional city. Why should you be distressed [by what I propose]? Hsueh Keli objected to Ts'ao, because there was no hill near it on which Ke-sun gave him the hills of Lao and Ts'ao. He then removed to Ts'ao, and the officer of Tsin took Ch'ing in behalf of K'o.

2d. 'The viscount of Ts'ao entertained the duke in his new tower having a man with a long beard to direct [the <sup>circles</sup>]. His gift of friendship [to the duke] was the [bow called] Ts'ao. He repented afterwards that he had given it, and Wei Ke-k'ang having heard that he did so, visited the duke, who told him about it on which he bowed, and offered his congratulations. "What is there to congratulate me about?" said the duke. "Tse, Tsin, and Yuei" replied Ke-k'ang "have wished to get this [bow] for a long time. Our ruler could not make up his mind to which to give it, and now he has given it to you. You must be prepared to withstand [the attempts of] those three neighbours [to take it from you], and carefully guard the precious treasure." The duke on this got frightened, and returned the article.

3d. Tse-ch'ian having gone on a compulsory visit to Tsin, the marquess was then ill, and Han Shuen-tze met the guest, and had a private conversation with him. "Our ruler" said he "has been ill in bed now for 3 months. We have been all running about and sacrificing to all the hills and streams in Tsin, but his illness has got worse instead of better. He has now dreamt that a yellow bear entered the door of his chamber;—what evil devil can that be?" "With a prince so intelligent as your ruler" replied Tse-ch'ian, "and with the government in your hands, what evil devil can there be? Anciently when Yao put K'wan to death on mount Yu, his spirit changed into a yellow bear which entered into the abyss of Yu. He was under the Hsia dynasty the assessor at its sacrifice to Heaven, and in fact the three dynasties all sacrificed to him. Tsin, though lord of covenants, has perhaps not yet sacrificed to him." Han Shuen-tze on this offered the Hsia sacrifice to Heaven, when the marquess became somewhat better, and gave to Tse-ch'ian the two square tripods of K'ou.

Tse-ch'ian, in behalf of Fung She, restored the lands of Chow (See the 3d narr. after III. 4) to Han Shuen-tze saying "Formerly your ruler from regard to the ability with which Hung-sun T'wan discharged his duties, conferred on him the land of Chow. Now he has, unfortunately died an early death, and has not been able to enjoy long your ruler's kindness. His son does not presume to hold the lands. I do not presume to represent the matter to your ruler and privately surrender them to you." Shuen-tze declined the proffer, but Tse-ch'ian said to him, "People have the saying, The father split the firewood and the son was not able to carry it. She will be afraid lest he should not be able to sustain the weight of his father's office; how much less can he sustain the weight of that gift from your great State. Though it might be possible for him to do so, while the gov't. is in your hands, yet with other men that will follow you, if there should come to be any words about border matters, our poor State will be held to be an offender, and the Fung family will experience the weight of [Tsin's] indignation. If you will take [back] Chow, you will save our State from any charge of offence, and you will make the Fung family stronger;—I venture to make it my request that you will do so." Shuen-tze on this received Chow and informed the marquess of it who gave it to him. Because of what he had said before (See the narrative

already referred to), however, he was distressed by the idea of holding it, and exchanged it with Yeh Ta-sin for the district of Yuen.

4th 'The people of Ch'ing frightened one another about Pih-yew (See on IX xxx 7), saying, "Pih-yew is here!" on which they would all run off, not knowing where they were going to. In the 2d month of the year when the descriptions of punishments were cast (I e, the last year), one man dreamt that Pih-yew walked by him in armour, and said, 'On Jin-tze I will kill 'Tae, and next year, on Jin-yin, I will kill 'Twan'. When Sze Tae did die on Jin-tze, the terror of the people increased. [This year], in the month that Ts'e and Yen made peace, on Jin-yin, Kung-sun Twan died, and the people were still more frightened, till in the following month Tsze Ch'an appointed Kung-sun S'eh (Son of Tsze-k'ung, the Kung-tze K'ia, put to death in the 19th year of duke Scang), and Leang Che (Son of Pih-yew), [as successors to their fathers], in order to soothe the people, after which [their terrors] ceased. 'Tsze-t'ae-shuh asked his reason for making these arrangements, and 'Tsze-ch'an replied, "When a ghost has a place to go to, it does not become an evil spirit. I have made such a place for the ghost." "But why have you done so with Kung-sun S'eh?" pursued 'T'ae-shuh. "To afford a reason for my conduct," was the reply. "I contrived that there might be such a reason, because of the unrighteousness [of Pih-yew]. The administrator of government has his proper course, and if he takes the contrary one, it is that he may give pleasure [to the people]. If they are not pleased with him, they will not put confidence in him, and if they do not put confidence in him, they will not obey him."

'When Tsze-ch'an went to Ts'in, Chaou King-tze asked him whether it was possible for Pih-yew to become a ghost. "Yes," replied 'Tsze-ch'an. "When a man is born, [we see] in his first movements what is called the animal soul. After this has been produced, it is developed into what is called the spirit. By the use of things the subtle elements are multiplied, and the soul and spirit become strong. They go on in this way, growing in etherealness and brightness, till they become [thoroughly] spiritual and intelligent. When an ordinary man or woman dies a violent death, the soul and spirit are still able to keep hanging about men in the shape of an evil apparition, how much more might this be expected in the case of Leang Scaou, a descendant of our former ruler duke Muh, the grandson of Tsze-l'ang, the son of 'Tsze-urh, all ministers of our State, engaged in its government for three generations! Although Ch'ing be not great, and in fact, as the saying is, an insignificant State, yet belonging to a family which had held for three generations the handle of government, his use of things had been extensive, the subtle essences which he had imbibed had been many. His clan also was a great one, and his connexions were distinguished. Is it not entirely reasonable that, having died a violent death, he should be a ghost?"

5th 'Among the members of 'Tsze-p'e's clan there were measureless drinkers, in consequence of which there arose enmity between Ma-sze and 'Tsze-p'e. In the month when the army of 'Ts'e returned from Yeu, Han Shoh (Ma-sze) killed

Han T'uy (a brother of 'Tsze-p'e), and fled to Ts'in. Han Seuen-tze asked 'Tsze-ch'an what rank should be assigned to him, and was answered, "He is a refugee with your ruler. If he be received by you so that he shall escape death, what rank will he dare to seek? It is the ancient rule, that when a minister withdraws [from his State], his rank becomes that of a great officer, and that criminals descend according to their crimes. In our State Shih was a great officer of the second degree. His office was that of Master of the Horse (Ma-sze, 馬師). He fled after the commission of a crime. Assign to him whatever place you, as administrator of the govt. [of Ts'in], please. If he escape death, your kindness will be great. How dare he beyond that ask for any rank?" Han Seuen-tze, out of regard to the ability of 'Tsze-ch'an, made Shih be ranked among great officers of the lowest degree."

Par 5 The Chuen says — 'In the 8th month, duke Scang of Wei died. One of the great officers of Ts'in spoke to Fan H'een-tze, saying, "Wei's service of Ts'in has been most faithful, and Ts'in has not treated it with courteous propriety. It has protected its rebel (Sun Lin-foo, see on IX xxxi 2, *et al*), and accepted his territory, causing disaffection among the States. The ode (Shie, II ode iv 3 and 2) says,

'There is the wagtail on the plain, —  
A brother brings swift succour in  
difficulty,'

and again,

'On the dreaded occasions of death and  
mourning,  
They are brothers who will greatly sympathize'

If we do not cultivate harmony with [the States of] our brethren, and so do not condole with them [in their sorrows], how much more will we behave so to States that are not related to us! and who will seek our alliance? If now we go on to show discourtesy to the heir of Wei, that State is sure to revolt from us, — we shall be cutting ourselves off from the States." H'een-tze reported these remarks to Han Seuen-tze, who was pleased with them, and sent H'een-tze to Wei to offer condolences, and also restored to it the lands of Ts'eih.

'Ts'e Goh of Wei went to announce the duke's death in Chow, and also begged an expression of [the king's] favour. The king sent duke K'een of Ch'ing to Wei to present his condolences, and gave the following expression of his favour to the deceased duke Scang — "My uncle has ascended in his reverence, and is at the right and left of the kings, my predecessors, to assist them in the service of God. I dare not forget [our ancestors] Kaou-yu and A-yu."

Par 6 The Chuen says — In the 9th month, the duke arrived from 'Ts'oo. M'ang H'e-tze felt distressed that he had not been able to direct the ceremonial observances (See on par 2), and set about learning them. If there were any one well skilled in them, he would repair to him. [Afterwards], when he was about to die, he called to him his great officers, and said to them, "[A knowledge of] propriety is the stem of a man. Without it, it is impossible for him to

stand firm. I have heard that there is arising a man of vast intelligence called K'ung K'ew a descendant of the sage [T'ang], but whose family was driven [to Lo] from Sang. His ancestor Puh-foo Ho ought have paid sad Sang, but he resigned it to duke Le. After him there was Ch'ing K'ou foo who gave his aid to [the dukes] Tse, Wou, and Tsuen. He rose to the third degree of office, and with every step his humility increased. Hence the inscription on the tripod [in his ancestral temple] said, "When he got the 1st appointment, he walked with his head bowed down. When he got the 2d, with his shoulders bent; when he got the 3d with his whole body bent. In this way he hurried along the walls, [saying to himself], "Thus no one will presume to despise me. I will have once in this [boiler] I will have grain in this [boiler]—to satisfy my hunger (See the preface to vol. IV par 18)." Such was his humility [Now] Tsang-sun Heli used to say: If a sagely man of brilliant virtue do not get distinguished in his time, among his posterity there is sure to be some one of vast intelligence. This is now to be verified, probably, in K'ung K'ew. If I got to die a natural death you must put Yueh and Ho-ke under life charge, making them serve him and learn ceremonial observances from him, in order that they may be established in their places."

In this way M'ang E-tse (Ho-ke) and Nan-kung K'ing-shuh (Yueh) became disciples of Chung na. Chung na said, "He who can mend his errors is a superior man. The ode (She, II. 1. ode L 2) says,

The officers have in them a model for imitation.

M'ang He-tse may serve for such a model.

[There is here a brief notice — H'ien, viscount of Shen, threw on one side his relatives, and employed refugees. This winter in the 10th month, on Sin-yew the clans descended from [the dukes] S'ang and K'ing put duke H'ien to death, and appointed [his younger brother] duke Ch'ing in his room.]

Par 7 The Chuen says:— In the 11th month Ke Woo-tse died. The marquess of Tsin said to Pih-h'ia, "What you said, when I asked you about the eclipse of the sun, has been fulfilled. May such verification be constantly calculated on? No, was the reply "The six things are not the same. People's minds are not one. The order of things is not similar. Offices and duties are not of the same pattern. The beginning may be the same and the end different. How can the verification be constantly calculated on? The ode (She, II. vi. ode L 4) says,

Some enjoy their ease and rest;

Some are all worn in the service of the State.

Such may be the difference of the end." "What do you mean by the six things?" said the marquess. Pih-h'ia replied, "The year, the seasons, the days, the months, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces." The duke continued, "Tell me more. What do you mean by saying that the zodiacal spaces are not the same?" "The conjunctions of the sun and moon," was the answer "form what are called the zodiacal spaces. Hence they serve to order the regulation of the days [of the months].

Par 8. The Chuen says:— The lady K'ang wife of duke S'ang of Wei had no son, but his favourite, Chow-goh, bore to him, first of all, Chih K'ung Ch'ing-tse dreamt that K'ang shuh (The 1st marquess of Wei) told him that he must secure the succession to Yuen, adding "I will make Ke a grandson Yu, and Sze Kow his ministers." Sze Ch'ao also dreamt that K'ang shuh said to him, "I will appoint your son Kow and Yu, the great-grandson of K'ung Ch'ing-tse, to be ministers to Yuen. Ch'ao went to see Ch'ing-tse, and told him this dream,—agreeing with that which he had had.

In the year that Han Shu-tse became chief minister of Tsin, and went paying complimentary visits to the States, Chow-goh bore a [second] son, and gave him the name of Yuen. The fact of K'ing-chih were not good, so that he was feeble in walking. K'ung Ch'ing-tse consulted the Chow Yih by the reeds, propounding the inquiry whether Yuen would enjoy the State of Wei, and preside over its altars; and he got the diagram Chun (屯 ䷂). He also propounded the inquiry whether he should set up Chih, and if this appointment would be acceptable, in answer to which he got Chun and then P'ei (比 ䷇). He showed these results to Sze Ch'ao, who said, Under Chun we have the words, Great and penetrating (元亨 as if Great were the name Yuen) after this, can you have any doubt?" "But is it not," said Ch'ing-tse "a description of the elder?" "K'ang-shuh," was the reply "so named him, and we may therefore interpret it of the superior. M'ang is not a [complete] man, he cannot have a place in the ancestral temple; he cannot be pronounced the superior. And moreover under Chun it is said, A price must be set up. If the heir were lucky no other would have to be set up. That term indicates another and not the heir. The same words occur in both your divinations. You must set up Yuen. K'ang-shuh commended it, and both your diagrams direct it. When the reeds accorded with his dream, King Woo followed them. If you do not do so, what will you do? He who is feeble in walking must remain at home. The prince has to preside at the altars, to be present at sacrifices, take the charge of the people and officers, serve the Spirits, attend at conferences and visit other courts: how is it possible that he should remain at home? Is it not right that each [of the brothers] should have what is most advantageous to him?" In consequence of this, K'ung Ch'ing-tse appointed [Yuen or] duke Ling in his father's place and in the 12th month, on Kwei hae duke S'ang was buried.

## Eighth year.

一章八年春，陳侯之弟招殺陳  
二章世子偃師。三章夏四月，辛丑，  
四章陳侯溺卒。五章叔弓如晉。  
六章楚人執陳行人，徵師殺  
七章之。八章秋，莩丁紅。九章陳公子留，出奔鄭。  
十章陳人殺其大夫公子過。  
十一章人弔。冬十月，壬午，楚師  
十二章滅陳。洮陳公子招放之，丁  
十三章越殺陳孔奭。葬陳哀公。

①左傳曰：八年春，石於晉魏榆，晉侯問於師曠曰：石何故？對曰：石不能言，或譌焉，不然，民聽濫也。抑且又聞之曰：作事不時，怨譴動於民，則有非一之物而一之。今宮室崇侈，民力彫盡，怨譴並作，莫保其性，石不亦宜乎？於是晉侯方築虎祁之宮，叔向曰：野之二君了哉，君了之，信而有徵，故怨遠於其身，小人之僭而無徵，故怨咎及之。詩曰：哀哉不能言，匪舌是出，唯躬是瘁，矧矣能言巧言如流，俾躬處休，其是之謂乎？是宮也成，諸侯必叛，君必有咎，人知之矣。

陳哀公元妃鄭姬，牛悼人，偃師一妃，牛公子留，下妃生公子勝，一妃嬖，留有寵，屬諸司徒招與公子過。哀公有廢疾，月甲申，公子招，公子過，殺悼人，偃師，而公子留。

夏四月，辛亥，哀公緇。叔弓如晉，賀虎祁也。游古相鄭伯以如晉，亦賀虎祁也。史趙見了人叔，曰：甚哉其相蒙也，可弔也，而又賀之。了人叔曰：若何弔也，其非唯我賀將人卜賀賀。

丁徵師赴於楚，目告有立君，公子勝愬之於楚，楚人執而殺之，公子留奔鄭。書曰：陳侯之弟招殺陳世子偃師。

罪在招也。楚人執陳行人于徵師，殺之，罪不在行人也。

秋，大蒐于紅，自根牟至於商衡，革車千乘。

○七月甲戌，齊子尾卒。子旗欲治其室，丁丑，殺梁嬰。八月，庚戌，逐子成。子工，子車皆來奔而立。子夏氏之宰其臣曰孺子長矣，而相吾室，欲兼我也。授甲將攻之。陳桓子善於子尾，亦授甲將助之。成告子旗，子旗不信，則數人告，將往。又數人告於道，遂如陳氏。桓子將出矣，聞之而還，游服而逆之。請命對曰：「聞強氏授甲，將攻子，子聞諸曰弗聞，子盍亦授甲，無宇請從。」子旗曰：「子胡然彼孺子也？吾師之猶懼其不濟，吾又寵秩之，其若先人何？」子盍謂之周書曰：「惠不惠，茂不茂，庶叔所以服弘大也。」桓子稽顙曰：「頃靈，福子，吾猶有望，遂和之如初。」

陳公子招歸罪於公子過而殺之。

九月，楚公子藥疾帥師，奉孫吳圍陳。宋薳惡會之，冬十一月壬午，滅陳。與嬖袁克殺馬嬰，玉以葬。楚人將殺之，請與之，既又請私，私於幄，加絙於頸而逃，便穿封戌爲陳公。曰：「城麇之役，不詔侍飲，酒於王，王曰：『城麇之役，汝知寡人之及此，汝其辟寡人乎？』對曰：『若知君之及此，臣必致死，禮以息楚。』晉侯問於史趙曰：『陳其遂亡乎？』對曰：『未也。』公曰：『何故？』對曰：『陳，顓頊之族也，歲在鴉火，是以卒滅。陳將如之，今在析木之津，猶將復由。』且陳氏得政於齊，而後陳卒亡，自幕至于瞽瞍，無違命，舜重之以明德，實德於遂，遂世守之。及胡公不淫，故周賜之姓，使祀虞帝。臣聞盛德必百世祀，虞之世數未也，繼守將在齊，其兆既存矣。」

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, Shaou, younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, put to death Yen sze, heir-son of the State.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin ch'ow, Neih, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 3 Shuh Kung went to Tain.
- 4 The people of Ts'oo seized Kan Ching-sze, the messenger of Ch'in, and put him to death.
- 5 The Kung tsze Liew of Ch'in fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 6 In autumn, we held a review in Hung.
- 7 The people of Ch'in put to death its great officer, the Kung tsze Kwo.

- 8 There was a grand sacrifice for rain  
 9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, an army of Ts'oo extinguished Ch'in, seized the Kung-tsze Shaou and banished him to Yueh, and put to death K'ung Hwan.  
 10 There was the burial of duke Gae of Ch'in

Parr 1, 2, 4, 5 [The Chuen has a narrative of a stone talking, which has place here — 'This spring, a stone spoke in Wei-yu of 'tsin The marquis asked the music-master Kwang why it was that it did so, and was answered, "Stones cannot speak Perhaps this was possessed [by a Spirit] If not, then the people heard wrong And yet I have heard, that when things are done out of season, and discontent and complaints are stirring among the people, then speechless things do speak Now palaces are reared, lofty and extravagant, and the strength of the people is tasked to an exhausting degree Discontent and complaints are every where rife, [people feeling that] their life is not worth preserving Is it not right that in such circumstances stones should speak?" At this time the marquis was engaged in building the palace of Sze k'e

'Shuh-heang said, "The words of Tze-yay (The music master) show him to be a superior man The words of a superior man are true and supported by evidence, so that they keep enmity far from his own person, but the words of a small person are false and without evidence, so that enmity and blame come upon himself Herein we have an illustration of what is said in the ode (She, II. iv ode X 5),

'Alas that right words cannot be spoken,  
 Which come not from the tongue [only]!  
 The speakers of them are sure to suffer  
 It is well for the words that can be spoken,  
 The artful speech flows like a stream,  
 And the speakers dwell thereby in prosperity'

When this palace has been completed, the States are sure to revolt, and our ruler will bear the blame Thus [the music-master] is aware of "']

This brother of the marquis of Ch'in appears in 1, 2, as the Kung-tsze Shaou The Chuen says — 'The head wife of duke Gae of Ch'in, a Ke of Ch'ing, bore to him Yen-sze, [known as] Taou the eldest son The second wife bore him the Kung-tsze Lew, and the third bore him the Kung-tsze Shing The second wife was the favourite, and Lew in consequence had more regard shown to him [than his brothers had], and was entrusted to the care of Shaou, minister of Instruction, and the Kung-tsze Kwo [At this time], duke Gae was suffering from an incurable disease, and in the 3d month, on K'eah-shin, the Kung-tszes Shaou and Kwo killed Taou the eldest son, Yen-sze, and raised the Kung-tsze Lew to his place

'In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-hae, duke Gae strangled himself

'Kan Ching-sze went to Ts'oo to announce [the marquis's death], and the appointment of a [new ruler] The Kung-tsze Shing [at the same time] accused him to Ts'oo, where they seized and put him to death, on which the Kung-tsze Lew fled to Ch'ing

'The words of the text, "Shaou, brother of the marquis of Ch'in, killed its heir-son Yen-

sze," show the guilt of Shaou, while the statement that "The viscount of Ts'oo seized Ch'in's messenger Kan Ching-sze, and put him to death," shows that the guilt did not rest on the messenger (?)'

Par 3. The Chuen says — 'Shuh Kung went to Ts'in, to offer congratulations on [the completion of the palace of] Sze-k'e Y'w K'eh attended the earl of Ch'ing to Ts'in, also to offer similar congratulations The historiographer Ch'ao visited him, Tze-t'ae-shuh, and said, "Most excessive is the delusion you practise on one another The thing is matter for condolence, and yet you offer congratulations on it" The other replied, "How is it matter for condolence? It is not we only who offer congratulations on it [All the States] under heaven are sure to do the same"

Par 6 The Chuen says that at this review the leather or war-chariots, collected from Kin-mow (On the east of Loo) to the borders of Shang (I e, Sung) and Wei, amounted to a thousand Hung was in Loo, but where it was exactly remains a matter of doubt 蒐 is the name of the spring hunting, and many of the critics find matter for remark in the employment of the name for what was done in autumn, to the hunting in which the term 獮 is appropriate But these terms are interchanged (Maou, 通解) in the sense which 蒐 has here of a military review Too explains it by 數軍

賞, 簡申馬, 'A numbering of the equipments of the army, and an examination of the chariots and horses' Similarly, Kung-yang, 一簡車徒 Too thinks that the character 'grand' has been inadvertently omitted at the beginning of the par Other critics call attention to the omission of 公, characteristic of this and other subsequent similar notices, accounting for it from the fact that the military power of Loo was now in the hands of the three families, and the ruler had nothing to do with it

[We have a narrative here about affairs in Ts'e — 'In the 7th month, on K'eah-seuh, Tsze-we of Ts'e died Tsze-k'e, wishing to take the regulation of his House, on 'Ting-ch'ow put to death Leang Ying (Tsze-we's steward) In the 8th month, on K'ang-seuh, he drove out Tsze-ch'ing, Tsze-kung, and Tsze-keu, all of whom came fugitives to Loo, and he then appointed a [new] steward for Tsze-l'ang (Tsze-we's son) [Tsze-leang's] servants, however, said, "Our young master is grown up His taking the direction of our House shows that he wishes to absorb it" They gave out the buff-coats, and were proceeding to attack Tsze-k'e

Ch'in Hwan tze had been on good terms with Tze-wo, and also gave out his buff-coats, intending to assist [the servants of Tze-lêng] (One told Tze-k'e [of all this], and he did not believe it; but when several men repeated the information, he was about to go [to Tze-lêng's]) On the way as 1 others brought him the same news, when he went to Ch'in a. Hwan tze was then about to go out; but when he heard [that Tze-k'e was coming to him], he turned back put on his garments of ease, and met him. [Tze-k'e] begged him to tell him [where he was going]. "I had heard," replied he "that K'ang [Tze-lêng] had given out his buff-coats, and was going to attack you, have you heard it?" Being answered, "No," [he continued], "Why should you not also give out your buff-coats, and allow me to follow you?" Tze-k'e said, "Why should you do so? I have instructed that young gentleman, and, apprehensive lest that should not be enough, I have also shown him the favour of appointing [a steward] for him. How would [our quarrel] appear to his father? Why should you not tell him this? One of the Books of Chow (K'ho, V ix. 6) says, Be kind to the unkindly and stimulate the sluggish.—It was thus that the doings of K'ang-shih became so great." Hwan tze bowed with his forehead to the ground saying, "[The dukes] K'ing and Ling will bless you. I also hope you will do thus." He then made peace between [the two families], as there had been before."

Part 79. Kung-yung has 援 for 與. The Chuen says—The Kung tze Shao of Ch'in laid the blame [of the murder of Yen-tze] on the Kung tze Kwo, and put him to death.

In the 9th month the Kung tze K'e-tsh of T'oo led a force, [as if] in support of [the Kung-] sun Woo (Yen's son), and laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'in, where he was joined by Tse Goh of Sang. In winter in the 11th month, on Jin-woo, he extinguished Ch'in. Yuen K'ih a great officer of the lowest degree, master of [the duke's] chariots, [wanted to] kill horses and break articles of jade in pieces, to bury [with the duke]. The people of T'oo would have put him to death, when he asked leave to let the horses and jade alone. Afterwards, he also begged that he might privately [do his duty to his late ruler's corpse] and having done so in a tent, he wrapt a mourning band about his head, and died.

[The king of T'oo then] appointed Ch'ien-sung Shih duke of Ch'in, saying it was because

Shih had not flattered him in the affair at Shing-kenn (See after IX xxvi 4). When he was sitting near the king as they were drinking the king said to him, "At the affair of Shing-kenn, if you had known that I would reach my present position, would you then have given place to me?" Shih replied, "If I had known that you would reach your present position, I would have done my duty to the death, to secure the peace of the State of T'oo."

The marquess of Tsai asked the historiographer Ch'ao whether Ch'in was now indeed to perish, and was answered that its end was not yet. "Why [do you say so?]" asked the duke. The historiographer replied, "[The house of] Ch'in is a branch of the descendants of Chuen Shih. When the year [i. e., star Jupiter] was in Shun-ho, [the dynasty of Chuen Shih] was thereby extinguished and the extinction of Ch'in will happen similarly. Now it is in Shih nuh, at the ford of the Milky Way—[Ch'in] will still again arise. Moreover the branch of the House of Ch'in which is in T'ao will get the government of that State, and not till after that will Ch'in perish. From Mo to Koo-sow there was not [a chief of the family] who acted contrary to the laws [of Heaven]. Shun then renewed the family by his brilliant virtue which secured the establishment [of his descendants] in Su. From age to age they kept that State, till Chow conferred his surname on duke Mo because of his freedom from all excess, and made him sacrifice to the emperor Yu (Shun). I have heard that sacrifices to [an ancestor of] complete virtue continue for a hundred generations. The number of the generations of Yu is not yet complete. The continuation of them will be in T'ao—there are sufficient indications of that."

Many critics read the 10th par as belonging to the preceding one, so that the burial of the marquess of Ch'in was the act of T'oo. There would be no difficulty in accepting this construction, but for the account in the Chuen, which ascribes the burial to Yuen K'ih, an inferior officer of the deceased marquess. Too Yu understands the notice in the same way as the many similar ones of burials in this classic, and says that Loo sent a great officer to be present at it. The K'ang he editors allow that the notice is to be accepted according to the analogy of similar ones, and yet they say that Loo did not by a representative take any part in the funeral. The entry was made, they fancy by a change of the rule for such notices, to disallow T'oo's extinction of the State of Ch'in!

### Ninth year

冬<sup>五</sup>如<sup>四</sup>秋<sup>四</sup>災。夏<sup>三</sup>許<sup>三</sup>遷<sup>三</sup>陳。弓會<sup>二</sup>九年<sup>二</sup>春<sup>二</sup>叔<sup>二</sup>榮<sup>二</sup>郎<sup>二</sup>南<sup>二</sup>。齊<sup>二</sup>仲<sup>二</sup>孫<sup>二</sup>纘<sup>二</sup>。

左傳曰：九年春，叔弓、宋平、亥、鄭游、古、衛、趙、廣、會楚于陳。

二月庚申，楚公了棄疾遷許于夷，實城父，取州來淮北之田以益之。伍舉授許男田，然月遷城父人於陳，以夷濮西田益之，遷方城外於許。

○周甘人與晉閻嘉爭閻田，晉梁丙、張趯率陰戎伐潁。一使詹桓伯辭於晉曰：我自夏以后稷，魏駘、內岐、畢、古、西土也，及武丁克商，蒲姑、商奄、古東一也，巴、濮、楚、鄧、吾南一也，肅慎、燕、亳、古北一也，台何邇，封之有文、武，成、康之建母弟以蕃屏周，亦其廢隊是爲，豈如弁髦而因以敝之？先王居檮杌於四裔，以禦魑魅，故允姓之姦居於瓜州，伯父惠公歸自秦而誘以來，使偪我諸姬，入我郊甸，則戎焉取之？戎有中國，誰之咎也？后稷封殖天下，今戎制之不亦難乎？伯父圖之。我在伯父，猶衣服之有冠冕，木水之有本源，民人之有謀一也，伯父若裂冠毀冕，拔本塞原，專棄謀一，雖戎狄其何有余？人叔向謂宣子曰：父之伯也，豈能改物？翼戴人了，而加之以共，自文以來，世有哀德，而暴滅宗周，以宣示其侈，諸侯之貳，不亦宜乎？且一辭直了其圖之，官了說一有姻喪，使趙成如周中，日致閻田，與櫜反，潁俘一亦使賓滑執甘人入襄，以說於晉，晉人禮而歸之。

夏四月，陳災，鄭裨竈曰：十年陳將復封，封十年而遂亡了產問其故，對曰：陳水屬也，火水妃也，而楚所相也，今火出而火陳，逐楚而建陳也，妃以力成，故曰十年，歲力及羈火，而後陳卒亡，楚克有之，人之道也，故曰十年。

○晉荀盈如齊逆女，還六月卒于戲陽，殯于絳，木葬，晉侯飲酒樂，膳宰屠蒯趨入，請佐公使尊，許之，而遂酌以飲，曰：女爲君耳，將司聰也，辰在子卯，謂之殃日，君徹宴樂，學人舍業，爲疾故也，君之卿佐，是謂股肱，股肱或虧，何痛如之？女弗聞而樂，是不聰也，又飲外嬖嬖叔，曰：女爲君目，將司明也，服以旌禮，禮以行事，事有其物，物有其容，今君之容非其物也，而女不見，是不明也，亦自飲也，口味以行氣，氣以實志，志以定一日，以出令，臣實



司味二御失官  
而君弗命臣之  
罪也公說徹酒  
初公欲廢知氏  
而立其外嬖爲  
是俊而止秋八  
月使荀息佐下  
軍以說焉  
孟僖子如齊殷  
聘禮也  
冬築郎囿書時  
也季平子欲其  
速成也叔孫昭  
子曰詩曰經始  
勿亟庶民子來  
焉用速成其以  
勸民也無囿猶  
可無民其可乎

- IX 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, Shuh Kung went to an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in  
2 Hsu removed [its capital] to E  
3 In summer, in the fourth month, there was a fire in [the capital of] Ch'in  
4 In autumn, Chung sun K'oh went to Ts'ao.  
5 In winter, we enclosed the park of Lang

Par 1 The Chuen says:— This spring, Shuh Kung, Hwa Hae of Sung, Yew Keih of Ch'ing and Chou Yen of Wei, had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in.

This was not one of the formal meetings summoned by the ruling State, and therefore the text does not give the names of the ministers of other States who now repaired to Ch'in to see the king of Ts'oo. His dealing with Ch'in had flattered them all, and they hurried to pay their respects to him. Compare VII. xv 1. To mark the difference between this and the other usage of 會 I have translated the term differently.

Par 2. We saw in VIII. xv 11 how Hsu, to escape the pressure of Ch'ing, moved from its original capital in the present Hsu Chow Ho-nan, to Shih, which is still the name of a district, in Nan yang dep. of the same province. The same cause operated to produce a removal, still farther south and nearer to Ts'oo, to E, which had formerly been called Shing foo, 70

is south-east from Poh-chow (亳州), dep. Ying-chow (潁州), in Gan-hwuy. The movement was carried out by Ts'oo but originated in the desire of Hsu itself; and hence the text ascribes it to Hsu.

The Chuen says:— In the 2d month, on K'ang-shih, the Kung tze K'ao-tell of Ts'oo removed [the capital, of] Hsu to E, i. e., to Shing foo, and took the lands of Chow lao on the north of the Hwao to increase its territory. Woo K'ea dell 1 over those lands to the baron of Hsu; and [at the same time] Jen Tan removed the people of Shing foo (i. e. E) to Ch'ia, giving them in addition the lands of E on the west of the Puh. He also removed the people outside [Ts'oo's] barrier wall to [the old capital of] Hsu.

[We have here a narrative about the relations between Chow and Ts'oo:— The commandant of Kan in Chow had a quarrel with K'ea, the commandant of Yen in Ts'oo about the lands of Yen on which Liang Ping and Chang Teli of Ts'oo led the Yin Jung to attack Ying. The king then sent Hwan pin of Chen to address the following remonstrance to Ts'oo:—"We [of Chow] from the time of the Hsia dynasty in

consequence of [the services of] How tsieh, had Wei, Ts'ao, Jay K'ao, and Peh as our territories on the west. When king Woo subdued Shang Ts'oo-koo and Shiang yen were our territories on the east; Pa, Puh, Ts'oo, and Tang, our territories on the south; Shuh-shih, Yen, and Poh, our territories on the north:—no narrow limits could be assigned to our boundaries. When Wan, Woo, Ch'ing, and K'ang granted fiefs to their own brothers, that they might be fences and screens to Chow it was also as a precaution against weakness and losses [in the future]:—was it that they should be like the [first] cap for the hair which is subsequently thrown away? The ancient kings located Ts'oo-wuh in [one of] the four distant regions, to encounter the sprites and other evil things (See on VI. xviii. 9), and so it was that the villains of the surname Lun dwelt in Kwa-chow. When [our] uncle [your] duke Hway returned from Ts'oo (In the 15th year of duke He), he induced them to come in this direction (In He's 22d year), so that they have since pressed on all our Ko States, and entered our suburbs and the districts beyond them:—these the Jung have taken to themselves. That the Jung have thus [a footing in] the Middle State, whose is the blame? How tsieh [taught how to] divide the lands and sow grain all under heaven and now the Jung regulate them after their own fashion;—is not the case a hard one? Let my uncle well consider it. I am to you as the cap or crown to the other garments, as the root to the tree or the spring to the stream, as their counsellor to the people. If you tear the cap and break the crown in pieces, tear up the root, stop up the spring and take it on you to cast the counsellor away what can be expected by me the One man, from the Jung and the Teli?"

Shuh Hseng said to Senen tze, "Even Wan, as leader of the States, was not able to change the order of the kingdom. He acted as the supporter of the son of Heaven, showing towards him extraordinary respect. Since the time of Wan our virtue has decayed year after year after generation, and we have tyrannized over and reduced lower and lower the Head of Chow thereby proclaiming the extravagance of our course. Is it not right that the States should become disaffected to us? And moreover the

king's words are right. Do you consider the case well?" Seuen-tszé was pleased, and as the king was then in mourning for one of the queen's kindred, he sent Chaou Ch'ing to Chow to offer condolences, and to surrender the lands of Yen, and present an offering of grave-clothes. He also sent back the captives of Ling. The king on his part made Pin Hwah seize S'ang, the commandant of Kan, to please Tsin, where, however, they treated him with courtesy, sending him afterwards back [to Chow].

Par 8 Kung and Kuh have here 火 instead of 災

The Chuen says — 'In the 4th month, there was a fire in Ch'in. P'ei Tsao of Ch'ing said, "In 5 years the State of Ch'in will be re-established, and after 52 years of re-establishment, it will finally perish." Tsze-ch'an asked the reason [of his saying so], and he replied, "Ch'in, (As representing the dynasty of Chuen-heuh), belongs to [the element of] water. Fire is the antagonistic [element] to water, and is under the regulation of Ts'oo (The rulers of Ts'oo being descended from Chuh-yung). Now the Ho [star] has appeared, and kindled this fire in Ch'in, [indicating] the expulsion of Ts'oo and the establishment of Ch'in. Antagonistic elements are ruled by the number five [in their conjunctions], and therefore I say in 5 years. The year [-star] must five times come to Shun-ho, and then Ch'in will finally perish, and Ts'oo be able to keep it in possession. This is the way of Heaven, and therefore I said 52 years."

Acc. to the explanation of Too, Jupiter was this year in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn). In 5 years (Inclusive of the 1st and last), it would be in Ta-leang (Aries-Taurus), when Ch'in would be re-established, and in 4 years after it would be in Shun-ho (Cancer-Leo). When in 48 years it had been again 4 times in Shun-ho, these added to the above 4 years, give the 52 years mentioned.

In this par and the 1st, as well as in the concluding par of last year, the text continues to speak of Ch'in as if that State were still existing, after its extinction by Ts'oo. There would appear to be, it is thought, in this way of writing, some indication of Confucius' disapprobation of the procedure of Ts'oo.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative, which we find, with some differences, in the Le Ke, II, Pt II n 12 — 'Seun Ying of Tsin had gone to Ts'e, to meet his bride, and as he was returning, he died, in the 6th month, at He-yang. While his coffin remained unburied in Keang, the marquis was, [one day], drinking and enjoying himself, when the chief cook, T'oo Kwae, rushed into the apartment, and asked leave to assist the cupbearer. The duke having granted it, he proceeded to fill a cup, which he presented to the music-master, saying, "You are the ruler's ears, and should see to his hearing well. If the day be Tsze-maou, it is called an evil day, and the ruler does not feast on it nor have music, and learners give up their study [of music] on it, — because it is recognized as an evil day. The ruler's ministers and assistants are his limbs. If one of his limbs be lost, what equal occasion for sorrow could there be? You have not heard of this, and are practising your music here, — showing that your hearing is defective." He

then presented another cup to the inferior officer of the Exterior, the officer Shuh, saying, "You are the ruler's eyes, and should see to his seeing clearly. The dress is intended to illustrate the rules of propriety, and those rules are seen in the conduct of affairs. Affairs are managed according to the things [which are the subject of them], and those things are shown in the appearance of the person. Now the ruler's appearance is not in accordance with the [great] thing [of to day], and you do not see this — your seeing is defective." He also drank a cup himself, saying, "The combination of flavours [in diet] is to give vigour to the humours [of the body], the effect of which is to give fulness and stability to the mind. The mind is thus able to determine the words in which the orders of the government are given forth. To me belongs that combination of flavours, and as you two in attendance here have failed in the duties of your offices, and the ruler has given no orders [condemnatory of you], I am chargeable with the crime."

'The marquis was pleased, and ordered the spirits to be removed. Before this, he had wished to remove the Head of the Che family (Seun Ying) from his office, and to give it to a favourite officer of an extraneous clan, but in consequence of this incident he repented of his purpose and gave it up. In autumn, in the 8th month, he made Seun Leih (Ying's son) assistant-commander of the 3d army, by way of apology [for his dislike of the family].'

Par 4 This Chung-sun K'oh is the M'ang He-tszé of whose ignorance of the rules and observances of propriety we read under the 7th year. For twenty years, since the 20th year of S'ang, there had been no interchange of complimentary visits between Loo and Ts'e. The present mission was therefore, dispatched on a grand scale. The Chuen says — 'M'ang He-tszé went to Ts'oo, to pay a complimentary visit of the completest order (殷盛) — which was proper.'

Par 5 This par is literally, 'We built the park of Lang.' But the 'building' must refer principally to the enclosing walls, and I have therefore translated 築 by 'enclosed'.

The Chuen says — 'We enclosed the park of Lang. Ke P'ing-tszé (Grand-son of Suh or Ke Woo-tszé) wished the work to be quickly completed, but Shuh-sun Ch'ao-tszé said, "The ode (She, III 1 ode VIII. 1) says,

'When he planned the commencement, [he said], "Be not in a hurry,"

But the people came as if they were his children.'

Why must it be quickly completed? That would tend to destroy the people. We can get on without a park, but can we get on without the people?" Lang, — see I ix 4, et al

Tenth year

十年春，卜止月。  
 夏，齊欒施來奔。  
 秋七月，季孫息  
 如，叔弓、仲孫纘、  
 帥師伐呂。  
 戊子，莒侯彪卒。  
 九月，叔孫舍如  
 晉，葬晉平公。  
 十有一月，甲子，  
 宋公成卒。

○左傳曰：十年春，王正月，有星出於婺女，鄭裨龍言於子產曰：七月戊子，晉君將死，今茲歲在顓頊之虛，姜氏任氏，實守其地，居其維首，而有妖星焉，告邑，姜也，邑姜晉之妣也，天以七紀，戊子，逢公以登，星斯於是乎出，吾是以譏之。

齊惠與高氏皆嗜酒，信內多怨，彌於陳鮑氏，而惡之，夏有告陳桓子曰：子加子其將攻陳鮑亦告鮑氏，桓子授甲而如鮑氏，遭子其醉而勞，遂見文子，則才授甲矣，使視二子，則皆將似酒，桓子曰：彼雖不信，聞我授甲，則必逐我及其似酒也，先伐諸陳鮑方睦，遂伐與高氏，子其曰：先得公陳鮑焉，往遂伐虎門，晏平仲端委立於虎門之外，四族召之，無所往，其徒曰：助陳鮑乎？曰：何善焉？助與高乎？曰：庸愈乎？然則歸乎？曰：君伐焉，歸公召之而後入，公卜使王黑以靈姑鉞率吉，斷三尺焉而用之，五月庚辰，戰於稷，與高敗，又敗諸莊，國人迫之又敗諸鹿門，與施高強來奔，陳鮑分其室，晏子謂桓子必致諸公，醴德之主也，讓之謂懿德，凡有血氣皆有爭心，故利不可疆，思義爲愈，義利之本也，蘊利生孽，姑使無植乎，可以滋長，桓子盡致諸公而請老於莒，桓子召子山私具，幃幕器用從者之衣服而反，棘焉子商亦如之而反其邑，子周亦如之而與之，夫子反子城子，公公孫捷而皆益其祿，凡公子公孫之無祿者，私分之邑，國之貧約孤寡者，私與之粟，曰：時云，坤錫戰周，能施也，桓公是以霸，公與桓子莒之旁邑，辭穆孟姬爲之。

請高唐、陳氏始人。  
 秋七月，平子伐莒，取郕，獻俘，始用人於亳社。臧武仲在齊，聞之，曰：「周公其不饗魯祭乎？」周公饗義，魯無義。詩曰：「德音孔昭，視民不佻，佻之謂甚矣。」而壹用之，將誰福哉？  
 戊子，晉平公卒。鄭伯如晉，及河，晉人辭之，游吉遂如晉。  
 九月，叔孫婁齊國弱，宋平定衛北宮喜。鄭罕虎許人，曹人，莒人，邾人，滕人，薛人，杞人，小邾人，如晉，葬平公也。鄭子皮將以幣行了，產曰：「喪焉用幣？用幣必自爾。」白，爾必下人，下人全，將不行，不行，必盡用之。幾千人而國不亡，了皮固請以行。既葬，諸侯之大夫欲因見新君，叔孫昭子曰：「非禮也。」弗聽。叔向辭之曰：「人人之事畢矣，而又命孤，孤斬焉在。」哀經之中，其以嘉服見，則喪禮未畢，其以喪服見，是軍受弔也。人大將若之何？皆無辭以見。子皮盡用其幣，歸，謂了羽曰：「非知之實難，將在行之，人了知之矣。我則不足。」書曰：「欲敗度，縱敗禮。」我之謂矣。人了知度與禮矣。我實縱欲，而不能自克也。昭了个自晉，人人皆見，高彊見而退，昭了語諸人，大夫曰：「爲人了，不可不慎也哉。」皆慶封亡了，尾多受弔，而稍致諸君。君以爲忠，而甚寵之。將死，疾於公宮，輦而歸。君親推之，其了不能任，是以在此。忠爲令德，其了弗能任，罪猶及之，難不慎也。喪人之力，棄德曠宗，以及其身，不亦害乎？詩曰：「不自我先，不自我後，其是之謂乎？」  
 冬十一月，宋平公卒。初，元公患人柳，欲殺之，及喪，柳熾炭於位，將立，則去之，比葬，又有寵。

- X 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, Lwan She of Ts'e came to Loo a fugitive  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, Ke-sun E-joo, Shuh Kung, and Chung-sun Keoh, led [our] army and invaded Keu.  
 4 On Mow-tsze, Pew, marquis of Tsin, died  
 5 In the ninth month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin, to the burial of duke P'ing  
 6 In the twelfth month, on Keah-tsze, Ch'ing, duke of Sung, died

Par 1 [The Chuen gives here an astrological narrative — This spring, in the king's first month, a [strange] star appeared in [the constellation] Woo-neu P'ao Tsaou of Ch'ing] said to Tsze-ch'an, "In the 7th month, on Mow-tsze, the ruler of Tsin will die. This year, the first month, a [star] is in the *hou* of Chuen-heuh (*I e*, the zodiacal sign of Heuen-heau, or Capricorn—

Aquarius). The Houses of K'ang and Jin (I e., of T'at and S'ch'ing) are the guardians of the territory surrounding thereto. Right at the commencing constellation of that sign, there is this ominous star;—with a communication evidently to Yih K'ang the ancestress of the House of Tsin. [The constellations of] heaven are arranged in sevens; and it was on Mow tze that duke Fung [anciently] ascended on high, when a [strange] star appeared in this same place. Thus it is that I make this observation." ]

Par 2. Instead of 晉 Kung yang has 晉 having confounded the I wan clan of Tsin, which had played a prominent part in the former period of the Ch'in Ts'ao with that of T'at.

The Chuen says:— The chiefs of the families of Lwan and Kaou, which were descended from duke Hway of T'at, were both addicted to drink, gave credit to women's stories, and had many animosities. They felt themselves stronger than the families of Ch'in and Paou, and hated them. This summer some one told Ch'in Hwan-tze that Taze-k'e (Lwan She) and Taze-ling (Kaou K'ang) were about to attack the Ch'in and the Paou; and similar information was conveyed to the chief of the Paou. Hwan-tze [on this] gave out his buff-coats, and proceeded to the house of Paou, when [on the way] he met Taze-ling dashing along in his chariot drunk. He went on, however, and saw Wan-tze (Paou Kwoh), who also gave out his buff-coats, while they went to see what the two chiefs were doing. It turned out that they were setting to drink, but Hwan-tze said, "Although our informant was not correct, yet when they hear that we have given out our buff-coats, they will be sure to [try to] drive us out. While they are drinking let us take the initiative and attack them."

Ch'in and Paou were then on the best of terms, and accordingly they proceeded to attack the Lwan and Kaou. Taze-ling said, "If we first get [the countenance of] the duke, where can Ch'in and Paou go to?" [The duke refusing to see them] they attacked the Hoo gate. Gan P'ing-chung took his place outside it in his court robes. The four clans all called him, but he would not go to any of them. His followers asked him whether he would help Ch'in and Paou, but he said that they had no goodness to make him do so. Would he help Lwan and Kaou then? They were no better he said. Would he then return to his own house? "When the ruler is attacked," said he, "how should I return?" [By and by] the duke called him, and he entered the palace, where the duke consulted the tortoise-shell, as to whether he should give Wang Hih the [banner] Ling kwo-pa, and order him to lead forth his troops. The answer being favourable, that officer asked leave to cut off 3 feet [from the border], and took the banner.

In the 5th month, on King-shih, they fought near the altar of [How] tseih, when Lwan and Kaou were defeated. They were defeated again in the Chwang [street], pursued by the people, and defeated a third time near the Luh gate, after which Lwan She and Kaou K'ang fled to Loo. Ch'in and Paou divided all their property between themselves, but Gan tze advised Hwan tze to surrender it to the duke, saying "Courteous deference is the essential point of virtue. It is an admirable quality. All

who have blood and breath have a disposition to quarrel with one another and hence gain is not to be sought for by violence. It is better to think of righteousness. Righteousness is the root of gain. The accumulation of gain produces misfortune; let me advise you for the present not to seek such accumulation. You will find such a course conducive to the growth of your superiority. On this Hwan tze gave up everything to the duke and asked leave, as being old, to retire to [the city of] Kou. [Subsequently], he called Taze-shau (Who, with Taze-shang and Taze-chow had been driven away in S'ang's 21st year) [back to T'at], privately provided for him tents and articles of furniture, and clothes and shoes for his followers, and restored [his city of] Keih. So he dealt by Taze-shang, restoring his city; and by Taze-chow giving him [the city of] Foo-yu. He brought back [also] Taze-shing, Taze-kung and Kang-sun Ts'eh (Driven out by Taze-k'e in Ch'ao's 8th year), and increased the emoluments of them all. To all the sons and grandsons of former rulers, who had no revenues, he gave cities of his own; and to all the poor and straitened, the orphans and widows, in the State, he distributed of his grain, saying, "The ode (She, III. I. ode I. 2) says,

He displayed his gifts in every direction.

So was [King Wan] able to dispense his bounties; and it was in this way that duke Hwan became the leader of the States.

The duke [wanted to] give to Hwan-tze the city adjoining Kou, but he declined it. Muh H'ang ke (The duke's mother) begged Kaou t'ang for him; and the Ch'in family began to be greater than it had been.

The text mentions the flight of Lwan Shu only as Kaou K'ang was not a minister of T'at.

Par 3. Here and afterwards Kung-yang has 程如 for 程如 E-joo is Ke P'ing-tze who was now chief of the House of Ko-sun. The whole expedition was under him, but the text mentions the other commanders also, because they were all three ministers. H'oo Gan kwoh confounds Shuh Kung with the chief of the Shuh-sun House. He may also have been in this expedition as assistant-commander to one or other of the others.

The Chuen says:— In the 7th month, P'ing tze invaded Keu and took K'ang. In presenting his captives, he for the 1st time sacrificed a human victim at the altar of Poh. When Tsang Woo-chung heard of this in T'at, he said,

The duke of Chow will not accept the sacrifice of Loo. What he accepts is righteousness, of which Loo has none. The ode (She, III. I. ode I. 2) says,

Their virtuous fame is grandly brilliant;  
They show the people not to be mean.

The disregard of the people in this must be pronounced excessive. Thus using men as victims, who will confer a blessing [on Loo]?

Par 4. The Chuen says:— On Mow tze duke P'ing of Tsin died. The earl of Ch'ing was going [in consequence] to Tsin but when he had got to the Ho, the people of Tsin declined his visit and Y'ew Keih then went on to Tsin.

Par 5. The Chuen says:— In the 9th month, Shuh-sun Ch'oh (I q Shuy), Kwoh Joh of

Ts'e, Hwa Ting of Sung, Pih-kung He of Wei Han Hoo of Ch'ing, an officer of Hwu, an officer of Ts'au, an officer of Hwu, an officer of Choo, an officer of Sui, an officer of K'e, and an officer of Little Choo, went to Ts'in to the burial of duke Ping Tsze-p'e (Han Hoo) of Ch'ing wished to take silks and other offerings with him [expecting to have an audience of the new marquis], but Tsze-ch'an said, "On a funeral occasion how [can you think of] using such offerings? If you take offerings, you must have 100 carriages, which will require 1000 men. When the 1000 men have got there, you will find that [what you intend] cannot be done, and when that cannot be done, you will be sure to use the whole [in some other way]. How many times could you take 1000 men with you, and the State not be ruined?" Tsze-p'e, however, urgently begged that he might go [as he proposed].

'After the funeral, the great officers of the States wished to take the opportunity to see the new marquis, and though Shuh-sun Ch'au-tsze said it was contrary to rule to do so, they would not listen to him. Shuh-hiang, however, declined their proposal, saying, [as if from the marquis], "The business of you, great officers, is ended, and still you have your orders for me. But I am in the deepest mourning, wearing the unhemmed clothes and head-band. If I were to put on the auspicious garments to see you, the rites of mourning are not yet finished, and if I were to see you in my mourning robes, I should be receiving your condolences a second time—what would you think of that?" The officers had no words with which to urge their request for an interview, and Tsze-p'e had to dispose of all his offerings. When he returned to Ch'ing, he said to Tsze-yu, "It is not the knowing a thing that is difficult, but it is the acting accordingly. He, our master, knew [that my purpose was impracticable], but I was not capable [of taking his advice]. The words of the Shoo (IV v Pt II 3), 'By my desires I was setting at nought the rules [of conduct], by my self-indulgence I was violating the rules of propriety,' might be spoken of me. He knew

both of those rules but I gave way to my self-indulgence and desires, and was not able to deny myself."

'When Ch'au-tsze arrived from Ts'in, all the great officers visited him. K'ou K'ang, [also] came to see him, and when he had retired, Ch'au-tsze said to the great officers, "How careful ought a son to be! Formerly, when K'ing Ping was driven into exile, Tsze-wu received many cities, a few of which he gave up to his ruler. The marquis of Ts'e considered him loyal, and made him a great favourite. When he was near his death, he was taken ill in the marquis's palace, and when he was conveyed home in a hand carriage, the marquis himself assisted in pushing it along. His son could not sustain his office, and therefore he is [a fugitive] here. [The father's] loyalty was an excellent virtue, but the son could not sustain it [in the same way], and the charge of guilt came moreover on him,—the evil was that he was not careful. He has ruined what his father had achieved, thrown away his virtue, and emptied his ancestral temple, involving also his own person,—is not the injury he has done [great]? To him we may apply the words of the ode (II. iv ode VII 2),

[Why was this time] not before me,  
Or [why was it] not after me?"

Par 6 For 成 Kung-yang has 戊 The historiographers appear to have inadvertently omitted the character 冬, 'in the winter,' at the beginning of this par.

The Chuen says—'In winter, in the 12th month, duke Ping of Sung died. Before this, [his son], duke Yuen, had hated the chief of the eunuchs, Lew, and wished to put him to death (See on vi 5). On [Ping's] death, Lew placed lighted charcoal in the [mourner's] place, [so as to make it warm], and when the duke was coming [to occupy it], he removed it. After the burial, he continued a favourite as before.'

*Eleventh year.*

氏葬。甲申，夫人歸。蔡侯般殺之。夏四月，丁巳，葬蔡侯。十一月，有年。春，王。叔弓如宋葬宋。

人蒐<sup>五</sup>比蒲。

仲孫貜<sup>六</sup>

會邾子盟于侵祥。

秋季<sup>七</sup>孫息如會。晉韓起

齊國弱。宋華亥衛北宮

伾鄭公虎曹人杞人

蒯愁<sup>八</sup>

九月己亥葬我小君齊

歸。冬<sup>九</sup>十一月丁酉

楚師滅蔡。執蔡世子有

以歸用之。

左傳曰：十一年春，王二月，叔弓如木，經平公也。

是王問於長弘曰：今茲諸侯何實？吉何實？凶對曰：蔡凶。此蔡侯般弑其君之歲也。歲在豕韋，弗過此矣。楚將有之，然雖也歲及大梁，蔡復楚凶，天之道也。楚子在中，召蔡靈侯，靈侯將往。蔡大夫曰：王貪而無信，唯蔡於感。今幣重而言甘，誘我也，不如無往。蔡侯不可。三月丙申，楚子伏甲而饗蔡侯於申，醉而執之。夏四月丁巳，殺之，刑其士七十人。

公子棄疾帥師圍蔡。韓宣子問於叔向曰：楚其克乎？對曰：克哉。蔡侯獲罪於其君，而不能其民，天將假手於楚以黜之，何故不克？然胖聞之不信，以幸不可再也。楚王牽孫吳以討於陳，曰：將定而國陳人聽命而遂，縣之。今又誘蔡而殺其君，以圍其國，雖幸而克，必受其咎。弗能久矣。樂克有緡以襲其國，紂克東夷而隕其身，楚小位下而亟暴於二王，能無咎乎？天之假助不善，非祚之也。厚其凶惡而降之罰也。且譬之如天，其有五材而將用之力，盡而敝之，是以無極，不可沒振。

五月齊歸甕。

大蒐于比蒲，非禮也。

孟僖子會邾莊公盟于侵祥，修好禮也。泉丘人有女夢以其帷幕

孟氏之廟，遂奔僖子。其僚從之，盟於清丘之社。曰：有子，無相棄也。僖子使助遷氏之遷，反自祿禚，宿於潁氏，小懿了及南宮敬叔於泉丘人。其僚無子，使寧敬叔。

楚師在蔡，晉荀吳謂韓宣子曰：「不能救陳，又不能救蔡，物以無親，晉之不能，亦可知也。」曰：「爲盟，而不恤亡國，將焉用之？」秋，會于厥慙，謀救蔡也。鄭子皮將行，子產曰：「行不遠，不能救蔡也。」蔡小而順，楚人而弗德，人將棄蔡以難楚，盈而罰之，蔡必亡矣。且喪君而能守者，鮮矣。年十，其有咎乎？美忠周必復，一忠周矣。晉人使狐父請蔡於楚，弗許。

○單了會韓宣子於戚，視卜言徐。叔向曰：「單了其將死乎？朝有著定，會有表，衣有襜，帶有結，會朝之，必聞於表著之位，所以昭事序也。視不過結襜之中，所以道容貌也。」曰：「以命之，容貌以明之，失則有闕。」今單了爲一官伯，而命事於會，視不登帶，曰：「不過步貌，不道容，而言不昭矣。」不道不共，不昭不從，無守氣矣。九月，葬齊歸公，不感。晉工之送葬者，歸以語史趙。史趙曰：「必爲魯郊。」侍者曰：「何故？」曰：「歸，姓也，不思親，祖不歸也。」叔向曰：「魯公室其卑乎？君有人喪，國不廢蒐，有年之喪而無日之感，國不恤喪，不忌君也。君無感容，不顧親也。國不忌君，君不顧親，能無卑乎？殆其失國。」

冬十一月，楚子滅蔡，用隱大子於岡山。申無宇曰：「不祥，五牲不相爲用，況用諸侯乎？一必悔之。」

○十一月，單成公卒。

○楚子城陳蔡不蕢，使乘疾爲蔡公。卜問於申無宇曰：「乘疾在蔡，何如？」對曰：「擇了莫如父，擇了莫如君，鄭莊公城櫟而寘子元焉，使昭公不立，齊桓公城穀而寘管仲焉，至於今賴之。」曰：「聞力人不仕邊，力細不仕庭，親不仕外，嚮不在內，今乘疾在外，鄭月內君其少戒。」曰：「國有人城，何如？」對曰：「鄭京櫟，實殺曼伯，宋肅亭，實殺了游，齊渠丘，實殺無知，衛蒲戚，實出獻公，若山是觀之，則古於國，末人必折，尾人不掉，君所知也。」



- XI 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's second month, Shuh Kung went to Sung, to the burial of duke P'ing
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, K'ên, viscount of Ts'oo, beguiled Pan, marquis of Ts'ao, to Shin, and there put him to death
- 3 The Kung tsze K'e-tsh of Ts'oo led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ao
- 4 In the fifth month, on K'eah shin, the lady Kwei, wife [of duke Séang], died
- 5 We celebrated a grand review in P'e-p'oo
- 6 Chung-sun K'oh had a meeting with the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'in ts'ang
- 7 In autumn K'e-sun E-joo had a meeting with Han K'e of Ts'in, Kwoh Joh of Ts'ao, Hwa Hae of Sung, Pih kung T'o of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'ao and K'e, in Keueh yin
- 8 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, we buried our duchess Ts'ao Kwei.
- 9 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ting y'ew, the army of Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ao, seized Y'ew, heir-son of the State, and carried him back [to Ts'oo], where he was sacrificed as a victim

Par 1 For 二月 Kung yang has 正月  
Tao-she repeats the words of the par with hardly any alteration; for what reason it would be hard to say unless the last four characters of the paragraph have been introduced into it from the Chuen.

Par \* The name of the king of Ts'oo originally was Wei (衛), but he had changed it to K'ên. The mention of the name in the notice is quite anomalous. That the name of the marquis of Ts'ao should appear is in accordance with the general practice in the case of princes killed, or dying, or driven from their States but the name of the prince inflicting the death or the banishment only appears in this place. Nearly half a dozen different explanations of the thing have been propounded, but it is not worth while to adjudge among them, or to cast about for any new solution. Kuh kang has 乾 for 庚 and 班 for 般

The Chuen says:—The king King asked Chang Hwang which of the princes would be lucky this year and which would suffer evil in it, and was answered, "It will be disastrous for Ts'ao. This is the [return of the] year in which Pan, the marquis of Ts'ao, murdered his ruler [See IX. xxx. \*]. The year [-star] is [again] in Ch'uei (Aquarius-Place); he will not go beyond this year. Ts'oo will possess Ts'ao;—but to the accumulation [of its own wickedness] When the year [-star] reaches Ts'ang (Aries-Taurus), Ts'ao will be restored, and Ts'oo will have calamity;—this is the way of Heaven.

The viscount of Ts'ao, being in Shin, called the marquis Ling of Ts'ao to come to him. When the

marquis was about to go, the great officers of the State said, "The king is greedy and has no good faith. He is full of indignation against Ts'ao. Now his offerings are great and his words are sweet;—he is beguiling us. You had better not go." The marquis, however, would not be stopped

In the 3d month, on Ping-shin, the viscount of Ts'oo entertained the marquis of Ts'ao in Shin, having [previously] placed soldiers in concealment, who seized the marquis when he was drunk. In the 4th month, on Ting-ss, [the viscount] put him to death, and killed [also] his officers, to the number of 70 men

Par 3. The Chuen says:—The Kung tsze K'e-tsh having led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ao, Han Senen tsze asked Shuh heang whether Ts'oo would succeed in taking it. "It will succeed" was the reply. "The marquis of Ts'ao was a criminal against his ruler and he was not able [to conciliate] his people. Heaven will borrow the agency of Ts'oo to destroy [the State]. Why should it not succeed? But I have heard that success which happens to be gained through want of good faith cannot be repeated. The king of Ts'oo took the [Kung] san Woo with him, when he went to punish Ch'in, saying "I will settle your State; on which the people of Ch'in accepted his orders;—and he proceeded to reduce that State to be a district of Ts'oo. Now he has further beguiled Ts'ao, put its ruler to death, and gone on to besiege its capital. Although he may chance to reduce it, he is sure to receive an evil retribution;—he cannot continue long. K'oh vanquished the prince of Min, but thereby lost his kingdom. Chow vanquished the E of the

east but thereby lost his life. Ts'oo is [comparatively] small and its rank is low, but its [ruler's] acts of tyranny are more than those of those two kings,—is it possible he should not suffer for his evil? When Heaven borrows the assistance of the bad, it is not blessing them, it is increasing their evil and wickedness, and will then send down punishment upon them. We may use [in such a case] this comparison.—There are five kinds of materials supplied [to men] by Heaven. They will use them till their substance is exhausted, and then they are worn out. In consequence of this there is no help for them, they are done with, and cannot be repaired.”

Par 4 From par 8, and the Chuen on IX 3, we understand that this lady was the mother of duke Ch'au. But according to Tso-she, she was not the wife proper of duke Scang, though in this par she appears as such. Ho Hew, on Kung-yang, contends that she was the proper wife. It has been thought that there is some confirmation of this view in the fact that the text nowhere mentions the death of any other wife of duke Scang. We need not, however, discredit the account of Tso-she. On the elevation of duke Ch'au, his mother would be raised to the place of the proper wife.

Par 5 Too does not attempt to fix the situation of P'e-p'oo. It is generally understood to have been somewhere in the south of Loo 龜,—see on viii 6. We have here the description of this as ‘a grand review,’ when every thing connected with the defences and army of the State was regulated. Tso-she says that this review was ‘contrary to rule,’ meaning that it was improper to hold it when the duke must have been mourning for his mother. The poor duke, however, would have very little to do with it. It was ordered and conducted, no doubt, by the three clans.

Par 6 Neither does Too identify Ts'in-ts'ang, but its site is to be sought somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tsze-yang (滋陽), dep Yen-chow. Kung-yang has 侵 干.

The Chuen says—‘Māng He-tsze had a meeting with duke Chiwang of Ts'au, when they made a covenant in Ts'in-ts'ang, to cultivate the good relations [between the two States]—which was according to rule. [Before this], the daughter of a man of Ts'eu-en-k'ew dreamed that with her curtains she made a tent for the temple of the Māng family after which she sought the company of He tsze, accompanied by one of her companions. They had made a covenant at the altar of Ts'ing-k'ew, that, when they had sons, they would not abandon each other. He-tsze made them act as assistants to [his concubine] of the family of Wei. When he was now returning from Ts'in-ts'ang, he passed the night at the house of this lady Wei, and by the young woman of Ts'eu-en-k'ew he had [two sons], E-tsze and Nan-kung King-shuh. Her companion had no child, but she was employed to bring up King-shuh.’

Par 7. Kung-yang has 隱 for 意, 酌 for 弱, 軒 for 平, and 屈銀 for 厥慙. Where Keueh-yin exactly was is not known. The Chuen says—‘When the army of Ts'oo was in Ts'ae, Seun Woo of Ts'in said to Han

Seuen-tsze, “We were not able to save Ch'in, and again we are not able to save Ts'ae, under such circumstances we shall have none to adhere to us. Ts'in's want of power may be known [from this]. We are lord of covenants, but what is the use of our being so when we show no regard for States that are perishing?”

‘The meeting in the autumn at Keueh-yin was to consult about relieving Ts'ae. When Tsze-p'ao of Ch'ing was about to set out for it, Tsze-ch'an said to him, “You will not go far, we are not able to save Ts'ae. Ts'ae is small, and has behaved unreasonably. Ts'oo is great, and has not virtue. Heaven will cast away Ts'ae, to let the [wickedness of] Ts'oo accumulate, and when that is full, it will punish that State. Ts'ae is sure to perish. It is seldom, moreover, that [the State] can be preserved when the ruler is lost. But in three years, his evil will come on the king. When good or evil has gone its round [of 12 years], there is a revolution. The wickedness of the king will then have gone its round.”

‘The people of Ts'in sent Ho Foo to beg of Ts'oo to spare Ts'ae, but the request was refused.’

[The Chuen appends here—‘The viscount of Shen had an interview with Han Seuen-tsze in Ts'ieh. His looks were bent downwards, and his words came slow and low. Han Seuen-tsze said, “The viscount of Shen will, probably, die soon. The places at audiences in the court are definitely fixed, those at meetings abroad are marked out by flags. There is the collar of the upper garment, and the knot of the sash. The words spoken at meetings and audiences must be heard at the places marked out and determined, so that the order of the business may be clearly understood. The looks must be fixed on the space between the collar and the knot, in order that the bearing and countenance may be fitly regulated. The words are intended for the issuing of orders, the bearing and countenance to illustrate them. Any error in either of these is a defect. Now the viscount of Shen is the chief of the king's officers, and when giving his instructions about business at this meeting, his looks did not light above the sash, and his words did not reach beyond a foot. His countenance showed no regulation of his bearing, and his words gave no clear intelligence. The absence of such regulation was a want of respect, the absence of such intelligence was a want [in his words] of accordance [with reason]—he has not breath to preserve his life.”’]

Par 8 The Chuen says—‘At the burial of Ts'e Kwei, the duke showed no grief. The officer of Ts'in who had come to attend the funeral told this, on his return, to the historiographer Chaou, who said, “He is sure to become [a resident] in the suburbs of Loo (I e, he will be driven from the capital).” His attendants asked him why he said so, and he replied, “He is the son of Kwei. As he does not think of his parent, his ancestors will not protect him.” Shuh-h'ang said, “The House of the dukes of Loo is low indeed! Though the ruler had so great a death [in his family], the State would not give up a review, though he was bound to mourn for 3 years, he could not show one day's grief. The State's paying no regard to [his mother's] death showed that it stands in no awe of the ruler, his having no appearance of grief shows that he had no regard for his parents.”



左傳曰：「二年春，齊高偃納北燕伯欵于唐，因其衆也。」

月，鄭簡公卒，將爲葬除，及游氏之廟，將毀焉。人叔使其除，徒執川以立，而無庸毀。曰：「了產過女，而問何故不毀，乃曰：『不忍廟也。』」諾，將毀矣。既如是，了產乃使辟之。司墓之宰有當道者，毀之，則朝而墮，弗毀，則日中而墮。了人叔請毀之，曰：「無若諸侯之賓，何？」了產曰：「諸侯之賓，能來會，豈憚日中無損於賓，而民不害，何故不爲？」遂弗毀。日中而葬。君了謂了產於是乎知禮，禮無毀人以自成也。

夏，宋華定來聘，通嗣君也。字之爲賦，蓼蕭弗知，又不答賦。昭了曰：「必亡，宴語之不懷，寵光之不官，令德之不知，同福之不受，將何以在？」

○齊侯衛侯鄭伯如晉，朝嗣君也。

公如晉，至河乃復，取郟之役。晉人愬於晉，晉有平公之喪，木之治也，故辭公。公了懋，遂如晉。

○晉侯享諸侯，了產相鄭伯，辭於亨，請免喪而後聽命。晉人許之，禮也。晉侯以齊侯宴，中行穆了相，投帝，晉侯先穆了曰：「有酒如淮，有肉如坻。」寡君此爲諸侯師，中此爲諸侯舉，欠曰：「有酒如澠，有肉如陵。」寡人此與君代與，亦中此。伯瑕謂穆了曰：「了失辭。」台圉師諸侯矣，帝何爲焉？其以中雋也。齊君弱，台君歸弗來矣。穆了曰：「台軍帥彊禦，卒乘競勸，今猶古也。」齊將何事？公孫僂趨進，曰：「日旰君勤，可以出矣。」以齊侯出。楚了謂成虎若敖之餘也，遂殺之。或譖成虎於楚了，成虎知之，而不能行。書曰：「楚殺其大夫成虎，懷寵也。」

八月，葬鄭簡公。

○晉荀吳僞會齊師者，假道於鮮虞，遂入晉陽。秋，八月，壬午，滅肥，以肥了綿臯歸。

○周原伯綏虐其與臣，使曹逃。冬，十月，丁未朔，原與入逐綏，而立公了跪，尋綏介郊。

○日簡公無子，立其弟過，過將去成景之族。成景之族賂劉獻公，內中殺甘悼公，而立成公之孫魋。丁酉，殺獻

犬子之傅庾皮之子過殺瑕辛於市及官變韓王孫沒劉州城陰忌老陽子

季平子立而不禮於南蒯南蒯謂子仲吾出季氏而歸其室於公子更其位我以殺爲公臣子仲許之南蒯謂叔仲穆子且告之故季悼子之卒也叔孫昭子以再命爲卿及平子伐莒克之更受三命叔仲子欲構二家謂平子曰三命踰父兄非禮也不平子曰然故使昭子昭子曰叔孫氏有家禍殺適立庶故姑也及此若因禍以斃之則聞命矣若不廢君命則固有名矣昭子初而命吏曰姑將與季氏訟舊辭無煩季孫懼而歸罪於叔仲子故叔仲小南蒯公子怒韓季氏怒告公而遂從公如晉南蒯懼不克以叛叛如齊子仲還及衛聞亂逃介而先及郊聞叛叛逐奔齊南蒯之將叛也其鄉人或知之過之而歎且言曰恤恤乎欲乎攸乎深思而淺謀邇身而遠志家臣而君國有人矣哉南蒯收斂之遇坤之地曰黃裳元吉以爲大吉也示子服惠伯曰卽欲有事何如惠伯曰吾嘗學此矣忠信之事則可不然必敗外強內溫忠也和以率貞信也故曰黃裳元吉黃中之色也爻下之飾也元善之長也中不忠不得其色下不共不得其飾事不善不得其極外內倡和爲忠率事以信爲共供養三德爲善非此三者弗當且夫易不可以占險將何事也且可飾乎中莫能黃上莫爲元下莫則裳蓍成可筮猶有闕也筮雖吉未也將適賈飲鄉人酒鄉人或歌之曰我有圃生之杞乎從我者子乎去我者鄙乎信其鄰者恥乎已乎已乎非吾信之士乎平子欲使昭子逐叔仲小小聞之不敢初昭子命吏謂小待政於朝曰吾不爲怨府

楚子狩於州來次於潁尾使蒍侯潘子司馬督歸尹午陵尹喜帥師圍徐以懼吳楚子次於乾谿以爲之援雨雪王皮冠秦復陶翠被豹舄執鞭以出僕析父從右尹子革夕王見之去冠被舍鞭與之辭曰昔我先王熊繹與呂候王孫牟變父禽父並事康王四國皆有分我獨無有今吾使人於周求鼎以爲分王其與我乎對曰與君王哉昔我先王熊繹辟在荊山篳路藍縷以處草莽跋涉山林以事天子唯是桃弧棘矢以共禦王事齊王

舅也。管及魯衛，一母弟也。楚是以無分，而彼皆有。今周與四國服事君，一將唯命是從，豈其愛鼎？一曰：昔我皇祖伯父昆吾，舊許是宅，今鄭人貪賴其田，而不我與。我若求之，其與我乎？對曰：與君一哉。周不愛鼎，鄭敢愛田？一曰：昔諸侯遠我而畏晉，今我人城陳，蔡不羹，賦皆一乘了，與有勞焉。諸侯其畏我乎？對曰：畏君一哉。是四國者，專足畏也，又加以楚，敢不畏君上哉？一尹路請曰：君上命剝圭以為鉞，秘敢請命。一入視之，析父謂了革，了革曰：楚國之望也，今與一曰：如響，國其若之？何了革曰：摩厲以須，一出，台刃將斬矣。一出，復詔左史倚相趨過，一曰：是良史也，了革視之，是能讀墳、典、八索、九丘。對曰：臣嘗問焉，昔穆一欲肆其心，周行人卜，將皆必有車轍馬跡焉。祭公謀父作祈招之詩，以止其心，一是以獲沒於祗宮。臣問其詩而不知也，若問遠焉，其焉能知之？一曰：了能乎？對曰：能其詩曰：祈招之愔愔，式昭德音。思我王度，式如二，式如金。形民之力，而無醉飽之心。一揖而入，饋不食，寢不寐。數日，不能自克，以及於難。仲尼曰：占也有心，克己復禮，仁也。信善哉。楚靈一若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿？管伐鮮虞，因肥之役也。

- XII
- 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, Kaou Yen of Ts'e led a force, and replaced the earl of North Yen in Yang
  - 2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, Kea, earl of Ch'ing, died
  - 3 In summer, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Ting to Loo on a complimentary mission
  - 4 The duke was going to Tsin, but when he got to the Ho, he returned.
  - 5 In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Keen of Ch'ing
  - 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer Ch'ing Heung
  - 7 It was autumn, the seventh month.
  - 8 In autumn, duke [Seang's] son Yin fled from the State to Ts'e
  - 9 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Seu.
  - 10 Tsin invaded the Seen-yu.

Par 1 Yang was a city of Yen,—in the pres district of T'ang (唐), dep Paou-tung, Chih-le. It was afterwards called T'ang. This earl of Yen was the K'wan, whose flight to Ts'e is mentioned in vi 9. We have the account of an ineffectual attempt on the part of Ts'e to restore him. This second attempt was also a

failure, though it secured for the earl possession of T'ang.

The Chuen says —'Kaou Yen replaced K'wan, earl of North Yen, in T'ang,—through its inhabitants [being well disposed to him].'

Par 2 The Chuen says,—'In the 3d month, duke Keen of Ch'ing died. When they were engaged in levelling the road in order to his burial,

they came to the ancestral temple of the Yaw family and were reluctant to pull it down. Tse-t'ao-shuh (Yaw K'uh, Head of the family) made the clearers stand with their implements in their hands, and not proceed to pull it down, telling them that when Tse-ch'an passed by them and asked why they had not pulled it down, they should say "We could not bear [to touch] the temple; but yes—we will pull it down." When they had done this, Tse-t'ao-shuh made them carry the road on one side of it. Right in the way were some houses belonging to the superintendent of the graves. If they were destroyed the coffin could be put under ground in the morning. If they were not pulled down it would be mid-day before that could be done. Tse-t'ao-shuh begged that they might be pulled down, saying "We must do it for the sake of our guests from the [various] States;" but Tse-ch'an said, "The guests from the States who come to be present at our funeral will not be afraid of [stopping till] mid-day. Why should we not do what will occasion them no loss, and will save the people from injury?" Accordingly they did not pull the houses down, and the interment was accomplished at mid-day.

The superior man will say that Tse-ch'an knew what was proper. According to the rules of propriety a man will not overthrow anything of another to establish himself.

Tso supposes that duke K'een had chosen some new spot to be buried in, which occasioned the difficulties mentioned in the narrative.

Par 3. The Chuen says:—This visit was on behalf of the ruler [of Sung] to open communications [between him and Loou]. [The duke] gave him an entertainment, and there was sung for him the Luh S'ao (S'ao, II. 11. 10. 11); but he did not understand it, and sang nothing in reply. Ch'ou-tzu said, "He is sure to be driven into exile. He cherished not that 'We feast and talk; he declared not his sense of that.' They favour me, they brighten me; he understood not that 'Excellent virtue,' he accepted not that 'Common happiness';—how should he continue to be in [Sung]?"

[The Chuen gives here:—The marquises of Tse and Wei, and the earl of Ching went to Tsin to present themselves at the court of the new ruler.]

Par 4. In explanation of this par the Chuen says:—In consequence of our taking K'ang (S'ao on x. 3), the people of K'ou had complained to Tsin, which had not yet dealt with the matter being occupied by the death of duke Ming and therefore declined the duke's visit. Duke [S'ang's] son Yin then went to Tsin.

[We have here the following narrative about the visit of the above-named princes to Tsin:—The rulers of Tsin entertained the princes, but Tse-ch'an who was in attendance on and directing the earl of Ching begged that he might be excused from being; went, saying that when they had done with the death [for the late earl] they would receive Tsin's orders; and the request was granted;—which was according to [our key]

The marquises of Tsin was feasting with the marquises of Tse, when Chung-hang Muh-tze (Hsun Woo), who was directing the ceremonies, [proposed that they should play at] throwing arrows into jars. The marquises of Tsin had the first chance, and Muh-tze said

We have spirits to fill the Hwae;  
We have flesh to form the Ch'ao.

If my ruler succeed with this, he will be the master of the princes." The marquise threw was successful; and then the marquise of Tse lifted up an arrow and said,

"I have spirits to fill the Shing;  
I have flesh to form a great mound.

If I hit with this, I shall rise to your lordship's place."

His throw was also successful, on which Pih-hen (Hse Wan pih) said to Muh-tze: "You made a slip in what you said;—our [ruler's] position is established as master of the princes. Why did you use those jars? How should a successful throw into them give any superiority? The ruler of Tse has treated our ruler as feeble. When he returns, he will not come here [again]." Muh-tze replied, "Our armies and generals are most formidable opponents; our soldiers and chariot men are strong and eager;—now as of old. Whom will Tse attack [but Tsin]?" The Kung sun S'ow hurried into the place of entertainment saying "The day is declining; our ruler is tired; it is time for him to come out." [With these words], he carried off the marquise of Tse.

Par 5. The Chuen repeats this par as if to show the meaning of Tse-ch'an's remark in the above narrative giving however the 6th month, instead of the 5th.

Par 6. For 許 Kung yang has 許; K'uh H'ang and the Chuen of Tso have 許. H'ang was a grand son of Tsi shin or Tse-yuh, who lost the battle of Shing-p'oh. Both the Ching and Tse families were descended from Jih-yaou. The Chuen says:—The account of T'oo, con-klaring that Ching Hoo was a remnant, [as it were], of Jih-yaou, put him to death. Some one had slandered Ching Hoo to the viscount and though he was aware of it he was not able to go away. The text T'oo put to death its great officer Ching Hoo, shows how he clung to the favour [he enjoyed].

[We have here three narratives appended:—1st. Seun Woo of Tsin, pretending that he wanted to join the army of Tse's horned kwao to go through S'hen yu, and took the opportunity to take possession of Tsin yang. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Jin wou, he extinguished T'eh, and took its viscount, M'ien kau, back with him to Tsin.

2d. K'ao, earl of Yuen in Chow behaved oppressively to his servants, and made them run away. In winter in the 10th month, on Jin shin, the 1st day of the moon, all the people of Yuen drove K'ao out and raised his brother Kwei sin to his place. K'ao fled to K'aoou.

3d. Duke K'ien of Kan had no son, and appointed his brother Kwo as his son. Kwo wished to take off the families descended from [dukes] Ching and King; but these bribed duke H'een of L'ow who, on P'ing-shin, put [Kwo] duke Ta u of Kan to death, and appointed Ta shu a grandson of duke Ching, in his room. On P'ing yew he put to death Kwo, a son of Yu L'ow and tutor of the eldest son H'een. Ho put H'ien Shu to death in the market place, and Ch'oh a favourite of the palace, Wang-sun Moh, L'ow Chow k'ou Yin he and Lau yang tseu.]

Par 8 For 慈 Kung-yang has 整 We must suppose that the Kung-tsze Yin was a son of duke Seang, and his being sent on a mission to Tsin, as mentioned in the Chuen on par 4, shows that he was a minister of the State. His designation was Tsze-chung (仲).

The Chuen says — 'When Ke P'ing-tsze became Head of his clan, he behaved discourteously to Nan Kwae (A son of Nan E in the narrative at the end of the 4th year), who said to Tsze-chung, "I will drive out the Head of the Ke family, and give over his property to the duke. You will take his place, and I will hold Pe as a servant of the duke." Tsze-chung agreed, and Nan Kwae then told Shuh-chung Muh-tsze (A grand-son of Tae or Shuh-chung Ch'au-pih, and great-grand son of P'ang-sang or Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih. His name was Seaou, 小), informing him also of the cause [of his conduct].

'When Ke Taou-tsze (Son of Ke Woo-tsze and father of P'ing-tsze) died, Shuh-sun Ch'au-tsze was one of the ministers having received his second appointment, and when P'ing-tsze invaded Keu and overcame it, he again received his third appointment. Shuh-chung-tsze, wishing to set the two families at variance, said to P'ing-tsze, "With his three appointments he has got beyond the rank of his father, and of you his cousin older than himself,—which is contrary to propriety." "Yes," said P'ing-tsze, and he sent to Ch'au-tsze [to require him to resign his third appointment]. Ch'au-tsze said 'The House of Shuh-sun had its family misfortunes when the sons of the proper wife were put to death, and the son of a concubine was appointed in their place. It was thus that I reached my present position. If you had taken the opportunity of those misfortunes to ruin me, I should have accepted your commands. [But now], if we do not disannul our ruler's appointment, I certainly have this rank and position.'

Ch'au-tsze went to the court, and gave orders to the officers, saying, "I am going to have a litigation with Ke sun. You must write the pleas without partiality." Ke-sun became afraid, and laid the blame on Shuh-chung-tsze. In consequence of this, Shuh-chung Seaou, Nan Kwae, and the Kung-tsze Yin plotted against Ke-sun. Yin informed the duke of it, and immediately after followed him to Tsin. Nan Kwae, fearing their attempt would not succeed, revolted with Pe, and went [with it] to Ts'e. When Tsze-chung was returning [from his mission], he heard of the confusion, stole away from the assistant-commissioner, and went before him, but on his arrival at the suburbs, hearing of the revolt of Pe, he fled to Ts'e.

'When Nan Kwae was about to revolt, a man of the same village was acquainted with his purpose, and passed by him, sighing as he did so. He also said, "Alas! Alas! A case of difficulty and hazard!" His thoughts are deep, and his plans are shallow. Circumscribed is his position, and his aims are far-reaching. The servant of a family, his schemes affect the ruler. Such a man there is!" Nan Kwae consulted by some twigs about his object, without mentioning it and got the diagram K'wän (坤, ䷁), which then became Pe (比, ䷇). As it is said [upon

the changed line], "Yellow for the lower garment, great good fortune," he thought this was very lucky, and showed it to Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih, saying, "If I am contemplating something, how does this indicate it will turn out?" Hwuy-pih replied, "I have learned this—If the thing be one of loyalty and good faith, you may go forward with it. If it be not, it will be defeated. The outer figure indicates strength, and the inner mildness,—expressive of loyalty. We have [also] harmony leading on solidity,—expressive of fidelity. Hence the words, 'Yellow for the lower garment, greatness and good fortune.' But yellow is the colour of the centre, the lower garment is the ornament of that which is beneath, that greatness is the height of goodness. If in the centre (= the heart) there is not loyalty, there cannot be the colour, if below (= in an inferior) there be not the respectful discharge of duty, there cannot be the ornament, if the affair be not good, there cannot be that height. When the outer and inner are mutually harmonious, there is loyalty, when affairs are done in fidelity, there is that discharge of duty, an earnest nourishing of the three virtues makes that goodness. Where there are not these three things, this diagram does not apply.

"Moreover, [this passage of] the Yih cannot be a guide about anything hazardous. What thing are you contemplating that should require that ornamenting? With what is admirable in the centre, you can predicate the yellow, with what is admirable above, you can predicate that great goodness, with what is admirable below, you can predicate that lower garment. Given these three all complete, and you may consult the reeds. If they are defective, though the consultation may [seem to] be lucky, it is not to be acted on."

'When [Nan Kwae] was about to go to Pe he invited his fellow villagers to drink with him, one of them sang,

"In my garden of vegetables is a medlar tree!  
Follow me, and you will be a good man,  
Leave me, and you will act merely  
To rebel against one's friends is shameful  
Stop! Stop!  
Or you will be no member of our party!"

P'ing-tsze wished to make Ch'au-tsze drive out Shuh-chung Seaou. When Seaou heard it, he did not dare to go to court. Ch'au-tsze ordered the officers to tell him that he should be waiting in the court for any governmental orders, adding, "I will not make myself an office of animosities."

Par 9 The Chuen says — 'The viscount of Ts'oo was celebrating the winter hunt in Chow-lae, and halted at the junction of the Ying [with the Hwae], from which he sent the marquis of Tang, the viscount of P'wan, the marshal Tah, Woo the director of Heaou, and He the director of Ling, with a force to besiege [the capital of] Seu, in order to alarm Woo, while he himself would halt at Kan-k'e to afford them what help they might require.

'The snow was falling, and the king went out with a whip in his hand, wearing a fur-cap, the clock sent to him from Ts'in ornamented with king-fishers' feathers, and in shoes of leopard skin. He was followed by his charioteer Seih-fuo. In the evening Tsze-kih (Tan of Ch'ing),



director of the Right, waited upon him; and when the king saw him, he put off his cap and cloak, laid aside his whip, and spoke with him. "Formerly" said he "my ancestor Hsüang Yih, with Lien Kieh, Wang-sun Mow Söeh-foo, and K'ün foo, all served together king K'ang. The four States of those princes all received [precious] gifts, only we [in Ts'oo] got none. If I now send a messenger to Chow and ask for the tripods as our share, will the king give them to me?" "He will give them. O ruler and king" was the reply. "Formerly our king, Hsüang Yih, lived meanly by mount King in a deal carriage, with tattered clothes, as befitted his position amid the uncultivated wilds; climbing the hills and wading through the streams in the service of the son of Heaven; with a bow of peach-wood and arrows of thorn, discharging his defence of the king. [On the other hand, Lien Kieh of] Ts'oo was king [Ch'ing's] maternal uncle; [T'ang-shuh of] Tsin was his own brother; and [the fathers of] K'ün foo of] Loo and [Söeh foo of] Wei were king [Woo's] own brothers. Thus it was that [the princes of] Ts'oo received no [precious] gifts, and all those other princes did. But now Chow and those four States are submissive to you, O ruler and king, and you have only to order them to be obeyed.—how should [Chow] grudge you the tripods?"

The king pursued, "Formerly the eldest brother of our remote ancestor dwelt in the old territory of Hsü; but now the people of Ch'ing in their greed possess that territory and enjoy the benefit of it, and have refused to give it to us. If I ask it [now], will they give it?" Tse-khi again replied, "They will give it to you, O ruler and king. If Chow do not grudge its tripods, will Ch'ing dare to grudge its lands?"

The king went on, "Formerly the States kept aloof from us and stood in awe of Tsin. But now I have walked on a great scale [the capitals of] Ch'ing and Ts'oo, and the [two] Puh-lang each of which can levy a thousand chariots; and for this I am much indebted to you. Will the States now stand in awe of me?" "They" was the reply "will stand in awe of you, O ruler and king! Those four States are themselves sufficient to awe them; and when there is added to them the power of Ts'oo, will the States dare not to stand in awe of you, O ruler and king?"

[At this moment], Loo, director of Works, came with a request, saying, "Your majesty ordered me to break a baton of jade [to ornament] the handle of an axe. I venture to ask for further instructions." The king went in to see the work; and then Söeh-foo said to Tse-khi, "You are looked up to by the State of Ts'oo;

but now in talking to the king, you have been but his echo;—what will the State think of you?" Tse-khi replied, "I have been sharpening [my weapon] on the whetstone to await [my opportunity]; when the king comes out I will cut down [his extravagance] with the edge of it."

When the king came out, he was resuming the conversation, and E-söang, the historiographer of the Left, passed by. "There," said the king, "is an excellent historiographer. He can read the three Fan, the five T'ien, the eight Shih, and the nine K'ü. I have questioned him," was the reply. "Formerly king Shih wished to indulge his [extravagant] desire, and travel over all under heaven, so that the ruts of his chariot wheels and the prints of his horses' feet should be everywhere. Mow foo, duke of Chae then made the ode of K'ü-shao, to curb the ambition of the king who died in consequence a natural death in the palace of Che. I asked [E-söang] about the ode, and he did not know it. If I were to ask him about anything more ancient, how should he be able to know it?" "Can you repeat it?" asked the king. Tse-khi replied, "I can. The ode said,

How mild is the course of our minister Shao!  
How fitted to show [the king's] virtuous fame!

He would order his measures and movements,  
As more valuable than gold or gem.  
Beyond the people's strength he would not go,  
Nor drunkard's thirst nor glutton's greed  
would know "

The king bowed to him and went in. For so many days he would not eat what was brought to him, nor was he able to sleep; but he was not able to subdue himself and so he came to his evil [end].

Chung ne said, "It is contained in an ancient book that to subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue." True is the saying and excellent. If king Ling of Ts'oo could have done this, he would not have come to disgrace at Kan k'ü!

Par 10 Tso-sho observes that this attack was a sequel to the campaign against Pei, of which we have an account in the 1st narrative appended to par. 6. The people of Sien-yu were a tribe of the White Teth. The territory called also Chung-shan (中山), was in the present of Chin-ting (鎮定), Chih la. Tso observes that the commander of the army of Tsin is not mentioned, through the inadvertence of the historiographer. Compare VI. x. 3 and VIII. III. 14.

蔓成然皆王所不禮也。因羣喪職之族，啟越大夫常壽過作亂，圍固城，克息舟城而居之。觀起之死也，其子從在蔡。事朝吳曰：「今不封蔡，蔡不封矣。我歸賦之以蔡公之命。」召子干、子皙及郊而告之，情強與之盟，入襲蔡。蔡公將食，見之而逃。觀從使子干食坎用牲，加書而速行。已徇於外，曰：「蔡公召二子將納之，與之盟而遣之矣。」將師而從之。蔡人聚將執之，辭曰：「失賊成軍，而殺余何益？乃釋之。」朝吳曰：「二子若能死亡，則如違之以待所濟。若求安定，則如與之以濟所欲。」且違上何適而可？衆曰：「與之。」乃奉蔡公、召二子而盟於鄧。依陳蔡人以國。楚公子比、公子黑肱、公子棄疾蔓成然、蔡朝吳帥陳蔡不與。許葉之師因四族之徒以入楚，及郊。陳蔡欲爲名，故請爲武軍。蔡公知之，曰：「欲速且役病矣。」帥藩而已。乃藩爲軍。蔡公使須務牟與史狎先入，因正僕人殺犬子祿及公子罷敵。公子比爲王公子黑肱爲令尹，久於魚陂。公子棄疾爲司馬，先除王官。使觀從從師于乾谿，而遂告之。且曰：「先歸復所，後者則帥及管梁而潛王間。」羣公子之死也，自投於車下曰：「人之愛其子也，亦如余乎？侍者曰：『甚焉。』小人老而無子，知拊於溝壑矣。」王曰：「余殺人子多矣，能無及此乎？」右尹子革曰：「請待于郊，以聽國人。」王曰：「衆怒不可犯也。」曰：「若入於大都，而乞師於諸侯。」王曰：「皆叛矣。」曰：「若亡於諸侯，以聽大國之圖。」召也。王曰：「大禍不再，祇取辱焉。」然丹乃歸於楚。王沿夏將欲入鄧，芋尹無宇之子中亥曰：「吾父再奸王命，王弗許，惠孰大焉？君不可忍，惠不可棄。」吾其從王。乃求王，遇諸棘闕，以歸。夏五月，癸亥，王縊於芋尹中亥氏。中亥以其二女殉，而葬之。

觀從謂子干曰：「不殺棄疾，雖得國猶受禍也。」子干曰：「余不忍也。」子玉曰：「人將忍子，吾不忍俟也。」乃行。圍每夜騷曰：「王入矣。」乙卯夜，棄疾使周走而呼曰：「王至矣。」國人大驚，使蔓成然走告子干、子皙曰：「王至矣。」國人殺君司馬。將來矣。君若早自圖也，可以無辱。衆怒如水火焉，不可爲謀。又有呼而走至者曰：「衆至矣。」二子皆自殺。丙辰，棄疾卽位。名曰熊居。葬子干於背，實臂，殺囚衣之王服而流諸漢，乃取而葬之，以靖國人。使子旗爲令尹，楚師

還自徐，吳人敗諸豫章，獲其五帥。平王封陳，蔡復遷，致羣賂，施舍寬民，宥罪，舉職。召觀從，曰：「唯爾所欲。」對曰：「臣之先佐開卜，乃使爲卜尹，使枝如了躬聘於鄭，以致犢櫟之川，事畢弗致，鄭人請曰：『聞諸道路，將命寡君以犢櫟，敢請命。』對曰：『臣聞命，既復，一問犢櫟，降服而對。』臣過矢命，木之致也。一執其了，了毋勤，姑歸，不穀有事，其告了也。」他年，平王中亥，以一柩告，乃改葬之。初，靈王卜曰：「余尙得入卜，不占，投龜，詬人而呼曰：『是區區者而不余告，余必自取之。』民患之，無厭也，故從亂如歸。」初，只一無豕適，有寵了五人，無適立焉，乃人有事於羣望，而祈曰：「請神擇於五人者，使上社稷，乃徧以璧覓於羣望。」曰：「當璧而升者，神所立也，誰敢違之？」既乃與巴姬密埋璧於大室之庭，使五人齊而長入拜，康王跨之，靈王別加焉，了了皆遠之，个一弱抱而入，再拜皆厭紐。闕韋龜屬成然焉，曰：「衆禮違命，楚其危哉。」子丁歸，韓宣了問於叔向曰：「了了其濟乎？」對曰：「難。」宣了曰：「同惡相求，如市賈焉，何難？」對曰：「無與同好，誰與同惡？取國有難，有寵而無人，也；有人而無了，也；有了而無謀，也；有謀而無民，四也；有民而無德，五也。」了了管一，年矣，管楚之從，不聞達者，可謂無人，族盡親叛，可謂無了，無戮而動，可謂無謀，爲壽終世，可謂無民，亡無愛徵，可謂無德，一虐而不忌，楚君了了，涉五難以弑舊君，誰能濟之？有楚國者，其衆疾乎？君陳蔡，城外屬焉，可惡不作，盜賊伏隱，私欲不違，民無怨心，先神命之，國民信之，了了姓有亂，必乎實立，楚之常也，獲神，也；有民，一也，令德，也；寵貴，四也，居常，力也，有，力利以去，力難誰能害之？了了之官，則右尹也，數其貴寵，則庶了也，以神所命，則又遠之，其貴亡矣，其寵衆矣，民無懷焉，國無與焉，將何以立？宣了曰：「齊桓管文，不亦是乎？」對曰：「齊桓衛姬之了也，有寵於僖，有鮑叔牙，賓須無，隰朋，以爲輔佐，有呂衛以爲外，了有國，高以爲內，了從善如流，了善齊肅，不藏賄，不從欲，舍施不倦，求善不厭，是以有國，不亦宜乎？」我先君文公，狐季姬之了也，有寵於獻，好學而不貳，小十七年，有，了五人，有先人人了了餘了犯，以爲腹心，有魏犢，買佗，以爲股肱，有齊宋，秦楚，以爲外，了有變，卻狐先，以爲內，了了十九年，守志彌篤，患懷衆民，民從

而與之，獻無異親，民無異望。天方相晉，將何以代文？此二君者，異於子干，共有寵于國，有與主，無施於民，無援於外，去晉而不送，歸楚而不逆，何以冀國？

晉成虎祁諸侯朝而歸者，皆有貳心，爲取郵故。晉將以諸侯來討，叔向曰：「諸侯不可以不示威，乃竝徵會，告於吳、秋。晉侯會吳子於良水，道不可，吳子辭，乃遷七月丙寅，治兵於邾南，甲車四千乘，羊舌肸攝司馬，遂合諸侯于平丘。子產子犬叔相鄭伯以會子產，以幅幕九張行。子犬叔以四十旆而悔之，每舍損焉及會，亦如之。次於衛地，叔餽求貨於衛淫，芻蕘者，衛人使屠伯饋叔向羹與一簋。錦曰：「諸侯事晉未敢攜貳，況衛在君之宇下而敢有異志？芻蕘者異於他日，敢請之。」叔向受羹，反錦曰：「晉有羊舌肸者，賣貨無厭，亦將及矣。爲此役也，子若以君命賜之，其已客從之，未退而禁之。」

晉人將尋盟，齊人不可。晉侯使叔向告酈獻公曰：「抑齊人不盟，君之何對？」盟以底信，君苟有信，諸侯不貳，何患焉？告之以文辭，董之以武師，雖齊不許，君庸多矣。天子之老，請帥王賦，元戎十乘以先啟行，遲速唯君叔向。告於齊曰：「諸侯求盟已在此矣，今君弗利，寡君以爲請。」對曰：「諸侯討貳，則有尋盟，若皆用命，何盟之尋？」叔向曰：「國家之敗，有事而無業，事則不經，有業而無禮，經則不序，有禮而無威，序則不共，有威而不昭，共則不明，不明與共，百事不終，所由傾覆也，是故明王之制，使諸侯歲聘以志業，閒朝以講禮，再朝而會以示威，再會而盟以顯昭明，志業於好，講禮於等，示威於衆，昭明於神，自古以來，未之或失也。存亡之道，恆由是興。晉禮主盟，懼有不治，奉承齊犧，而布諸君，求終事也。君曰：「余必廢之。」何齊之有？唯君圖之。」寡君聞命，命齊人懼，對曰：「小國言之，大國制之，敢不聽從？」既聞命，命矣，敬共以往，遲速唯君。叔向曰：「諸侯有間矣，不可以不示衆。」八月辛未，治兵建而不旆。壬申，復旆之。諸侯畏之，邾人莒人懼於晉。曰：「魯朝夕伐我，幾亡矣。我之不共，魯故之以。」晉侯不見公，使叔向來辭曰：「諸侯將以甲戌盟，寡君知不得事君矣。請君無勤，子服惠伯對曰：「君信蠻夷之辭，以絕兄弟之國，棄

周公之後，亦唯君。寡君聞命矣。叔向曰：寡君有甲車四千乘在，雖以無道行之，必可畏也。況其率道，其何敵之有？牛雖瘠，賃於豚上，其畏不死。南蒯了仲之憂，其庸可乘乎？若奉晉之衆，用諸侯之師，因邾、莒、杞、鄆之怒，以討魯罪，開其憂，何求而弗克？魯人懼命，甲戌同盟于平丘，齊服也。令諸侯日中造於除，癸酉退朝，了產命外僕速張於除，了大叔止之，使待明日。及夕，了產聞其未張也，使速往，乃無所張矣。及盟，了產爭承曰：昔人了班貢，輕重以列，列尊貢重，周之制也。卑而貢重者，何服也？鄭伯男也，而使從公侯之貢，懼弗給也，敢以爲請。諸侯靖兵，好以爲事，行理之命，無月不至，貢之無藝，小國有闕，所以得罪也。諸侯修盟，存小國也，貢獻無極，亡可待也。存亡之制，將在今矣。自日中以爭，至於昏，晉人許之。既盟，了大叔咎之曰：諸侯若討，其可潰乎？了產曰：晉政多門，貳偷之不服，何暇討？國不競，亦陵，何國之爲？

公不與盟，晉人執季孫意如，以幕蒙之，使狄人守之。司鐸躬懷錦，奉帝飲冰，以蒲伏焉。守者御之，乃與之錦，而入。晉人以平了歸，了服湫從。

①了產歸，木至，聞了皮卒，哭。且曰：吾已無爲爲善矣，唯夫了知我。仲尼謂了產於是行也，足以爲國是矣。詩曰：樂只君子，邦家之基。了產，君了之求樂者也。且曰：合諸侯，藝貢事，禮也。

②鮮虞人聞晉師之悉起也，而不警邊，且不修備。晉荀吳自著雍，以卜車侵鮮虞，及中人驅衝競，人獲而歸。楚之滅蔡也，靈王遷許、胡、沈、道、房申於荆焉。平一卽位，既封陳蔡，而皆復之，禮也。隱人了之了廬歸，了蔡，禮也。悼人了之了吳歸，了陳，禮也。

冬一月，葬蔡靈公，禮也。

公如晉，荀吳謂韓宣子曰：諸侯相朝，講舊好也，執其卿而朝其君，有不好焉，不如辭之。乃使景伯辭公於河。吳滅州來，令尹了旗請伐吳，了弗許。了台不撫以人，不事鬼神，不修守備，不定國家，而用以力，敗不可悔。州來

在吳猶在楚也，子姑待之。  
 ○季孫猶在晉，子服惠伯私於中行穆子，曰：魯事晉，何以不如夷之？小國魯兄弟也，上地猶大所命能具，若爲夷棄之，使事齊楚，其何望於晉？親親與大，賞共罰否？所以爲盟主也。子其圖之。諺曰：臣一主二，吾豈無大國？穆子告韓宣子，且曰：楚滅陳，蔡不能救，而爲夷執親將焉用之？乃歸季孫惠伯曰：寡君未知其罪，合諸侯而執其老若猶有罪，死命可也。若曰無罪而惠免之，諸侯不聞，是逃命也。何免之爲？請從君惠於會。宣子患之，謂叔向曰：子能歸季孫乎？對曰：不能。鮒也能，乃使叔魚叔魚見季孫曰：昔鮒也得罪於晉君，自歸於魯，君微武子之賜，不至於今。雖獲歸，骨於晉猶子，則肉之，敢不盡情歸子，而不歸鮒也。聞諸吏，將爲子除館於西河，其若之何？且泣。平子懼，先歸惠伯待禮。

- XIII 1 In the [dukes] thirteenth year, in spring, Shuh Kung led a force, and laid siege to Pe.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, the Kung tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Ts'in to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'ên in Kan k'e.  
 3 The Kung tsze K'e-tsh of Ts'oo put to death the Kung tsze Pe.  
 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lû, the marquises of Ts'in and Ts'ue, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sûch and K'e, and the viscount of Little Choo, in T'ing K'ew.  
 5 In the eighth month, on K'eah-seuh, they made a covenant together in Ping k'ew.  
 6 [But] the duke did not take part in the covenant.  
 7 The people of Ts'in seized Ke-sun E-joo, and took him back with them [to Ts'in].  
 8 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
 9 Leu, marquis of Ts'ue, returned to [the rule of] Ts'ue, and Woo, marquis of Ch'in, to [the rule of] Ch'in.  
 10 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'ue.  
 11 The duke was going to Ts'in, but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.  
 12 Woo extinguished Chow lae.

Par 1. Pe.—see on IX. vil. 4. At that time Nan E was commandant of Pe for the Ke-sun family; but from the narrative on par. 8 of last year we learned that it was now held by his

son Nan Kwac who had carried the city with him, and transferred his allegiance from Loo, or the Ke-sun family rather to Ts'ue.

The Chuen says — 'This spring, Shuh Kung laid siege to Pe, but he could not reduce it, and was himself defeated. P'ing-tsze, enraged, gave orders that whenever a man of Pe was seen, he should be seized and kept as a prisoner. Yai Gow-foo said to him, "This is a wrong course. If, when a man of Pe is seen suffering from cold, you clothe him, or suffering from want, you feed him, proving yourself its good lord, and ministering to the privations and distresses of its people, they will come to you as if they were coming home, and the Nan will perish. The people will revolt from them, and there will be none to dwell in the city with them. If you afflict them by your severity and frighten them with your wrath, so that they shall detest you, and be confirmed in their revolt, you will [only] be collecting [more followers] for the Nan. If all the States should deal thus with them, the men of Pe would have none to turn to. If they did not adhere to the chief of the Nan, where could they go to?" P'ing-tsze followed this counsel, and the people of Pe revolted from Nan [Kwae].'

Par 2 For 乾谿 Kuh-leang has 乾溪. The Chuen on par 9 of last year left the king of Ts'oo at this place, waiting the result of his operations against Seu. It was in the south-east of the pres Poh-chow (亳州), dep Ying-chow (潁州), Gan-hwuy. The Kung-tsze Pe was a younger brother of the king of Ts'oo, and had fled to Ts'in 13 years before this, when the king murdered his predecessor, — see the last par of the 1st year, and the Chuen on the one preceding it.

The Chuen says — 'When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he put to death the grand-marshal Wei Yen, and took his property to himself (See the narrative after IX xxx 8), and when he became viscount, he violently took his lands from Wei Keu. At the removal of [the capital of] Heu (See on ix 2), he had taken [with him] as a hostage, Wei, [a great officer] of that State. Wei of Ts'ae was a favourite with the king, and when the king extinguished Ts'ae (See xi 9), his father died [in that State], but the king made Wei remain to take part in the charge [of the capital], when he proceeded [himself to Kan-k'e]. At the meeting of Shun (iv 2), a great officer of Yueh was subjected to disgrace. The king [also] took Chung-ch'ow from Tow Wei-kwei, and his city from [Wei-kwei's son], Ch'ing Jen, making him director of the suburbs. This Ch'ing Jen of Man had previously been in the service of the duke of Ts'ae (The viscount's brother K'e-tsih). In this way the families of the Wei clan, with Wei Keu, Wei of Heu, Wei of Ts'ae, and Ch'ing Jen of Man, had all been treated with discourtesy by the king, and they took advantage of the [other] families which had lost their offices to incite Chang Show-kwo, the great officer of Yueh, to raise an insurrection, when he laid siege to Koo-shing, reduced the city of Seih-chow, and walled and occupied it.

'After the death of Kwan K'e (See on IX xxii 6), his son Ts'ung went to Ts'ae, and was in the service of Chaou Woo, to whom he [now] said, "If the State of Ts'ae be not now restored, it never will be so. Let me try and bring it about." Accordingly, as if by the

orders of the duke of Ts'ae, he called Tsze-kan (The Kung-tsze Pe) and Tsze-seih [to Ts'ae]. When they had arrived in the suburbs, he told them all the truth [about his plot], forced them to make a covenant with him, and then they entered [the capital of] Ts'ae by surprise. The duke was about to take a meal, and when he saw them, he ran away from them. Kwan Ts'ung made Tsze-kan partake of the food, and they then dug a hole, placed in it [the blood of] a victim with the words [of a covenant] over it, after which [the two princes] went hurriedly away. Ts'ung himself made the thing known through the city, saying, "The duke called his two brothers, and is going to restore them [to Ts'oo], he has made a covenant with them, and sent them away, but he intends to raise his forces and follow them." The men of Ts'ae collected, and would have seized him, but he said to them, "Of what use will it be to kill me, after you have let the [two] traitors escape, and are raising your army?" On this they let him go, and Chaou Woo said to them, "If you are able to die [for the king], your best plan is to oppose the duke, and wait till you see to whom success falls. But if you seek for rest and establishment, your best plan is to take sides with him, to secure the success of his ambition. And, moreover, if we oppose our superior, to whom can we betake ourselves with advantage?" The multitude said, 'We will take sides with him,' and they proceeded to raise the standard of the duke of Ts'ae, called [back] the two other princes, and made a covenant in T'ang.

'The dependance [of the princes in their struggle] for the State was on the men of Ch'in, and Ts'ae, which they promised to reconstitute as States, so the three, Pe, Hih-kw'ang (Tsze-seih), and K'e-tsih, with Ch'ing Jen of Man and Chaou Woo of Ts'ae, led on the forces of Ch'in, Ts'ae, Puh-lang, Heu, and Sheli, and took advantage of the adherents of the 4 [disaffected] families, to enter [the capital of] Ts'oo. When they arrived at the suburbs, [the men of] Ch'in and Ts'ae wished to get a name and asked leave to form an entrenched camp. When the duke of Ts'ae knew it he said, "We want to be expeditious, and such a thing, moreover, would distress the labourers." He begged therefore that they would only make an enclosed encampment, which accordingly was done, and the army lodged in it. He then made Seu Woo-mow and the historiographer P'ae enter the city before them. These, by the assistance of the chief chamberlain, put to death the king's eldest son Luh, and the Kung-tsze I'e-teih. The Kung-tsze Pe became king, and Hih-kw'ang, chief minister, [both] halting at Yu-pe. The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih was declared [grand-] marshal, and proceeded to clear out the royal palace, sending [also] Kwan Ts'ung to the army in Kan-k'e, who thereon made known what had been done, and intimated that those who were first in coming over [to the new rule] should be restored to their places, while those who delayed should have their noses cut off. That army advanced to Tsze-leang, and there dispersed.

'When the king heard of the death of his sons, he threw himself down under his chariot, saying, "Do other men love their sons as much as I did mine?" One of his attendants said, "They love them more. Small men know that when they are old, if they have no sons, they

will be rolled into the ditches." "I have killed many sons of others," replied the king. "Was it possible that I should not come to this condition?"

Tze-kih, director of the Right, begged the king to wait in the suburbs till they heard what course the people took, but the king said: "They are all enraged, and we must not encounter them." He then proposed that they should enter a great city and ask military assistance from the States; but the king said, "They will all revolt [from me]." Ho <sup>read</sup> further that they should flee to some of the States, and await the deliberations of the [other] great State on his case; but the king said, "Great happiness is not obtained twice. I should only be bringing disgrace on myself." On this, Jen Tan [left the king and] returned to T'ao, while the king took his way along the Hsue, wishing to enter Yen.

Shin Hae, the son of the Woo-director Woo-yu, said, "My father has violated the king's orders (see the narrative after vii 1), and was punished—what kindness could be greater? I cannot bear the king's misery and his kindness is not to be forgotten—I will follow him." Accordingly he sought for the king, found him at the hell gate, and took him home with him. In summer in the 6th month, on Kwei-liao, the king strangled himself in his house, when Shin Hae buried him, and his own two daughters along with him.

When we compare the paragraph and this Chuen, we are startled by the contradictions between them. The Kung-tze Pe had never been a subject of his brother and it appears contrary to rule to apply the term 殺 to him.

And in fact Pe did not put the king to death—the king died by his own hands. And he did not die in Yen k'o. Pe <sup>was</sup> merely a tool in the hands of others; it is both incorrect and unjust to 殺 him, as the paragraph does, as the prime mover in the proceedings against the king, and then charge him with the crime of regicide. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, even Mason acknowledges an admirable subtlety and propriety in the sage's phraseology in the paragraph! The original name of king Ling was Wei (衛), but he changed it after he had murdered his predecessor, hoping probably thereby to escape somehow the charge of crime that would attach to his name.

Par 3. For 殺 Kung and Kih hero have 殺; and that term would certainly be as proper here as in the preceding par. As it seemed right, however to the author not to acknowledge the short lived dignity of Pe as king, but still to represent him as merely a Kung tze, 殺 is, probably the true reading.

The Chuen says:—Kwan Ts'ung said to Tze-kan, "If you do not kill K'e-tai, though you have got the State, you will still receive calamity." "I cannot bear to do so," was Tze-kan's reply. Tze-yeh (Ts'ung's designation) continued, "He will bear to kill you, and I cannot bear to wait [and see it]," and on this he went away. Every night there was an alarm [in the city] that the king had entered it. On the night of Yü mau, K'e-tai made people

run all about, crying, "The king is come! The people were greatly frightened; and then he made Ching Jen of Man run and inform Tze-kan and Tze-yeh, saying: 'The king is come. The people have killed your marshal, and will [soon] be here. If your lordship will be quick and deal with yourself, you may escape disgrace. The multitudes are angry, as [raging] waves or flames, and no plans can be formed against them. There now come others running to [the palace], and crying out, "The multitudes are come," on which the two princes killed themselves.

On Ping shin K'e-tai ascended the [vacant] seat, and [took] the name of Hsue K'u. He buried Tze-kan in Tze who is thence known as Tze Gaou. Having killed a prisoner he clothed the body in the king's robes, and let it float in the Han, from which he took and buried it, in order to quiet the minds of the people; and he then appointed Tze-k'o (Ching Jen of Man) to be chief minister.

When the army of T'ao was withdrawing from Sen the men of Woo defeated it at Yu-chang, and took [all] its five commanders (See the commencement of the narrative on par 9 of last year). King Ping (K'e-tai) restored the States of Chin and Tsae and the cities from which the inhabitants had been removed; paid all the bribes which he had promised; gave gifts to the people and forgave them the dues which they owed; dealt gently with criminals, and restored their offices to those who had been deprived of them. Calling Kwan Ts'ung to him, he said: "You may have what other office you wish. My ancestors, replied Ts'ung, "anointed the interpreter of divinations by the tortoise-shell," and he was appointed master of such divinations. The king sent Chio-joo Tze-kung on a complimentary mission to Ching, and to deliver to it the lands of Ch'ow and Leih. When the [other] business [of his mission] was finished, however he did not deliver them. An officer of Ching took the liberty to say to him, "It was stated on the way that you would give our ruler Ch'ow and Leih. I venture to ask for your orders [to that effect]." He replied, "I have not yet received such orders." When he returned [to T'ao], the king asked him about those two places, on which he put off his robe and replied, "I made a mistake and lost your orders about them, so that I did not give them over." The king took him by the hand, and said, "Do not be concerned about it. Go home for the present; and when I have any business, I will let me know of it." In a year or two, the Woo direct 王 Shin Hae informed the king of the burial of king [Ling] when the coffin was removed and buried in another place.

King Ling at a former time had asked the tortoise-shell whether he might possibly get the whole kingdom; and when the answer was unfavourable, he cast the shell from him, called at Heaven, and said, "This small thing you will not give me, but I will take it for myself." The people were distressed by his insatiable ambition and joined in the insurrection against him as eagerly as if they had been going home.

At a period before this, king Kung had no son by his queen, whom he could have declared his heir; and though he had five among his other sons, who were favourites with him, none of



them had been appointed to the succession. He therefore celebrated a great service to the Spirits of all the hills and rivers of the State, and prayed, saying, "I ask you, Spirits, from among my five sons to choose one, who may be appointed lord of the altars." He then went all round the altars where he had sacrificed, and exhibited a *peih* before each of them, saying, "He who worships right over this *peih* shall be he whom you Spirits have appointed. Who will dare to oppose your will?" After this, along with [one of his concubines], a Ke of Pa, he secretly buried the *peih* in the court of the ancestral temple, and made his five sons come in, after fasting, in the order of their age, to worship. King K'ang stepped over the place, king Ling touched it with his elbow, Tsze-kan and Tsze-seih were both a long way from it, king P'ing, being then a child, was carried in, and worshipped twice, right over the button of the *peih*. Tow Wei-kwei gave this child in charge to [his son] Ch'ing Jen, saying, "Ts'oo will be endangered both by abandoning the proper law [of succession], and by resisting the appointment [by the Spirits of this child]."

"When Tsze-kan had returned [from Tsin to Ts'oo], Han Seuen-tze asked Shuh-huang whether he was likely to be successful. "It will be hard for him to be so," was the reply. Seuen-tze said, "When those who are engaged in the same evil course seek one another's [co-operation], like traffickers in the market, what difficulty can there be?" Shuh-huang answered, "Having had no likings in common, they will not have common dislikes. There are five difficulties in the way of taking a State. The candidate may be a favourite, but if he have no [able] men [in his service]—this is the first. He may have the men, but if he have no party [in the State]—this is the second. He may have the party, but if he have no [good] plans—this is the third. He may have the plans, but if he have not the people—this is the fourth. He may have the people, but if he have not virtue—this is the fifth. Tsze-kan has been in Tsin 13 years, but among his followers, whether of Tsin or Ts'oo, I have not heard that there are any of distinction—it may be said that he has not the men. His family is extinct [in Ts'oo], and his relatives are against him—it may be said that he has no party. He is moving without any [sufficient] occasion—it may be said that he has no plans. He has been a refugee [here nearly] all his life—it may be said he has not the people. As an exile, there are no proofs that he is loved—it may be said that he has not the virtue. The king is [indeed] oppressive, and stands in awe of nothing, this prince Tsze-kan may adventure in spite of these five difficulties to put him to death, but who can carry his enterprise to complete success? It is K'e tsui, I apprehend, who will have the State of Ts'oo. He is ruler of Ch'in and Ts'ae, and all outside the barrier wall belongs to him. He has perpetrated no oppression, the banditti [in his jurisdiction] are quiet, he has not, to gratify himself, gone against the people. They have no feeling of animosity against him, and the Spirits formerly gave the appointment to him. The people of the State believe in him, and it has been the regular custom of Ts'oo, that, when there is trouble in the House of Me, the youngest scion of it should get the State. Thus he has obtained the [approval of the]

Spirits—that is one advantage. He has the [confidence of the] people—that is a second. His virtue is admirable—that is a third. He is favoured and noble—that is a fourth. His succession would be in regular order—that is a fifth. With these five advantages to beset against the five difficulties of the other, who can harm him? As to the office of Tsze-kan, he was director of the Right, if you calculate his favour and nobility, he was [only] one of the [king's] sons by concubines, if you judge by the appointment of the Spirits, he was far off from the token which they gave of their approval. His nobility wanting, his favour away from him, the people not cherishing him, and there being no party for him in the State,—how should he become established [in Ts'oo]?"

"Seuen-tze said, "Were not the cases of Hwan of Ts'e and [our] Wän of Tsin like his?" Shuh-huang replied, "Hwan of Ts'e was the son of a Ke of Wei who was a favourite with [duke] He. He had Paou Shuh-ya, Pin Seu-woo, and Seih P'ing as his assistants. He had Keu and Wei to support him from abroad. He had the [chiefs] Kwoh and Kaou to support him in the State itself. He followed what was good like a flowing stream. He condescended to the good, and was grave and reverent. He did not accumulate his wealth, he did not follow his desires, he gave away unwearingly, and he was never tired of seeking for good men—was it not right that with such conditions he should have the State? As to our former ruler duke Wän, he was the son of the younger Ke of Hoo, who was a favourite of [duke] Hsien. He was fond of learning, and of an unchanging will. When he was 17 years old, he had five officers [who readily followed him]. There were our great officers Tsze-yu (Ts'au Ts'uy) and Tsze-fan (Hoo Yen) to be his counsellors, there were Wei Ch'ow and K'ea T'o to act as limbs to him, there were Ts'e, Sung, Ts'in, and Ts'oo to support him from abroad, there were the Lwan, K'oh, Hoo, and Seen families to support him in the State itself. During his 19 years of exile, he kept his purpose with increased sincerity, while [the dukes] Hwuy and Hwae neglected the people. The people followed and joined him. There was no [other] son of Hsien [remaining], the people could not look for any other leader. Heaven was then favourably regarding Tsin, and who was there to take the place of Wän? The cases of those two princes were different from that of Tsze-kan. There is [another] favourite son of [king] Kung, there is [another] lord more honoured in the State. He has shown no beneficence to the people, he has no support from abroad. When he left Tsin, none escorted him, when he returned to Ts'oo, none met him—how can he expect to have the State?"

Par 4 Ping-k'ew was 9 *le* north of the present city of Ch'in-lew (陳留), dep K'ae-fung. The meeting at this place is memorable as being the last of those on a great scale called by Tsin. Its supremacy among the States had long been waning. The murder of the king of Ts'oo, and the confusion prevailing in that State, encouraged Tsin to make this final effort to recover its former position, but its day had gone by. To give more solemnity to the meeting, it secured the presence of a representa-

tive of the king in the viscount of L'w but Chow had long ceased to command the hearty and reverent homage of the States.

The Chuen says:—When Tsin completed [the palace of] Sze-k'ie, the princes who then went to its court (in the 8th year) returned home all alienated from it. It was about to lead the States on a punitive expedition against us, and Shuh-h'ang said, "The States must have the *ta* of our majesty displayed to them." They accordingly summoned a meeting on a grand scale, sending notice of it [even] to Woo. In autumn the marquis of Tsin went to have a meeting with the viscount of Woo in L'ang, who declined it on account of the difficulty of the communication by water; and he turned [to Ping-k'ew]. In the 7th month, the military array [of Tsin] was drawn out, on Ping yin, in the south of Choo, to the number of 4000 chariots of war Yang-shih Foo having the duties of marshal for the occasion; and the States were forthwith assembled at Ping k'ew. Tszu-ch'ao and Tszu-t'ao shuh attended the earl of Ch'ing to the conference, the *fu* *wei* marching with curtains and coverings for 9 tents, while the latter had taken with him *enow* for 40. Of this, *he* reported, and reduced the number at every station where they halted, till, when they arrived at the meeting, his number was the same as that of Tszu-ch'ao. When they halted in Wei, Shuh foo (Yang-shih Foo), desiring to get bribes from that State, allowed great license to his foragers and fuel gatherers. The people sent T'oo Pih to present to Shuh-h'ang a dish of soup and a basket of *fu* *med* silks, saying "The other States do not dare to swerve from their service of Tsin, and how much less should Wei, dwelling as it were beneath your eaves, presume to cherish any disaffection! Your foragers and fuel-gatherers are not behaving as on former occasions—we venture to ask you to take measures with them." Shuh-h'ang accepted the soup, but returned the silks, saying "There is that Yang-shih Foo, whose craving for bribes is insatiable—evil will come on him. It is he who has done this. If you give him these silks with your ruler's orders, he will stop the trouble." The visitor *did so* and before he retired, a prohibition was issued [to the plunderers].

PART 5, 6. The inartificial construction of the classic appears in these two parts compared with the preceding one. From 4 and 5 we should certainly conclude that the duke took part in the covenant, but from 6 it appears that he did not do so.

The Chuen says:—The people of Tsin wished to *enow* the [existing] covenant, but they of T'w refused to do so. The marquis of Tsin sent Shuh-h'ang to inform duke H'ien of L'w [of the difficulty], saying, "Since the people of T'w will not join in covenant, what is to be done?" [The duke] replied, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. If your ruler have good faith, the princes will not separate from him. Why should you make a trouble of this matter? Set the thing before them in civil terms, and follow this up with your military force; although T'w do not take the covenant, your ruler will accomplish much." An elder of the Son of Heaven, I beg to conduct the king's levies, and with ten large chariots of war lead the way before you;—by-and-by or quickly as your ruler may

determine." Shuh-h'ang then went to inform T'w saying, "The princes have sought for a covenant and are here; but your lordship does not think it will be profitable, and my ruler thinks it well to ask for your views! "When the States are about to punish the disaffected" was the reply "then there is a renewal of covenants; but if all are obedient to your orders, why should there be any such renewal?" Shuh-h'ang said, "The ruin of States [happens in this way].—If they have [meetings of] business, but do not pay their contributions, the business becomes irregular. If they pay their contributions, but do not observe the [proper] *ceremonies*, there may be regularity but there is a want of order. If they observe the ceremonies, but do not have a feeling of awe the order comes to be without respect; if they have a feeling of awe but do not declare it [to the spiritual powers] their respect is not [sufficiently] displayed. The want of that display leads to the casting away of respect; the various affairs of business are not brought to a successful issue and there ensue downfall and overthrow. For this reason the statutes of the intelligent kings required the princes every year to send a complimentary mission, that they might be kept in mind of the contributions they had to pay; after the interval [of a year], they sent themselves to court for the practice of *ceremonies* when the time for a second visit to court came, there was a meeting for the display of [the king's] majesty; and when the time for a second meeting came there was a covenant for the exhibition of his clear intelligence. The keeping their duties in mind was to secure the [continuance of] friendly relations; the practice of *ceremonies* served to maintain the distinctions of rank; the display of majesty was before the multitude; the clear intelligence was matter of appeal to the Spirits. From antiquity downwards, these rules, we may say were never neglected. The principles of the preservation or the ruin [of States] depended on them. It is the rule for Tsin to be lord of covenants. Fearing lest our government should be defective we bring a victim for a covenant, and announce our purpose to your lordship, seeking the completion of the business. Your lordship, *how* *ever* has said, I will have none of it. What have we in common? Let your lordship consider the matter well. Our ruler will receive your commands." The people of T'w were afraid, and replied, "Our small State said so; but the decision is with your great State. How dare we not listen to and follow you? We have heard your command and will *obediently* proceed [to the covenant]. Let it be early or late as you please."

Shuh-h'ang said, "There is disaffection among the princes. We must show our numbers." [Accordingly] in the 8th month, on Shin we, [Tsin] reviewed its troops, raising up their [small] flags without the banners; but [next day], Jin-shin, the banners were again attached, and the States were afraid of them.

The people of Choo and Keu made a complaint to Tsin, saying, "Morning and night Loo keeps invading us, and we are nearly ruined. That we cannot pay our contributions is caused by Loo." The marquis of Tsin would not see the duke, and sent Shuh-h'ang to decline his *participation* at the meeting saying "The States are going to make a covenant on K'eh-seuh

but my ruler knows that he cannot serve your lordship,—and prays your lordship not to trouble yourself” Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih replied, “Your ruler believes the accusations of those Man and E, and cuts off his communications with a brother State, casting from him the descendants of the duke of Chow. Such is his pleasure. Our ruler has heard your order” Shuh-hiāng said, “Our ruler has here 4000 chariots of war. Although he were acting contrary to right, it would be necessary to fear him, but when he is acting in accordance with what is right, who can prove his opponent? An ox may be meagre, but if it fall upon a pig, would you not fear the pig would die? Can you forget your troubles with Nan K'wae and I-sze-chung? If we lead on the multitudes of Tsin, using also the forces of the other States, and taking advantage of the anger against you of Choo, Keu, K'e, and Ts'ung, if we come thus to punish Loo for its offences, with the opportunity afforded by those two spirits of trouble — what can we seek that we shall not get?”

“The people of Loo were frightened by these threats and accepted Tsin's commands. On Keah-seuh the States made a covenant together in P'ing-k'ew,—together, as T's'e had submitted

“Orders were given that the princes should repair to the cleared space [in front of the altar] at mid-day, and on Kwei-yew, when they retired from the court [of Tsin], T'sze-ch'ān commanded the servants, who had attended them on the journey, to pitch the tents [of Ch'ing] there. T'sze-t'ae-shuh, however, stopped them, and told them to wait till the next day. In the evening, T'sze-ch'ān, hearing that the tents were not yet pitched, made the servants go immediately to do it, but by this time there was no space left for them. When they came to make the covenant, T'sze-ch'ān disputed about the amount of the contributions required [from Ch'ing], saying, “Formerly, the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of the contributions according to the rank of the States. Where the rank was high, the contribution was heavy,—this is the rule of Chow. [Only] from the *iēn* tenure, was a heavy contribution required, where the rank was low. Ch'ing ranks as [the territory of] an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is on the scale of that of a duke or a marquis. I am afraid we cannot render it, and venture to make a matter of request concerning it. The States have agreed to abstain from wars, and to make the cultivation of friendly relations their business, but the commands of your messengers come to us every mouth. There is no regular rule for our contributions, and when our small State fails [in rendering what is required], it is held to be an offender. The object of the princes in making covenants is to preserve the small States. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait till our ruin comes. The rule for our preservation or ruin must be made to day.” The contention was continued from mid-day till dusk, when Tsin at last gave way.

“After the covenant, T'sze-t'ae-shuh blamed T'sze-ch'ān, saying, “If the States had [determined to] punish us, was it right to take such a liberty [with Tsin]?” T'sze-ch'ān replied, “The government of Tsin is in the hands of many families. They have no leisure, with their differences and extravagances, to punish [any other

State]. If a State do not show itself strong, it will be insulted, and no longer be fit to be a State.”

Par 7 Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 隱如 for 意如. The Chuen says —“The duke did not take part in the covenant, and the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun E-joo, and confined him in a tent, with some T'ieh to guard it. Shih, the herald, carrying some flowered silks in his bosom, and having a vessel with ice to drink in his hand, crawled to the tent. The guards stopped him, but he gave them the silks, and entered. The people of Tsin then took P'ing-tsze back with them, T'sze-pih Tseou (Hwuy-pih) going in attendance on him.”

[The Chuen appends here —“When T'sze-ch'ān was returning [from the meeting], before he got to Ch'ing, he heard that T'sze-p'ie was dead. He wept and cried, “There is an end of me! There is none [now] to help me in doing good. It was only he who knew me.” Chung-ne said, “On this occasion T'sze-ch'ān proved himself fit to be the foundation of his State. The ode (She, II ode VII 1) says,

“Objects of complacency are these gentlemen,  
The foundation of my State.”

T'sze-ch'ān was a superior man whom one could desire as the object of his complacency.” He also said, “When the States were assembled, to adjust the business of their contributions was according to rule.”]

Par 8 [The Chuen appends here —“The people of Seen-yu, having heard that all the forces of Tsin had been raised [to go to P'ing-k'ew], ceased all care of their borders, and took no other precautions. On this, Seun-woo of Tsin proceeded with the 1st army from Choo-yung, and made an incursion into their territory, and when he had reached Chung-jin he made a rush upon them, took great spoil, and returned.”]

Par 9 The Chuen says —“When Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae, king Ling removed Hen, Hoo, Shun, Taou, Fang, and Shin within the boundaries of King (=Ts'oo). On the accession of king P'ing, when he re-instated Ch'in and Ts'ae, he restored all these other States—which was proper. Leu, son of the eldest son Yin, returned to Ts'ae—which was proper, and Woo, son of the eldest son Taou, returned to Ch'in—which was proper.”

The eldest son of the last marquis of Ts'ae, whose name was Yew and who is called in this Chuen by his posthumous title, was sacrificed by Ts'oo, as related in xi 9. His son Leu had since then remained in Ts'oo. Woo was the son of Yen-sze, the heir-prince of Ch'in, whose murder is related in viii 1. He also had been kept in Ts'oo. But why the two princes should appear in the text, as if they had all along been the marquises of their States, does not immediately appear. Taken in connection with there being no mention of their restoration by the new king of Ts'oo, there is some ground for believing that Confucius wished, so far as it was possible, to ignore all the proceedings of Ts'oo in regard to Ts'ae and Ch'in. This cannot be argued, however, from the omission of 復 before 歸, as there had been no previous mention of Leu and Woo, as retiring from their States.

Par 10. *Tao-she* observed that this burial of duke Ling was <sup>1</sup> years. Thirty months had elapsed since he was put to death by King Ling of Ts'oo (See xl 2). We are not to suppose that his body had been all that time unburied. It had probably been put into a grave without any honour; and now on the revival of the State, it was taken from that, and re-buried with the appropriate rites.

Par 11. The duke was, probably going to Tsin to make his peace with that State, and to try to get the liberation of Ke-sun E-foo. The Chuen says:—The duke was going to Tsin, but Sen Woo, said to Han Shen-tze: "The princes visit at each other's courts to speak about [and confirm] the old friendship existing between them. As we are holding his minister a prisoner though we receive the ruler at our court, there is no friendship between us. We had better decline his visit." Accordingly Sze King phi was sent to the Ho to stop the duke's further journey.

Par 12. *Chow-lao*—see on VIII vii. 7. Its position is there given as a city of Ts'oo. From the term extinguished here, however we must suppose that it had originally been the centre of a small State of whose chiefs we know nothing, and that, though it had been incorporated with Ts'oo, they had been allowed to continue the sacrifices of their House.

The Chuen says:—When Woo extinguished Chow-lao, the chief minister [of Ts'oo] Tze-k'e, asked leave to invade Woo. The king however refused it, saying "I have not yet soothed [the minds of] the people and the officers, nor done service to the Spirits, nor completed our defences and other preparations, nor fully established [my position of] the State. If I were to use the strength of the people [before these things have been done], and suffered defeat, repentance would come too late. Chow-lao being in Woo is the same as its being in Ts'oo; you have only to wait a while."

[We have here a narrative about the liberation of Ke-sun E-foo from Tsin.—Ke-sun being still detained in Tsin, Tze-fuh Hwuy phi

said privately to Chung-hang Muh-tze, "In what respect has Loo failed to serve Tsin as well as those small States of the E? [The princes of] Loo [and yours] are brothers. Its territory is still large, and it can provide what you command. If on account of the E you cast it away and make it serve Ts'oo or Ts'oo, what good will that do to Tsin? Kindness to relatives, the cultivation of the great rewarding contributors, and punishing those who do not contribute—these are the duties of the presidency of our counts. Do you consider the case. There is the common saying (One subject may have two lords. Have we no [other] great State [but Tsin]?" Muh-tze told this to Han Shen-tze, adding, "When Ts'oo extinguished Chin and Ts'ao, we were not able to save those States; and now in behalf of the E we have seized this relative [of our ruler];—of what use was it to do this?" They wished accordingly to restore Ke-sun, but Hwuy phi said, "Our ruler is ignorant of his offence; and yet, at the assembly of the States, you seized his minister. If he still be chargeable with any offence, it is competent for you to command his death. If you say that he has no offence, and that you kindly let him go, the States not having heard of it, he will appear to be making his escape from your commands. There is no letting him go in this case; I beg to act in accordance with your ruler's kindness, [declared] at a meeting." Shen-tze was perplexed by this, and said to Shuh-héng, "Can you get Ke-sun to return to Loo?" He replied, "No but Foo can." Accordingly they sent Shuh-yu, who went and saw Ke-sun, and said to him, "Formerly I was an offender in Tsin, and betook myself to the ruler of Loo [in connection with the affairs of I wan Ying in Szeang's 21st year]. But for the help of [your grand-father] Woo-tze, I should not have come to my present position. Although I might have got my bones restored to Tsin, the case is as if you had put the flesh on them. Must I not tell you the truth? You have been asked to return, and you will not return. I have heard from the officers that the ground is to be prepared for a lodging for you on the west of the Ho." This story he followed up with tears. Ping-tze was afraid and returned to Loo before Hwuy phi, who waited for the proper forms [of dismissal]."]

Fourteenth year

丁巳年。冬，殺其公。八月，葬曹武公。夏四月。一，息伯滕。息如，卒。有四年，春。

左傳曰：十四年春，意如至自晉，尊晉，罪已也。尊晉，罪已，禮也。

○南蒯之將叛也，盟費人。司徒老祁、應癸，僞廢疾，使請於南蒯曰：「臣願受盟，而疾興，若以君靈不死，請待閒而盟。」許之。一了因民之欲叛也，請朝衆而盟，遂劫南蒯曰：「羣臣不忘其君，畏了以及今。」年聽命矣。了若弗圖，費人不忍其君，將不能畏了矣。子何所不逞欲，請送了。請期五日，遂奔齊，侍飲酒於景公。公曰：「叛人對曰，臣欲張公室也。」子韓皙曰：「家臣而欲張公室，罪莫人焉。」司徒老祁、應癸來歸費，齊侯使鮑文子致之。

○夏，楚了使然丹簡上國之兵於宗丘，且撫其民，分貧振窮，長孤幼，養老疾，收介特，救災患，宥孤寡，赦罪戾，詰姦慝，舉淹滯，禮新敘舊，祿勳，合親，任良，物官，使屈罷簡東國之兵於代陵，亦如之。好於邊疆，息民五年，而後川師禮也。

秋八月，莒著丘公卒。郊公不感，國人弗順，欲立著丘公之弟庚與。蒲餘侯忠公了意恢，而善於庚與，郊公惡公了鐸，而善於意恢。公子鐸因蒲餘侯而與之謀曰：「爾殺意恢，我出君而納庚與。」許之。

○楚令尹子旗有德於上，不知度，與養氏比，而求無厭。十患之。九月甲午，楚了殺闔成，然而滅養氏之族，使闔辛居鄖，以無忘舊勳。

冬十一月，蒲餘侯茲夫殺莒公子意恢，郊公奔齊。公了鐸逆庚與於齊，齊隰黨公了鉏送之，有賂山。

○晉邢侯與雍了爭鄆田，久而無成。一景伯如楚，叔魚攝理。韓宣了命斷舊獄，罪在雍了，雍了納其女於叔魚。叔魚蔽罪邢侯，邢侯怒，殺叔魚與雍了於朝。宣了問其罪於叔向，叔向曰：「人同罪，施小戮死可也。雍了自知其罪，而賂以買直，耐也。鬻獄，邢侯專殺其罪一也。已惡而掠大爲昏，貪以敗官爲墨，殺人不忌爲賊。夏書曰：『昏墨賊殺，』臯陶之刑也，請從之。」乃施邢侯而尸雍了與叔魚於市。仲尼曰：「叔向占之遺直也，治國制刑，不隱於親，數叔魚之忠，不爲人滅，曰義也，夫可謂直矣。平丘之會，數其賄也，以寬衛國，皆不爲暴，歸魯季孫，稱其詐也。」

也 榮 殺 加 除 三 不 刑 也 言 侯 爲 國 以  
夫 猶 親 三 三 爲 書 以 其 之 唐 晉 寬  
義 益 利 惡 而 頗 晉 正 食 獄 邢 不 魯

- XIV 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, E-joo arrived from Ts'in  
2 In the third month, T'äng, earl of Ts'au, died  
3 It was summer, the fourth month  
4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Woo of Ts'au  
5 In the eighth month, K'au tsih, viscount of Keu died  
6 In winter, Keu put to death the Hung tsze, L-k'wei

Par 1 Tso says that the style of this par., where the name only is given, and not the clan name is expressive of honour to Ts'in and of Loo's deprecation of itself; and he adds that this was according to propriety. But this criticism may be called in question. The 至 indicating the anniversary of the minister's return in the ancestral temple of the State, shows that that return was a subject on which Loo congratulated itself; but we need not cast about for any explanation of the omission of the clan name. The K'ang he editors themselves refer with approbation to the view of Sun Fuh (孫復):—

[Only] when a great officer had been seized, was his arrival recorded. In that record he must be named. The clan-name is not given, because it had been previously mentioned (I e, in Par 7 of last year).

[A narrative here gives the end of Han K'uei's revolt (See XII. 8).—When Nan K'uei was about to revolt, he bound the people of Le by a covenant. Hse-t'ao Lau k'uei and Lau k'uei, pretending that they had been taken ill, sent to beg of Nan K'uei, saying "Your servants wished to take the covenant, but we have become ill. If by your influence we do not die we ask that we may take it when we are somewhat better." K'uei agreed; and [by and by], taking advantage of the wish of the people to revolt [from him], they asked him to call the multitude together that they might receive the covenant. They then seized him, and said to him, "His servants have not forgotten their [covenant] lord; but [yet] we have listened to your commands. If you do not take speedy measures [for your own safety], the people of Le can not on sure [to be separated from] their lord, and will not be able to stand in awe of you. Allow us to escort you to any place whatever that you wish to go to." K'uei begged a delay of 5 days, and then he fled to T'ei. When he was tambling by and drinking with duke King, the duke called him by the name of "Revolted." "I wished," he replied, "to increase the power of the ducal House." Tso-han Shih said, "There could not be a greater crime than for you, the minister of a Family [merely] to wish to increase the authority of the ducal House. Hse-t'ao Lau k'uei and Lau K'uei came and returned [to you], and the marquis of T'ei also sent Hsiao Wan tsze to surrender [his claim to] it."

Par 2 [There is appended here an account of the procedure of king Ping in Ts'au—

In summer the viscount of Ts'au sent Jen Tan to inspect the military forces of the upper part of the State in Tsung k'uei and at the same time to comfort the people, giving assistance to the poor and relief to the distressed; nurturing orphans and the young; nourishing the old and the sick; getting hold of the promiscuous; helping sufferers from calamity; remitting the taxes of orphans and widows; pardoning [certain classes of] offenders; making strict inquiry after the perverse and bad; lifting up those whose way was obstructed; showing courtesy to new comers; and giving facilities to old residents; rewarding merit, and bringing relatives together giving employment to the virtuous, and using officers according to their ability. He also sent K'uei P'ei to inspect the forces of the east of the State at Shiao ling and to take there the same methods. They were to maintain peace on the borders, so that when the people had rested, they might be employed on military services. All this was proper.]

Par 3 The Chuen says:— In autumn, in the 8th month, duke Chao-k'uei of Keu died, and [his son], duke K'ao-shou showed no grief [in consequence of which] the people were not willing to obey him, and wished to raise K'ang yü, the younger brother of Chao-k'uei to the State. Loo-yü Hsiu hated the Hung tsze E-k'uei, and was friendly with K'ang yü. Duke K'ao-shou hated the Hung tsze Tsi, and was on good terms with E-k'uei. The Hung tsze Tsi formed an alliance with Pong-yü Hsiu and concerted a plan with him, saying, "If you will kill E-k'uei, I will drive our ruler out, and we can then make K'ang yü ruler." Hsiu agreed to this.

The death of the viscount of Keu is recorded here, it having been, we must suppose officially notified to Loo. We have no subsequent entry however of his burial probably because Loo, smarting under the indignity which it had received through Keu from Ts'in, would not send an officer to attend it. [There is here appended a short narrative about Ts'au.—Tse-k'uei, chief minister of Ts'au, had been of great service to the king, and knew not how to keep himself within rule. He formed a friendship with the Head of the Yang family and was influential in his desires. The king was vexed about it; and in the 9th month on K'uei wou, he put Tow Ching jen to death, and extinguished the branches of the Yang family. He made Tow Shih (Son of Ching jen), however, reside in Yun, to show that he did not forget the old services [of his family].]

Par 6 The Chuen says — 'In winter, in the 12th month, Poo-yu How (See on par 5) and Tsze Foo killed the Kung-tze E-k'wei of Keu, on which duke Kcaou fled to Ts'e. The Kung-tze T'oh met Käng-yu in Ts'e, from which he was escorted by Seih Tang and the Kung tze Ts'oo of that State, Ts'e being promised a bribe of lands.'

The 其 in the text = 'its,' but that word would be awkward in English before 公了. E-k'wei was, I suppose, a brother of duke Kcaou, and we might translate, — 'Keu put to death L-k'wei, the brother of its ruler.' We should have thought that it would have been more appropriate to intimate in the text the flight of duke Kcaou. Keu being a small State, we never read in the classic of its 'great officers,' else the paragraph would have run 莒殺其人大公了意恢. Comp IX xix 10, 11, et al

[We have a narrative here of affairs in Ts'in. — 'Hing-how of Ts'in (The son of Woo-shun of Ts'oo, see the 1st narrative after VIII ii 6, et al) and Yung-tze (Also a refugee from Ts'oo, see the 2d narr after IX xxxi 7) had a dispute about some lands of Ch'uh, which continued after a long time unsettled. When Sze King-pih went to Ts'oo, Shuh-yu was charged for the time with the administration of his duties, and Han Seuen-tze ordered him to settle this old litigation. Yung tze was in the wrong, but he presented his daughter as a gift to Shuh-yu, who thereon decided that Hing-how was in the wrong, and he, enraged, killed both Shuh-yu and Yung-tze in the court. Seuen-tze consulted Shuh-hiang about this crime, and was answered, "The three were all equally guilty. You must put him who is alive to death, and expose his body, and you must [further]

disgrace the [two that are] dead. Yung-tze knew that he was wrong, and gave a bribe to buy a verdict in his favour, T'oo sold his judgment in the dispute, and Hing-how took it on him to kill them. Their crimes were equally heinous. To try to make himself right when he was wrong was an instance of moral blindness, through covetousness to defeat the end of his office was an instance of black impurity, to put men to death without fear [of the law] was the act of a ruffian. One of the Books of Hsü says, "The morally blind, the blackly impure, and ruffians, are to be put to death." Such was the punishment appointed by Kcaou-yaou. I beg you to follow it." Accordingly Hing-how was put to death, and his body exposed, and the corpses of Yung-tze and Shuh-yu were [also] exposed, in the market place.

Chung-ne said, "The justice of Shuh-hiang was that which was transmitted from antiquity. In the government of the State, and determining the punishment [for an assigned crime], he concealed nothing in the case of his own relative. Thrice he declared the wickedness of Shuh-yu without making any abatement. Whether we may say that he was righteous [is doubtful], but he may be pronounced to have been straightforward. At the meeting of Ping-k'ew, he declared his [brother's] craving for bribes — this was to give relief to Wei, and save Ts'in from the practice of cruelty. In getting Kcaou to return to Loo, he declared his [brother's] deceit — this was to relieve Loo, and save Ts'in from the exercise of oppression. In this legal action of Hing how, he mentioned his [brother's] covetousness — this was to keep the records of punishment correct, and save Ts'in from partiality. By his three declarations he took away three evils, and secured three advantages. He put his brother to death and increased [his own] glory, — but this has the semblance of righteousness [only]."

*Fifteenth year.*

冬<sup>六章</sup>伐鮮虞。公如晉。  
 之。秋<sup>五章</sup>晉荀吳帥師  
 入<sup>四章</sup>。八月<sup>三章</sup>丁巳朔，日有食。  
 卒<sup>二章</sup>。蔡朝吳出奔鄭。  
 宮籥人叔弓卒，去樂。  
 吳子夷木卒。  
 三月<sup>二章</sup>癸酉，有事于武。  
 己丑，有五年春，王正月，

左傳曰十五年春將禘於武公戒百官梓慎曰禘之日其有咎乎吾見赤黑之禮非祭祥也喪氛也其在泄事乎二月癸酉禘叔弓泄事簡入而卒去樂卒事禮也

楚賈無極害朝吳之在蔡也欲去之乃謂之曰王唯信子故處子於蔡子亦長矣而在下位辱必求之吾助子請又謂其上之人曰王唯信吳故處諸蔡二三子莫之如也而在其上亦難乎弗圖必及於難夏蔡人逐朝吳朝吳出奔鄭王怒曰余唯信吳故寘諸蔡且微吳吾不及此汝何故去之無極對曰臣豈不欲吳然而前知其爲人之異也吳在蔡蔡必速飛去吳所以加其翼也

○六月乙丑王犬子壽卒

○秋八月戊寅王穆后崩

晉荀吳帥師伐鮮虞圍鼓鼓人或請以城叛穆子弗許左右曰師徒不勦而可以獲城何故不爲穆子曰吾聞諸叔向曰好惡不愆民知所適事無不濟或以吾城叛吾所甚惡也人以城來吾獨何好焉賞所甚惡若所好何若其弗賞是失信也何以庇民力能則進否則退量力而行吾不可以欲城而適姦所喪滋多使鼓人殺叛人而繕守備圍鼓三月鼓人或請降使其民見曰猶有食色姑修而城軍吏曰獲城而弗取勦民而頓兵何以事君穆子曰吾以事君也獲一邑而教民怠將焉用邑邑以買怠不如完舊買怠無卒棄舊不祥鼓人能事其君我亦能事吾君率義不爽好惡不愆城可獲而民知義所有死命而無二心不亦可乎鼓人告食竭力盡而後取之克鼓而反不戮一人以鼓子獻鞅歸

冬公如晉平丘之會故也

○十二月晉荀躒如周葬穆后籍談爲介既葬除喪以文伯宴樽以魯壺王曰伯氏諸侯皆有以饋撫王室晉獨無有何也文伯揖籍談對曰諸侯之封也皆受明器於王室以饋撫其社稷故能薦彝器於王晉居深山戎



狄之與鄰，而遠於一室，一靈不及，拜戍不暇，其何以獻器。一曰，叔氏而忘諸乎？叔父唐叔，成王之兄弟也，其反無分乎？密須之鼓，與其入路，文所以人鬼也，闕鞞之甲，武所以克商也，唐叔受之，以處參虛，臣有戎狄，其後襄之一路，鉞鉞鉅鬯，彤弓虎賁，文公受之，以有南陽之田，撫征東夏，非分而何？夫有勳而不廢，有績而載，奉之以一田，撫之以彝器，旌之以車服，明之以文章，了孫不忘，所謂福也，福祚之不登，叔父焉在？且昔而高祖孫伯鸞司首之典籍，以爲人政，故曰籍氏，及辛有之，了董之首，於是乎有董史，攷司典之後也，何故忘之？籍談不能對，賓出，一曰，籍父其無後乎？數典而忘其祖，籍談歸，以告叔向，叔向曰，一其不終乎？台聞之，所樂必卒焉，今一樂憂，若卒以憂，不可謂終，一歲而有午之喪，一焉於是以喪，賓宴，又求彝器，樂憂甚矣，日非禮也，彝器之來，嘉功之山，非山喪也，年之喪，雖貴遂服，禮也，一雖弗遂，宴樂以早，亦非禮也，禮，一之人經也，動而失禮，無人經矣，一以考典，典以心經，忘經而多，一舉典將焉用之。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, E-mei, viscount of Woo, died.
- 2 In the second month, on Kwei-yew, there was a sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, when Shuh Kung died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were [consequently] sent away, and the sacrifice was finished [without them].
- 3 In summer, Chaou Woo of Ts'ae fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 4 In the 6th month, on Ting-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 In autumn, Seun Woo of Tsin led a force and invaded Seen-yu.
- 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin.

Par 1 Kung-yang makes the name of the viscount of Woo 夷昧

Par 2 有事, we saw on VII viii 3, denotes the celebration of a sacrifice, and the Chuen says expressly that Loo now celebrated a *te* (特) sacrifice. It could not be 'the great *te* sacrifice,' however, for that was performed in the grand temple, nor could it be a repetition of 'the fortunate *te* (吉禘),' for that would have fallen on the previous year. We must suppose this

was a special *te* (特) celebrated, probably, in contemplation of some military enterprise. See the account of the erection of the temple of duke Woo on VIII vi 2. The paragraph has its place in the classic not because of any thing peculiar in the sacrifice, but because of the death of Shuh Kung at it, and the consequent action taken. Comp VII viii 3, 4.

The Chuen says — '[The duke] being about to offer a *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, orders had been given to all the officers to fast [in preparation for it]. Tsze Shin said, "I fear some misfortune will happen on the day of the

sacrifice, for I have seen a red and black halo insuspicious for it; it is a vapour of death. Will it take effect on the officer in charge of the business?" In the 2d month, on Kwel yâw the sacrifice was being performed, with Shuh Kung as a nager when he died as the flute-players were entering. The music was then all sent away and the business was concluded [without them];—which was according to rule.

At the sacrifice mentioned in VII viii 2, only the civil officers put away their flutes, but on this occasion all the music used at the service was stilled. The death of Shuh Kung happening at it, and while he was engaged in the superintendence of it, was a more striking event than that of Suy which took place at a distance. It was not deemed proper however to suspend the sacrifice altogether.

Par 3. For 朝 Kung yang has 朝 and he leaves out the 朝. The part which Chao Woo played in the revolution which seated king Ping in Ts'oo appears in the narrative on xiii. 2. He had been a faithful minister of Ts'ao.

The Chuen says:—Fei Woo-k'eh of Ts'oo felt hurt at Chao Woo's being in Ts'ao, and resolved to remove him. He accordingly said to him, "In you only does the king repose confidence, and he has therefore placed you in Ts'ao. You are also grown up, and it is a disgrace that you should be in an inferior position. You must seek a higher one and I will assist you in preferring your request." At the same time he spoke to the men who were above him, saying, "The king reposes confidence only in Chao Woo, and has therefore placed him in Ts'ao. You are not deemed equal to him;—will you not find it hard to be above him? If you do not take early measures for your safety you will find yourselves in difficulties." [In consequence of this], in summer they drove Chao Woo from Ts'ao, when he fled to Ch'ing. The king was angry and said, "It is only in Woo that I have confidence, and therefore I placed him in Ts'ao. But for him, moreover I should not have reached my present position. Why have you sent him away?" Woo-k'eh replied, "Do not I wish Woo [well]? But I knew before what a different man he is from others. With him in Ts'ao, it would be sure soon to take wings and fly. The removal of Woo was the way to clip its wings."

Par 4. This eclipse took place on the 10th of April, A.D. 526, and was visible in the forenoon.

[There are appended here the following notices.—In the 6th month, on Yih-ch'ow Shou the eldest son of the king died. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Mow yin, the queen Mu-h died.]

Par 5. The Chuen says:—When he invaded Sên yü, Sên Woo laid siege to Koo. Some of the inhabitants offered to revolt to him and surrender the city but he (Mu-h) was in the Chuen was Woo's designation. He often appears as Chung-hang Mu-h) declined the request. The people about him said, "Since you could [in this way] get possession of the city without any toilsome efforts of the army why do you not adopt it?" He replied, "I have heard from Shuh-k'ang that, when slakings and slakings [of superiors] are all out, the people know to

whom to consult themselves, and their affairs are all successful. If any one were to revolt with a city of ours, I should hate him extremely when other people come to revolt with their city to us, why should I show a liking for them? If I rewarded them whom I should be hating extremely what should I do in the case of those whom I loved? And if I did not reward them, it would be a breach of faith. How should I thus protect the people? [My way is] to advance when I am able, and to retire when my strength fails, acting on the calculation of my resources. I must not from any wish to get possession of the city have dealings with traitors. What I should lose [thereby] would be much greater [than my gain]. [He then informed] the people of Koo that they might kill those who prepared to revolt, and put their defences in good order.

When he had invested Koo 3 months, some of the officers in it proposed to surrender it, and sent a party of the people to see Woo but he said to them "You still look as if you had plenty of food. Repair your walls for the present. The officers of the army said to him,

When you might get the city you do not take it, making the people toil and continuing the troops here. In what way do you thus serve our ruler?" He replied, "I act thus to serve our ruler. If I took the city and thereby taught the people to be indifferent to their duty of what use would the city be? Than to pay the price of that indifference for the city it is better that they should maintain it in their old allegiance. If you trade with that indifference, there will be no success in the end; it is insuspicious to abandon old allegiance. When the people of Koo are able to serve their ruler our people will also be able to serve theirs. By following the course of righteousness without swerving from it, being correct in my likings and dislikings, I shall get the city and the people will know in what righteousness consists; they will be prepared to die without any wavering in their allegiance.—Is not that desirable?"

When the people of Koo announced that their provisions and other resources were exhausted, then he took the city. When he returned from his reduction, he had not put a single man to death. He took Yuen te, viscount of Koo, back with him to Ts'ao.

Par 6. Tso says this visit was on account of the meeting of Ping k'w meaning, acc. to Tso, that it was to thank Tsin for the liberation of R-joo. We may suppose it was with a less worthy object,—to get to be on fair terms with Tsin at any price.

[We have a narrative here of the royal court and an envoy of Tsin.—In the 12th month, Sên Loh of Tsin went to Chow to the funeral of queen Mu, Tseih Tan being the assistant commissioner. When the funeral was over and the king had put off his mourning he invited [Y'an phi] (Sên Loh) to a feast, at which the spirits were served from a tankard and fed by Loo. The king said to his guest "Elder Sir the States with the single exception of Tsin, have all [sent offerings] to comfort the royal House;—how is this?" Wan-phi motioned to Tseih Tan, who thereupon replied, "At the establishment of the States, all [the rest] received brilliant articles from the royal use for the protection and comfort of their altars, so that they

are able to present valuable gifts to the king. But the royal beneficence did not extend to Tsin, placed among high hills, in the neighbourhood of the Jung and the Teih, and far away from the royal House. It has hardly had time to repay its obligations to the Jung, how should it have presented such articles [to the court]? "Have you forgotten, younger Sir?" said the king. "Our uncle T'ang-shuh (First lord of Tsin) was own brother to king Ch'ing, was it likely that he should not share [in the royal presents]? There were the drum and the great chariot of Mei-h-seu, which [king] Wän used at his grand reviews, and the curraß of Keuh-kung in which [king] Woo subdued Shang. —T'ang-shuh received them, to occupy the tract corresponding to Ts'an [in the heavens], and to subdue to himself the Jung and the Teih. Afterwards, there were the two chariots of [king] Scang, the axes large and small, the flavoured spirits of black millet, the red bow and a party of life-guards —duke Wän received these (See the Chuen on V xxviii 8), that he might hold the lands of Nan-yang, and [according to circumstances] either comfort or punish the eastern States of the kingdom. Now when the services [of Tsin] were [thus] not left without acknowledgment, when its merits were recorded, when it was invested with territory, gratified with valuable articles, distinguished with chariots and robes, and made illustrious with banners, so that the descendants [of its princes] could not forget [the royal favours], this is what may be pronounced blessing. If blessing and bounty have not lighted on [the State of] our uncle [T'ang-shuh], on whom have they done so? Moreover, your ancestor Sun Pih-yen had charge of the archives of Tsin, and was consulted on the great matters of the government, in consequence of which he got the clan-name of Tseih. When the two sons of Sin-yew, the Tungs, went to Tsin, that State had [also] the historiographers of that surname. You are the descendant of the superintendent of the archives, —how is it that you are so forget-

ful of these matters?" Tseih T'an could not reply, and when his guests went out, the king said, "Mr Tseih will not, we may anticipate, leave any posterity. He must have numbered the archives, and yet he has forgotten [the work of] his ancestors!"

'When Tseih T'an returned [to Tsin], he told all this to Shuh-huang, who said, 'The king will, probably, not complete his years. I have heard that a man is sure to die of that in which he delights. Now the king seeks pleasure in the midst of his grief. If he die [in the midst] of grief, it cannot be said that he has completed his years. In one year, he has had two deaths for each of which he should have mourned 3 years. At such a time to feast with the guests at his mourning, and to be further asking for gifts of valuable articles, shows excessively what he delights in in the midst of his grief. And moreover such conduct is contrary to the rules of propriety. Gifts of valuable articles are presented [by the States] on occasions of extraordinary merit, and not on occasions of mourning. When a death that should be mourned for 3 years has occurred, even the noblest should, according to rule, complete the mourning for it. If the son of Heaven should not complete that, yet to feast and seek pleasure at an early period must be pronounced contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety are the king's great canons. On one occasion to neglect two of them shows that he has no great canons. Words serve to make the archives, the archives serve to record the canons. Forgetting the canons, and making a flourish of words, what use does his reference to the archives serve?'" ]

*Sixteenth year*

一章 十有六年春，齊侯  
二章 伐徐。  
三章 楚子誘戎蠻子殺  
四章 秋八月，己亥，晉侯  
五章 夷卒。  
六章 九月，大雩。  
七章 冬十月，葬晉昭公。  
八章 十一月，葬晉昭公。

○左傳曰十六年春王正月公在晉晉人止公不書諱之也

齊侯伐徐二月丙申齊師至於蒲隧徐人行成徐子及邾人莒人會齊侯盟於蒲隧賂以甲父之鼎叔孫昭子曰諸侯之無伯害哉齊君之無道也與師而伐遠方會之有成而還莫之亢也無伯也夫詩曰宗周既滅靡所止戾正大夫離居莫知我艱其是之謂乎

楚子聞蠻氏之亂也與蠻子之無質也便然丹誘我蠻子嘉穀之遂取蠻氏既而復立其子焉禮也

○三月晉韓起聘於鄭鄭伯享之子產戒曰苟有位於朝無有不共恪孔張後至立於客間執政禦之適客後又禦之適驪間客從而笑之事畢富子諫曰夫大國之人不可不慎也幾爲之笑而不陵我我皆有禮夫猶鄙我國而無禮何以求索孔張失位吾子之耻也子產怒曰發命之不衷出令之不信刑之頗類獄之放紛會朝之不敬使命之不聽取陵於大國罷民而無功罪及而弗知僑之耻也孔張君之昆孫子孔之後也執政之嗣也爲嗣大夫承命以使周於諸侯國人所尊諸侯所知立於朝而祀於家有祿於國有賦於軍喪祭有職受賑歸賑其勞在廟已有著位在位數世世守其業而忘其所僑焉得耻之聽邪之人而皆及執政是先王無刑罰也子寧以他規我

○宣子有環其一在鄭商宣子謁諸鄭伯子產弗與曰非官府之守器也寡君不知子犬叔子羽謂子產曰韓子亦無幾求晉國亦未可以瓦晉國韓子不可倫也若屬有曉人交國其間鬼神而助之以與其凶怒悔之何及吾子何愛於一環其以取憎於大國也盍求而與之子產曰吾非倫晉而有二心將終事之是以弗與也信故也僑聞君子非無貽之難立而無令名之患僑聞爲國非不能事大字小之難無禮以定其位之患夫大國之人令於小國而皆獲其求將何以給之一共一否爲罪滋大大國之求無禮以斥之何厭之有吾且爲鄙邑則失位矣若韓子奉命以使而求玉焉貪淫甚矣獨非罪乎出一玉以起二罪吾又失位韓子成貪將焉用之

曰：「吾以卜買罪，不亦銳乎？」韓了買諸買人，既成買矣，商人曰：「必告君人大。」韓了請諸了產，曰：「日起請夫環，執政弗義，弗敢復也。」今買諸商人，商人曰：「必以聞，敢以爲請。」了產對曰：「昔我先君桓公與商人皆出自周，庸次比耦，以艾殺此地，斬之逢蒿黎藿，而只處之，田有盟誓，以相信也。」爾無我叛，我無強買，毋或勾奪，爾有利市寶賄，我勿與知，恃此質誓，故能相保，以今於今，今了以好來辱，而謂敝邑強奪商人，是教敝邑背盟誓也，毋乃不可乎？」了得卜而失諸侯，必不爲也，若人國令而只無熱，鄭鄙邑也，亦弗爲也，僑若獻卜，不知所成，敢私卜之，韓了辭卜，起不敏，敢求卜以徼罪，敢辭之。

夏四月，鄭人卿餞宣了於郊，宣了曰：「一君了請皆賦，起亦以知鄭志。」了爲賦，野有蔓草，宣了曰：「孺了善哉，台有繁矣。」了產賦，鄭之羔裘，宣了曰：「起不堪也。」了人叔賦，褰裳，宣了曰：「起在此，敢勤了於他人乎？」了大叔拜，宣了曰：「善哉。」了之曰：「是，不有是事，其能終乎？」了游賦，風雨，了旗賦，有女同車，了柳賦，摛兮，宣了言曰：「鄭其庶乎？」

君了以君命貺起，賦不出，鄭志皆昵燕好也。君了數田之卜也，可以無懼矣。宣了皆獻馬焉，而賦我將了產拜，使女卿皆拜，曰：「了靖亂，敢不拜德。」宣了私覲於了產，以卜與馬，了命起舍大卜，是賜我卜，而免台死也，敢不藉丁以拜。

公上自晉了服昭伯，詔予了曰：「晉之公室，其將遂中矣。君幼弱，人卿彊而奢傲，將因是以習，習實爲常，能無卑乎？」了曰：「爾幼，忠識國。」

秋八月，晉昭公卒。

九月，人雩，旱也。

鄭人早，使屠擊祝欸，暨榘，有事於桑山，斬其木，不雨。了產曰：「有事於山，莪山林也，而斬其木，其罪大矣。尊之官。」

冬十月，予了如晉，葬昭公。了了服回之，猶信了服氏有了哉。

- XVI 1 In the [dukes] sixteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu  
 2 The viscount of Ts'oo inveigled the viscount of the Man-jung [into his power] and put him to death  
 3 In summer, the duke arrived from Ts'in  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-hac, E, marquis of Ts'in, died  
 5 In the ninth month, we had a great sacrifice for rain  
 6 Ke-sun L-joo went to Ts'in  
 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'ao of Ts'in

[The Chuen has here a note about the duke's remaining in Ts'in over the new year:— This spring, the duke was detained there by the people of Ts'in. The text does not mention it concealing [the disgrace].]

Par 1. The marquis of Ts'e aware of the decay of Ts'in, was now scheming to revive the old presidency of his State and make himself another duke Hwan. During the time of Hwan, Seu had taken the side of the northern States. After his time it came under the power of Ts'oo and we have nothing about it in the text in all the years of Fwen Ch'ing, and K'ang. Soon after the accession of Ch'ao, it became an object of suspicion to Ts'oo, as being inclined to side against it with Woo; and the marquis of Ts'e now took advantage of the disorders of Ts'oo to try and secure it adherence to himself. But he was not another Hwan, and Ts'e's time had gone by.

The Chuen says:— The marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu. In the 3d month, on Ting-shin his army arrived at Ts'oo-suy when the people of Seu made their submission, and the viscount, with officers of Tan and Keu, had a meeting in that place and made a covenant with the marquis, who received, as a bribe the tripod of K'eah-foo. Shuh-sun Ch'ou-tse said, "Alas for the [small States] that there is now no leader among the princes! The ruler of Ts'e devoid of principle, raises an army and invades a distant region. His assemblies a confederacy is successful, and returns—no one resisting him. Such is the consequence of there being no leader! To this state of things may be applied the words of the ode (Shi II iv., ode X 2),

The honoured House of Chow is [nearly] extinguished;

There is none to put an end to the disorders.

The Heads of the officers have left their places

And none know my toil."

Par 2. For 卅 Kung yang has 卅 In the Chuen on VIII vi. 4 we read of the Man-sho. They were a tribe of the Jung whose principal town or city was in the south-west of the present Chow (卅 卅), in Ho-nan.

The Chuen says:— The viscount of Ts'oo, having heard that the Man-sho were all in disorder and that their viscount K'ea had no good faith, made Jen Tan inveigle him [int his power] and put him to death. He then took

[the territory of] the Man-sho, but he, as added to appoint K'ea's son in his place—which was over. Against this concluding decision of Ts'oo the K'ang he editors strongly protest;— considering all the circumstances of the case.

[We have here three narratives connected with Han K'uei tse of Ts'in in Ch'ing:—

1st. In the 3d month, Han K'uei of Ts'in went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, when the earl gave him an entertainment. Tze-ch'ao had warned [the various officers] beforehand, that all of them who could claim positions in the court should behave with the utmost respect. K'ung Chiang however came late and stood among the visitors. From that place the director [of the ceremonies] made him remove. He then took his place behind the visitors, from which also he was removed; and he [finally] went among the instruments of music,—solicited by the smiles of the guests. When the ceremony was over Foo-tzu reproved [Tze-ch'ao], saying, "With the officers of the great State we ought to be particularly careful. If we often give them occasion to laugh at us, they will despise us. Though we all of us observed the rules of ceremony, those men would think meanly of us; but when a State does not observe the rules of ceremony how can it seek for glory? K'ung Chiang a losing place was a disgrace to you. Tze-ch'ao replied with indignation, "If I issued commands which were not proper gave out orders without sincerity to the advantage of circumstances to be partial in punishing allowed dilution to be confused were disrespectful at meetings [of the States] and at other courts caused the orders of the government to be disregarded brought on us the contempt of a great State wearied the people without accomplishing anything or allowed crimes to occur without taking knowledge of them—any of these things would be a disgrace to me. But K'ung (Ch'ing) is the elder brother of one of our rulers, [thus] the heir of a chief minister and himself by inheritance a great officer. He has been sent on mission to Chow I honoured by the people of other States, and I known to the princes. He has had his place in our court and maintains the sacrifices in his family [temple]. He has endowments in the State and contributes his services to the army. At funerals and sacrifices [of our ruling House] he has [regular] duties; he receives of the sacrificial flesh from our ruler and sends of his own to him. At the sacrifices in our ancestral temple he has his assigned place. He has been in offices under several

rulers, and from one to another he has kept his position. Though he forgot his proper course, how can that be a disgrace to me? That prejudiced and corrupt men should all lay everything on me as minister, is because the former kings did not appoint sufficient punishments and penalties. You had better find fault with me for something else?'

2d 'Seuen-tsze had a ring of jade, the fellow of which was in the possession of a merchant of Ch'ing, and he begged it from the earl. Tsze-ch'an, however, refused it, saying, "It is not an article kept in our government treasury,—our ruler knows nothing about it." Tsze-t'ae shuh and Tsze-yu said to him, "It is not a great request which Han-tsze has made, nor can we yet show any swerving from our allegiance to the State of Tsin,—Han-tsze of that State is not to be slighted. If any slanderous persons should stir up strife between it and Ch'ing, and the Spirits should assist them, so as to arouse its evil indignation, regrets [for your refusal] would be in vain, why should you grudge a ring, and thereby bring on us the hatred of the great State? Why not ask for it and give it to him?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "I am not slighting Tsin, nor cherishing any disaffection to it. I wish all my life to serve it and therefore I do not give [Han-tsze this ring],—[the refusal] is a proof of my loyalty and good faith. I have heard that a superior man does not consider it hard to be without wealth, but that his calamity is to be in office and not acquire a good name. I have heard that the minister of a State does not consider the ability to serve great States and foster small ones to be his difficulty, but thinks it a calamity when he does not keep to the rules of propriety so as to establish his position. Now, when the officers of a great State are sent to a small State, if they all get what they seek, what will there be to give to them [all]? If one be gratified and another denied, the number of its offences will be [deemed to be] increased. If the requisitions of the great State are not repulsed on the principles of propriety, it will become insatiable, we shall become [as one of], its border cities, and so lose our position. If Han-tsze, sent here on his ruler's commission, asks for this gem, it shows an excessive greed,—shall we make an exception of this as if it were not a crime? Why should we produce this piece of jade, thereby originating two crimes,—the loss of our own position, and the development of Han-tsze's greed? Would it not be very trivial traffic with a piece of jade to purchase such crimes?"

'Han-tsze [himself then went to] purchase [the ring] from the merchant. When the price had been settled, the merchant said that he must inform the ruler, and the great officers [of the transaction], on which Han-tsze made a request to Tsze-ch'an, saying, "Formerly, I asked for this ring, and when you thought that my doing so was not right, I did not presume to repeat the request. Now I have bought it of the merchant, who says that he must report the transaction, and I venture to ask [that you will sanction it]." Tsze-ch'an replied, "Our former ruler, duke Hwan, came with the [ancestor of this] merchant from Chow. Thus they were associated in cultivating the land, together clearing and opening up this territory, and cutting down its tangled southernwood and

orach. Then they dwelt in it together, making a covenant of mutual faith to last through all generations, which said, 'If you do not revolt from me, I will not violently interfere with your traffic. I will not beg or take anything from you, and you may have your profitable markets, precious things, and substance, without my taking any knowledge of them.' Through this attested covenant, [our rulers and the descendants of that merchant] have preserved their mutual relations down to the present day. Now your Excellency having come to us on a friendly mission, and asking our State to take away [the ring] from the merchant by force, this was to request us to violate that covenant,—is not such a thing improper? If you get the jade, and lose a State, you would not [wish to] do the thing. If when your great State commands, we must satisfy it without any law, Ch'ing becomes one of your border cities, and I would not wish to be party to such a thing. If we present the jade to you, I do not know what the consequence may be, and venture privately thus to lay the case before you." Han-tsze then declined the jade, saying, "I presumed in my stupidity to ask for the jade, which would have occasioned two [such] crimes,—let me now presume to decline it."

3d 'In summer, in the 4th month, the 6 ministers of Ch'ing gave a parting feast to Seuen-tsze in the suburbs, when he said to them, "Let me ask all you gentlemen to sing from the odes, and I will thence understand the views of Ch'ing." Tsze-tso, (Han Ying-t's'e, son of Tsze-p'ei) then sang the Yai yow man ts'ou (She, I vii ode xx), and Seuen-tsze said, "Good! young Sir. I have the same desire." Tsze-ch'an sang the Kau k'ew of [the odes of] Ch'ing (I vii ode vi), and Seuen-tsze said, "I am not equal to this." Tsze-t'ae-shuh sang the K'ien chung (I vii ode xiii), and Seuen-tsze said, "I am here. Dare I trouble you to go to any other body?" on which the other bowed to him. Seuen-tsze then said, "Good! your song is right. If there were not such an understanding, could [the good relations of our States] continue?" Tsze-yew sang the Fung yu (I vii ode xvi), Tsze-k'ei (Fung She, son of Kung-sun T'wan) sang the Yow neu t'ung keu (ode ix), Tsze-lew (Yin K'wei, son of Yin T'wan or Tsze shih) sang the T'oh he (ode xi). Seuen-tsze was glad, and said, "Ch'ing may be pronounced near to a flourishing condition! You, gentlemen, received the orders of your ruler to confer on me this honour, and the odes you have sung are all those of Ch'ing, and all suitable to this festive friendliness. You are all Heads of clans that will continue for several generations, you may be without any apprehensions." He then presented them all with horses, and sang the Go ts'ang (IV i Bk i ode vii). Tsze-ch'an bowed in acknowledgment, and made the other ministers do the same, saying, "You have quieted the confusion [of the States], must we not acknowledge your virtuous services?" [After this], Seuen-tsze went privately to Tsze-ch'an, and presented him with a piece of jade and [two] horses, saying, "You ordered me to give up that [ring of] jade,—it was giving me a piece of jade, and saving my life. I dare not but make my acknowledgments with these things in my hand."

Compare with the last of these narratives the latter half of the Chuen on IX. xxvii. 5.]

Par 3. The Chuen says:— When the duke arrived from Tsln (He had been allowed at last to get away; see the note at the beginning of the year). Tze-fuh Ch'ao pih (Son of Hwuy pih. The Tze-fuhs were an offshoot from the Chung-shun clan) said to K'e Ping tze, "The dotal house of Tsin will soon be reduced to a low condition. The ruler is young and weak, and the six ministers are strong, extravagant, and arrogant. They will take advantage of this [feebleness of the ruler] to practise [their bad ways], till the practice becomes a regular thing. Must not [the House] be reduced low? Ping tze said, "You are young; how should you know [any thing about] a State?"

Par 4. Tso repeats this, merely with the difference of duke Ch'ao instead of the marquis's name.

Par 5. Tso observes that the sacrifice was because there was a drought; and he appends the following narrative about Ching which was suffering in the same way:— There was a great drought in Ching, and Tso Keih, with the priest K'wan, and an attendant Foo, were sent to sacrifice on mount Sang, when they cut down the trees; but there came no rain. Tze-ch an said, "A sacrifice on a hill is intended for the nourishment of its forests. But these have cut down the trees;—their crime could not be greater." He then took from them their offices and lands.

Par 6, 7. The Chuen says:—Ping-tze had gone to Tsin, to attend the funeral of duke Ch'ao. He [then] said, "The words of Tze-fuh Hwuy (Ch'ao pih; see the Chuen on par. 3) would seem to be true. The family of Tze-fuh has a [worthy] son!"

Seventeenth year

十七年春，小邾來朝。夏六月，甲戌朔，日有食之。秋，鄭子來朝。八月，荀息帥師，滅陸渾之戎。冬，有星孛于辰。楚人及吳戰于長岸。

左傳曰：十七年春，小邾穆公來朝，公與之燕。季平子賦采芣，穆公賦芣者，義昭子曰：不有以國，其能久乎？夏六月甲戌朔，日有食之。祝史謂所用幣，昭子曰：日有食之，天子不舉，伐鼓於社，諸侯用幣於社，伐鼓於朝，禮也。平子禦之曰：止也。唯正月朔慝未作，日有食之，於是乎有伐鼓用幣禮也。其餘則否。大史曰：在此月也。日過分而未至三辰有災，於是乎百官降物，君不舉，辟移時，樂奏鼓，祝用幣，史用辭。故夏書曰：辰不集於房，啓奏鼓，奮夫馳，庶人走。此月朔之謂也。當夏四月，謂之孟夏，平子弗從。昭子曰：夫子將有異志，不君君矣。秋，鄭子來朝，公與之宴。昭子問焉，曰：少皞氏，鳥名官，何故也？鄭子曰：吾祖也，我知之。昔者黃帝氏以雲紀，故爲雲師，而雲名炎帝氏以火紀，故爲火師，而火名。



以丁氏以水紀，故爲水師而水名。人皞氏以龍紀，故爲龍師而龍名。我高祖少皞摯之立也，鳳鳥適至，故紀於鳥，爲鳥師而鳥名。鳳鳥氏，歷正也。鳥氏，司分者也。伯趙氏，司至者也。青鳥氏，司啟者也。丹鳥氏，司閉者也。祝鳩氏，司徒也。鵠鳩氏，司馬也。鴈鳩氏，司空也。爽鳩氏，司寇也。鵲鳩氏，司事也。五鳩，鳩民者也。五雉，爲五正，利器用，正度量，夷民者也。九扈，爲九農正，扈民無淫者也。自顓頊以來，不能紀遠，乃紀於近，爲民師而命以民事，則不能故也。仲尼聞之，見於郊，了而學之。旣而告人曰：「台聞之，人了失官，學在四夷，猶信。」

管侯使屠蒯如周，請有事於雒與涂。襄弘謂劉子曰：「客容猛，非祭也。其伐戎乎？」陸渾氏甚睦於楚，必是故也。君其備之。乃警戎備。九月，丁卯，管荀吳帥師涉自棘津，使祭史先用牲於雒。陸渾人弗知，師從之。庚午，遂滅陸渾，數之以其貳於楚也。陸渾了奔楚，其衆奔日鹿。周人獲宣了，夢父公攜荀吳而授之陸渾，故使穆了帥師獻俘於文宮。

冬，有旱，字丁人辰，酉及漢。中須曰：「所以除舊布新也。人事恆象，今除於火，火出必布焉。諸侯其有火災乎？」梓慎曰：「往年吾見之，是其徵也。火出而見，今茲火出而章，必火入而伏，其居火也久矣。其與不然乎？火出於箕爲月，於商爲四月，於周爲五月，夏數得大，若火作，其四國當之。在宋，衛、陳、鄭乎？宋，人辰之虛也；陳，人皞之虛也；鄭，祝融之虛也，皆火房也。旱字及漢，漢，水祥也。衛，顓頊之虛也，故爲帝丘。其旱爲人水，水，火之牡也。其以內了，若千午作乎？水火所以合也。若火入而伏，必以丁午，不過其見之月。鄭裨竈曰：「於子產曰：宋、衛、陳、鄭將同日火，若我用瓊瓚，瓚，鄭必不火了。產弗與。」

吳伐楚，陽匄爲令尹，卜戰不吉。司馬了魚曰：「我得卜流，何故不吉？且楚故司馬令龜，我請改卜。」令曰：「魴也，以其屬死之。楚師繼之，向人克之。」戰于長岸，了魚先死。楚師繼之，人敗吳師，獲其乘舟餘皂，使隨人與後个者守之，環而斬之。及泉，盈其隧炭，陳以待命。吳公了光請於其衆曰：「先喫一之乘舟，豈唯光之罪？衆亦有焉。」請藉取

以取大亂之，從對呼從對餘日，於人釐之，死之，  
歸餘敗吳楚而楚皆之，師皇我舟潛者使衆以  
皇之，人師殺人送三夜則呼側伏三長許救

- XVII 1 In the [dukes] seventeenth year, in spring, the viscount of Little Choo came to Loo to court  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Kūah seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed  
3 In autumn, the viscount of T'an came to the court of Loo  
4 In the eighth month, Seun Woo of Tain led a force, and extinguished the Jung of Luh hwān  
5 In winter, there was a comet in Ta shin  
6 A body of men from Ta'oo fought a battle with Woo in Ch'ang gan

Par 1. The Chuen says:— This spring duke Mah of Little Choo came to our court. The duke feasted with him when Ko P'ing-tze sang the T'ue shuh (Shu, II vii. ode VIII), and duke Mah responded with the T'ing-t'ing chay go (II iii. ode II). Ch'ao-tze said, "Is he not able to rule his State, so that it will continue long?"

Par 2. This eclipse occurred in the afternoon of August 14th, A.C. 54. The Chuen says:— When the eclipse occurred, the priest and the historian, after asked for the offerings of silk which should be employed. Ch'ao-tze said, "On the occurrence of an eclipse, the son of Heaven does not have his table fully spread, and causes the drum to be beaten at the altar of the land, while the princes of States present offerings of silk at that altar and cause the drum to be beaten in their courts. This is the rule. P'ing-tze opposed it, saying, "Stop; it is only in the first month, before the evil influence has shown itself, that it is the rule, on the occurrence of an eclipse, to beat the drum and present those offerings. On other occasions there is no such rule." The grand historiographer said, "That is just this month. After the sun has passed the equinox and before he has arrived at the solstice when any calamity happens to the sun, moon or stars the various officers put off their elegant robes, the ruler does not have his table fully spread, and with draws from his principal chamber till the time [of the eclipse] is past; the musicians beat the drums, the priest presents his offerings, and the historiographer makes an address. Hence in one of the Books of Hsia (Shu, III. iv 4) it is said, 'The sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind [men] beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped and the common people ran about. That is said of the first day of this month.'—It was in the 4th month of Hsia, which is called the first month of summer (The 4th month of Hsia was the 6th of Chou. But the present text of the Shoo places the eclipse in the 9th month of the year) [Notwithstanding this], P'ing-tze would not follow their counsel, on which Ch'ao-tze retired, and said, "He will [soon] show that he is disaffected. He is not treating our ruler as his ruler."

Par 3. T'an,—see VII iv 1. The viscounts of T'an traced their lineage up to K'in-t'ien (金天氏), the dynastic title of Shao-hsiao (少昊), the eldest son of Hwang-ta.

The Chuen says:— When the viscount of T'an came to our court, the duke feasted with him, and Ch'ao-tze asked what was the reason that Shao-hsiao named his officers after birds. The viscount replied, "He was my ancestor and I know [all about] it. Before him, Hwang-ta came to his rule with [the omen of] a cloud, and therefore he had cloud officers, naming them after clouds; Yen-te (Shin nung) came to his with [the omen of] fire and therefore he had fire officers, naming them after fire; Kung kung came to his with [the omen of] water and therefore he had water officers, naming them after water; T'ao-hsiao (Fah-lee) came to his with [the omen of] a dragon, and therefore he had dragon officers, naming them after dragons. When my ancestor Shao-hsiao Che succeeded to the kingdom there appeared at that time a phoenix, and therefore he arranged his government under the nomenclature of birds, naming bird officers, and naming them after birds. There were so and so Phoenix bird, minister of the calendar; so and so Dark bird (The swallow), master of the equinoxes; so and so P'ih-chao (The shrike), master of the solstices; so and so Green bird (A kind of sparrow), master of the beginning [of spring and autumn]; and so and so Carnation-bird, (The golden pheasant), master of the close [of spring and autumn];—so and so Chuh-k'ow minister of instruction; so and so T'ieu-k'ow minister of War; so and so She-k'ow minister of Works; so and so Hwang-k'ow minister of Crime; so and so Kwuh-k'ow minister of affairs. These five K'ow kept the people collected together. The five Che (Peasants) presided over the five classes of mechanics;—they saw to the provision of implements and utensils, and to the correctness of the measures of length and capacity keeping things equal among the people. The nine Hoo were the ministers of the nine departments of husbandry and kept the people from becoming dissolute. After the time of Chao-hsi, [who came after Shao-hsiao], they were not able to

arrange their offices by [such symbols coming] from afar, and did so by what was near at hand. Their officers being over the people, they named them from the business of the people, not being able to do otherwise."

'Chung-ne having heard of this, he had an interview with the viscount of T'an, and learned from him. Afterward he said to people, "I have heard that, when the officers of the son of Heaven are not properly arranged, we may learn from the wild tribes all round about. The remark seems to be true."

At this time Confucius was 27 years old. Too, by mistake, makes him 28.

Par 4 For 陸渾 Kung-yang has 賁渾, and Kuh-lēang omits the 之 between 渾 and 賁. For these Jung, see on VII 11 4.

The Chuen says — 'The marquis of Tsin sent T'oo K'wae to Chow, to ask leave to sacrifice to the Loh and to [the hill of] San-t'oo. Ch'ang Hwāng said to the viscount of Lew, "The countenance of our visitor looks fierce. Their object is not sacrifice, but probably an attack on the Jung. The chief of Luh-hwān is very friendly with Ts'oo, that must be the reason [for their movement]. You should make preparations for it." Accordingly orders were given for preparations against the Jung.

'In the 9th month, on Tung-maou Seun Woo of Tsin led a force, crossed [the Ho] at the ford of Keih, and made an officer of sacrifice first offer victims to the Loh. The people of Luh-hwān knew nothing [of their object, till] the army came after him, and on Kāng-woo he took the opportunity to extinguish the [tribe of] Luh-hwān, denouncing it for its disaffection and adherence to Ts'oo. The viscount of it fled to Ts'oo, and the multitudes to Kan-luh, where [the troops of] Chow captured many of them. Seuen-tsze had dreamed that duke Wān led Seun Woo and gave him Luh-hwān, in consequence of which he made Muh-tsze command the expedition and [afterwards] present his prisoners in [the temple of] duke Wān.'

Par 5 Ta-shin is another name for Ta-ho (人火), the seventh of the signs of the Chinese Zodiac, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio, — the constellations of Fang, Sin, and Wei (房, 心, 尾).

尾) in the tract of the Azure Dragon. The Chuen says — 'In winter there was a comet on the west of Ta-shin, which travelled [eastward] to the Milky way. Shin Sen said, "This broom-star serves to take away what is old and arrange something new. The doings of Heaven are constantly attended by such appearances. Now the operation of taking away occurring in Ho, when Ho appears again, the new arrangement will be seen. We may conclude that the States are going to have the calamity of fires." Tsze Shin said, 'Last year I saw it, when it was still small. It was visible when Ho appeared. Now, this year, when Ho appeared, it was brilliant, — it must have remained concealed when Ho disappeared, and it has thus dwelt about Ho for a long time. It must happen as you say. Ho appears in the 3d month of Hea, the 4th of Shang, and the 5th of Chow. The numbers of Hēa are the more correct deductions from the heavens. When Ho [again] appears, the 4

States to which this comet has reference will be, I apprehend, Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing. Sung is the region corresponding to Ta-shin, Ch'in was the old abode of T'ae-haou, Ch'ing, that of Chuh-yung — all of them abodes of fire. The comet is travelling to the Han of the sky, and the Han is ominous of water. Now Wei was the abode of Chuen-heuh, hence we have Te-k'ēw in it, and its star is Ta-shwuy (Great Water). Water is the husband of fire. The calamity will arise, probably, on a Ping-tsze day or a Jin-woo, when there is a meeting of water and fire."

'P'ei Tsaou of Ch'ing said to Tsze ch'an, "There are going to be fires in Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing on the same day. If we sacrifice with a kwan goblet and a libation cup of jade, Ch'ing will escape the fire." Tsze-ch'an did not agree to the proposal.'

Par 6 Ch'ang-gan was in Ts'oo, close on the southern bank of the Yang-tsze, — in the pres. dis. of T'ang-t'oo (當塗), dep. T'ae-p'ing (太平), Gan-hwuy.

The Chuen says — 'Woo invaded Ts'oo. Yang Kae, the chief minister [of Ts'oo], consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable reply. The marshal Tsze-yu said, "We are at the upper part of the stream, why should it be unfavourable? Moreover, it is the old custom of Ts'oo for the marshal to give the charge to the shell, — allow me to divine again." [Accordingly], he propounded the matter, saying, "If I and my followers die in the conflict, and the army of Ts'oo continue it, may we inflict a great defeat on the enemy?" The answer was favourable, and they fought at Ch'ang-gan. Tsze-yu died in the first onset, but the army of Ts'oo came on afterwards and greatly defeated that of Woo, capturing the [king's] vessel, Yu-hwang. The men of Suy and others who came late [for the fight] were then set to guard it. A ditch was dug all round it, down to the watersp. rings, and along the channel [between it and the river] was piled up [lighted] charcoal. At the same time the army was drawn up, waiting further orders.

'The Kung-tsze Kwang of Woo made a request to all his men, saying, "That we lost the vessel of our former kings is not my fault only, but you all share in it. I would ask your help to retake it, and you will thus save me from death." They all agreed, and he then sent three men with long beards to lie hid by the side of the vessel, saying to them, "When we cry out Yu-hwang, you must answer." The army followed in the night, and thrice cried out Yu-hwang, when the men responded one after another. The men of Ts'oo came at the cries, and killed them, but their army fell into confusion, and the men of Woo gave them a great defeat, retook the Yu-hwang, and carried it back with them."

The men with long beards were intended to appear as if they belonged to the army of Ts'oo, few of the people of Woo having the distinction of such an appendage. This circumstance helped to throw the army of Ts'oo into confusion.

## Eighteenth year

<sup>二</sup>春有八年春，  
<sup>一</sup>二月，曹伯  
<sup>三</sup>卒。  
<sup>二</sup>夏五月，丁午，  
<sup>三</sup>宋衛陳鄭災。  
<sup>三</sup>六月，邾人入  
<sup>四</sup>郕。  
<sup>五</sup>秋，葬曹平公。  
<sup>五</sup>冬，許遷丁白  
<sup>五</sup>羽。

○左傳曰十八年春王二月，乙卯周毛得殺毛伯過而代之，蔓弘曰：毛得必亡，是昆吾稔之日也，侈故之以，而毛得以濟，侈於王都不亡，何待三月？曹平公卒。

夏五月，火始昏見，丙子，風，梓慎曰：是謂融風，火之始也。七日，其火作乎戊寅，風甚，壬午，大甚，宋衛陳鄭皆火，梓慎登大庭氏之庫以望之，曰：宋衛陳鄭也，數日皆來告火，神龜曰：不用吾言，鄭又將火，鄭人請用之，子產不可，子犬叔曰：費以保民也，若有火，國幾亡，可以救亡，子何愛焉？子產曰：天道遠，人道邇，非所及也，何以知之？龜，蠱知天道，是亦多言矣，豈不或信？遂不與，亦不復火，鄭之未災也，里析告子產曰：將有大祥，民震動，國幾亡，吾身泯焉，弗良及也，國遷其可乎？子產曰：雖可，吾不足以定遷矣，及火里析死矣，未葬，子產使與三十人遷其柩，火作，子產辭晉公子公孫於東門，使司寇出新客，禁舊客，勿出於官，使子寬子，上巡羣屏攝，至於犬宮，使公孫登徙大龜，使祝史徙主禘於周廟，告於先君，使府人庫人各徹其事，商成公徹司宮，出舊宮人，冀諸火所不及，司馬司寇列居火道，行火所缺城下之人，伍列登城，明日，使野司寇各保其徵，郊人助祝史，除於國北，禳火於玄冥，回祿祈於四鄘，誓焚室而寬其征，與之材，三日哭，國不市，使行人告於諸侯，宋衛皆如是，陳不救火，許不弔災，君子是以知陳許之先亡也。

六月，邾人藉稻邾人襲郕，郕人將閉門，邾人羊羅攝其首焉，遂入之，盡俘以歸，郕子曰：余無歸矣，從洛於邾，邾莊公反，郕夫人而舍其女。

秋，葬曹平公。往者見周原伯魯焉，與之語，不詭學，歸以語閔了馬。閔了馬曰：周其亂乎？夫必多有是說，而後及其大人，人人患失而惑。又曰：可以無學，無學不古，不古而不學，則苟而可，於是乎卜陵上皆能無亂乎？大學殖也，不學將落，原氏其亡乎？

①七月，鄭了產爲火故，人爲社，祓禳於四方，振除火災，禮也。乃簡兵人鬼，將爲鬼除，了大叔之廟，在道南，其寢在道北，其庭小，過期。日使除徒陳於道南，廟北，了產過，乃命速除，乃毀於而鄉了產朝，過而怒之，除者南毀了產及衝，使從者止之，了毀於北方，火之作也，了產授兵登陴，了大叔曰：曾無乃討乎？了產曰：台聞之，小國忘寸則危，況有災乎？國之不可小，有備故也。既首之，邊史譏鄭曰：鄭國有災，曾君人，大不敢寧居，卜筮走望，不愛料，了鄭之有災，寡君之憂也。今執事擱然授兵登陴，將以誰罪？邊人恐懼，不敢不告了產，對曰：若台了之言，敝邑之災，君之憂也。敝邑失政，人降之災，又懼讒慝之閒謀之，以啟貪人，薦爲敝邑，不利，以重君之憂，幸而不亡，猶可說也，不幸而亡，君雖憂之，亦無及也。鄭有他竟，寧走仕曾，既事曾矣，其敢有一心。楚左尹了勝，一於楚了，許於鄭，仇敵也，而居楚地，以不禮於鄭，曾鄭方睦，鄭若伐許，而曾助之，楚喪地矣。君命遷許，許不專於楚，鄭方有令政，許曰：余舊國也，鄭曰：余俘邑也，葉在楚國，方城外之敝也，不可易，國不可小，許不可俘，讐不可啟，君其圖之。楚了說冬，楚了使了勝遷許於析，實白羽。

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Seu, earl of Ts'aou, died  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, the calamity of fire occurred in [the capitals of] Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing  
 3 In the sixth month, a body of men from Choo entered Yu.  
 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'aou.  
 5 In winter, Heu removed [its capital] to Pih-yu

[The Chuen gives here a short narrative about affairs in Chow — 'This spring, in the king's 2d month, on Yih-maou, Maou Tih of Chow killed Kwo, earl of Maou, and took his place. Chang Hw'ang said, "Maou Tih is sure to become a fugitive. It was on this day that [the

wickedness of] Keun-woo (The *pa* of the H'ên dyn.) reached its height, — in consequence of his extravagance. And [now, on this day] Maou Tih has consummated his extravagance in the king's capital. What are we to wait for but his becoming a fugitive?"]

Par 1. Tso repeats this par with the change of duke Ping for the earl's name.

Par 1. We have here the fulfilment of the predictions in connection with the comet of the preceding winter. The Chuen says:—In summer in the 5th month, the Ho star made its first appearance at do k. On Ping tze there was wind, and Tze-t'ien said, "This is called a north-east wind; it is a prelude of fire. In 7 days, we may presume the fire will break out." On Hsueh yin the wind was great; on Jin woo it was vehement; and the capitals of Sung, Wei, Ch'iu, and Ch'ing all caught fire. T'ze Shiu went up on the top of the magazine of Ta-ting to look in the direction of them, and said, "In a few days messenger from Sung, Wei, Ch'iu, and Ch'ing will be here with announcements of fire."

T'ze Tsao said, "If you do not do as I said (see at the end of the narrative on par 5 of la 1 year), Ch'ing will suffer from fire again." The people [said] he, "That is advice should be taken, but T'ze-ch'uan still refused. T'ze-t'ien said, "The use of precious articles is to preserve the people. If there be [another] fire our city will be nearly destroyed. If they can save it from that destruction, why should you grudge them?" T'ze-ch'uan replied, "The way of Heaven is distant, while the way of man is near. We cannot reach to the former; what means have we of knowing it? How should Tsao know the way of Heaven? He is a great talker and we need not wonder if his words sometimes come true." Accordingly he would not agree to the proposal, and there was no repetition of the fire.

Before the calamity occurred in Ch'ing, Le Keli said to T'ze-ch'uan, "There are great portents of something to occur. The people will be alarmed and excited; the city will be nearly ruined; I myself will die and not arrive till its occurrence. Would it be better to remove the city to another site?" "It might be so," was the reply "but I am not sufficient to determine on such a matter." When the fire occurred, Le Keli was dead; but as he was not yet buried, T'ze-ch'uan made 50 men remove his coffin. When the fire broke out, T'ze-ch'uan dismissed a Kung tze and Hsueh-sun of T'ien, [who had just arrived], at the east gate. He made the minister of Crime send recent visitors out of the city and prohibit other visitors from leaving their houses. He made T'ze-k'wan and T'ze-shang go round and inspect all the places of sacrifice and go on to the grand temple. He made Kung-sun T'ing remove the great tortoise-shell; the priests and historiographers remove the spirit tablets to the stone niches in the Chow temple and announce [the calamity] to the former rulers; and the officers in charge of the treasury and magazines to look well after their departments. Hsueh Ch'ing kung kept the keepers of the palace on guard, sent out all the old inmates of the harem, and put them in a place which the fire could not reach. The ministers of War and Crime took post in order along the course of the fire and went where it was burning. The people at the foot of the wall were sent up upon it in companies of five.

Next day orders were given to the magistrates in the country to take good care of the people under them. The people of the suburbs assisted the priests and historiographers in

clearing the ground on the north of the city. [Sacrifices against fire were offered to Hsueh-ming (The Spirit of water) and Hsueh-t'ien (The Spirit of fire); and prayers were offered on the walls all round at night. A writing was made of the houses that had been burned; their taxes were remitted; and materials were supplied to the owners. For three days there was a [rain] weeping, and markets were not opened. Messengers were sent to announce [the calamity] to the [other States].

Sung and Wei [also] adopted similar measures. But Ch'iu took no measures against the fire nor did Hsueh send any message of condolence. From this a superior man might know that Ch'iu and Hsueh would be the first of the States to perish.

Par 2. Yu was a small State whose principal city was 10 li north from the present city of Lo-chow. Sung restored Yu in the next year but before long we shall find that it was absorbed by Lo.

The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, the people of Yu were engaged upon the public lands, when a body of men from Choo surprised the city. One of the people was about to climb the gate but a Shou-tze Yang Lu, cut off his head on which the attackers entered it, made all in it prisoners, and carried them off to Choo. The viceroy of Yu (We must suppose he had been with the people in the field) said, "I have nowhere to go to;" and he followed his family to Choo. Duke Ch'ing of Choo returned to him his wife but kept his daughter.

Par 4. The Chuen says:—In autumn, when there was the burial of duke Ping of Tsao, our officer who had gone to attend it had an interview with Lu, earl of Yen, and in conversation with him found that he did not like learning. On his return he told this to Min Tsao-mo who said, "There will [soon] be disorder in Choo. There must be many there who talk in that way before such an idea reaches the great men. The great men are troubled at errors [of some who have learned], and become deluded [on the subject] till they say "Learning may be done without. The want of learning does no harm." But it is an accidental circumstance when the want of learning does no harm. From such a condition in fact will be usurping and superiors will be set aside—is it possible that disorder should not ensue? Learning is like cultivation; if people do not learn, there will be decadence and decay. We may judge that the family of Yen will come to ruin.

[We have here a sequel to the narrative under par 2.—T'ze-ch'uan of Ch'ing in consequence of the fire, celebrated a great sacrifice at the altar of the land, and ordered exorcisms and deprecatory sacrifices throughout the State in order to remove entirely the plague of the fire;—all which was in accordance with propriety. He then inspected the weapons, and was going to hold a review. For this it was necessary to clear the way. The temple of T'ze-t'ien-shih was on the south of the road, and his dwelling house on the north of it, so that the space between was small. [Orders were given to clear them away] but three days after the time [it was not done and T'ze-t'ien-shih] made the workmen stand with their implements on the south of the road and the north of the temple,

saying to them, "When Tsze-ch'an passes by you, and orders you to clear away quickly, then fall to pulling down right before you" [Soon after], Tsze-ch'an passed by, as he was going to court, and was angry [at the dilatoriness], so the clearers began pulling down on the south. However, when he came to the cross way, he made his attendants stop them, saying, "Pull down on the north." When the fire occurred, Tsze-ch'an gave out weapons, and sent men on the parapets. Tsze-t'ac-shuh said to him, "Is not Tsin likely to call us to account for this?" "I have heard," was the reply, "that, when a small State forgets to keep guard, it is in a perilous position, how much more must it be so on an occasion of calamity! It is being prepared which keeps a State from being made little of." By and by, the officer of Tsin, on the borders, came to complain to Ch'ing, saying, "When Ch'ing suffered such a calamity, the ruler of Tsin and the great officers did not dare to dwell at ease. They consulted the tortoise-shell and the reeds, and ran to sacrifice to the hills and streams, grudging neither victims nor gems. The calamity of Ch'ing was a grief to our ruler. And now, your minister, with looks of determination, is giving out weapons and sending men up on the parapets. On whom is he going to lay the blame? We are afraid and dare not but lay our thoughts before you." Tsze-ch'an replied, "According to what you say, the calamity of our State was a grief to your ruler. There were defects about our government, and Heaven sent down the calamity. We are further afraid, lest some evil, slanderous people should take the opportunity to form a plot and excite the covetousness of people against us, which would be still more disadvantageous to our State, and increase the grief of your ruler. If we are fortunate enough to escape ruin, we shall be

able to explain [our conduct]. If we are not so fortunate, however much your ruler may be grieved for our fate, explanation will be too late. Ch'ing has other neighbours on its borders. Its hope is in Tsin, and to it is its recourse. We serve Tsin,—how should we dare to admit a spirit of disaffection to it?"

Par 5 Pih-yu was a city of Ts'oo, called also Seih (析), by which name it is mentioned in the Chuen on V xlv 5. It was in the pres T'ang Chow (鄧州), dep Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In the time of duke Yin, the capital of Heu was Heu-ch'ang (See on I xi 3). In the 15th year of duke Ch'ing, it was removed to Sheh (葉. See VII xv 1). In ix 2, a further removal to E is recorded. In the 13th year, king Ling of Ts'oo appears to have removed it further within Ts'oo, but his successor, king P'ing, removed Heu back to Sheh, from which the change in the text was made.

The Chuen says — 'The king's son Shing of Ts'oo, director of the Left, said to the viscount, "Heu's natural position to Ch'ing is that of an enemy, and through its situation in the territory of Ts'oo, it observes no ceremony to Ch'ing. Tsin and Ch'ing are now on good terms. If Ch'ing attack Heu and is assisted by Tsin, Ts'oo will lose the territory,—why not remove Heu? Heu cannot at present be entirely devoted to Ts'oo. Ch'ing has now good government, so that Heu says, "It is my old State," and Ch'ing says [of Heu], "It is the State which I captured." Sheh in the State of Ts'oo is like a screen outside the barrier wall. The country is not to be thought little of, the State [of Ch'ing] is not to be slighted, Heu is not to be captured, enmity is not to be excited—your lordship should consider the case." In winter the viscount of Ts'oo employed this Shing to remove Heu to Seih, i.e., to Pih-yu.'

*Nineteenth year.*

五章 師伐莒。  
四章 秋齊高發師。  
三章 山卯地震。  
二章 其君買。  
一章 許世子止弑。  
二章 夏五月戊辰。  
一章 宋公伐邾。  
二章 十有九年春。

○左傳曰：十九年春，楚工尹赤遷陰於下陰，令尹子瑕城郟。叔孫昭子曰：楚不在諸侯矣，其僅自完也，以持其世而已。

○釐子之在蔡也，鄭陽封人之女奔之，生犬子建及卽位，使伍奢爲之師，費無極爲少師，無懼焉。欲譖諸王，曰：建可室矣。王爲之聘於蔡，無極與逆，勸王取之。正月，楚夫人羸氏至自蔡。

卿夫人朱向戌之女也，故向寧請師。二月，朱公伐郟，圍之。三月，取之，乃盡歸卽俘郟人，郟人徐人，會宋公、乙亥，同盟於蟲。

夏，許悼公薨。五月，戊辰，飲犬子止之藥，卒。犬子奔晉，書曰：弑其君。君子曰：盡心力以事君，舍藥物可也。

○楚子爲舟師以伐濮，費無極言於楚子曰：晉之伯也，邇於諸夏，而楚辟陋，故弗能與爭。若大城城父，而竄犬子焉，以通北方，王收南方，是得天下也。王說，從之。故犬子建居於城父，令尹子瑕聘於蔡，拜夫人也。

秋，齊高發帥師伐莒。莒子奔紀，郭使孫書伐之。初，莒有婦人，莒子殺其夫，已爲贅婦。及老，託於紀郭，紡焉以度而去之。及師至，則投諸外，或獻諸子占。子占使師夜緦而登，登者六十人，緦絕師鼓譟，城上之人亦譟，莒共公懼，啟西門而出。七月，丙子，齊師入紀。

○是歲也，鄭駟偃卒。子游娶於晉大夫生，絳弱，其父兄立子瑕。子產憎其爲人也，且以爲不順，弗許，亦弗止。駟氏歸他日，絳以告其舅，冬，晉人使以幣如鄭，而駟乞之立故。駟氏懼，駟乞欲逃，子產弗遣，請龜以卜，亦弗予。大夫謀對，子產不待而對客曰：鄭國不天，寡君之二三臣札瘥，天昏今又喪我先大夫偃，其子幼弱，其一二父兄懼，隊宗主私族於謀而立長親，寡君與其二三老曰：抑天實剝亂是，吾何知焉？諺曰：無過亂門，民有兵亂，猶憚過之，而況敢知天之所亂乎？今大夫將問其故，抑寡君實不敢知其誰實知之，平丘之會，君尋舊盟，曰：無或失職，若寡君之二三臣，其卽世者，晉大夫而專制其位，是晉之縣鄙也，何國之爲辭客幣而報其使，晉人舍之。



歸蹶由。者、楚之謂矣。舍前之忿，可也。乃  
 彼何罪，諺所謂室於怒，市於色。  
 ⑤令尹了瑕，蹶山於楚了。  
 於龍，龍亦無求於我，乃止也。  
 覲焉，禳之，則彼其室也。台無求  
 我鬪，龍不我覲也。龍鬪，我獨何  
 淵。國人請爲禳焉。了產弗許。  
 ⑤鄭人水，龍鬪於時門之外。洧  
 勞罷死，轉忘寢與食，非撫之也。  
 無寇讐，今宮室無量，民人日駭。  
 於內，而樹德於外，民樂其性，而  
 撫之矣。戊子，召聞撫民者，節用  
 十，施舍不倦，息民五年，可謂  
 城州來以挑吳，能無敗乎。侍者  
 一曰：台木撫民，今亦如之，而  
 必敗。昔吳滅州來，了旗請伐之，人  
 ⑤楚人城州來，沈尹戌曰：楚人

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, the duke of Sung invaded Choo.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shun, She, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae
- 3 On Ke-maou, there was an earthquake
- 4 In autumn, Kaou Fah of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.
- 5 In winter there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

[The Chuen introduces here two short narratives relative to Ts'oo

1st 'This spring, Ch'ih, director of Works in Ts'oo, removed Yin to Hea-yin, and Tsze-hen, the chief minister, walled Keah. Ch'ou-tsze said, "Ts'oo cannot occupy itself about the States [now], it can barely maintain itself, and try to preserve the succession of its rulers, one after another."

2d '[One time], when the viscount of Ts'oo had gone [on a mission] to Ts'ae, the daughter of the border warden of Yun-yang had sought his company, and the issue was [recognized as] the eldest son Keen. When he succeeded to the State, he appointed Woo Ch'ay tutor to Keen, and Fei Woo-keih assistant-tutor. Woo-keih was no favourite with his charge, and wishing to discredit him with the king, he suggested that it was time Keen should be married. The king [accordingly] engaged for Keen a daughter of Ts'in, and Woo-keih took part in meeting her, and advised the king to take her for himself. In the 1st month, she, the lady Ying, [who became] wife of the ruler of Ts'oo, arrived from Ts'in.'

Par 1 See on the 3d par of last year. The Chuen here says — 'The wife of [the viscount of] Yu was a daughter of Hêng Seh of Sung, and therefore Hêng Ning [now] begged that an expedition might be undertaken [against Choo]. In the 2d month, the duke of Sung invaded that State, and laid siege to Ch'ung, which he took in the third month. Choo then returned all the captives whom it had taken from Yu. Officers of Choo, E, and Seu, had a meeting with the duke of Sung, and on Yih-hae they made a covenant together in Ch'ung.'

Par 2 The Chuen says — 'In summer, duke Taou of Heu had fever, and in the 5th month,

on Mow-shun he drank some medicine from his eldest son Che, and died. The son then fled to Ts'in. On the words of the text, — 'murdered his ruler,' the superior man will say, "If a man use all his mind and strength in serving his ruler, he may let his physic alone." K'uh-lêng gives rather a different account of this matter — 'Che did not commit the murder, but it is here said that he did so, — in reproof of Che. Che said, "I have been a party with the murderer." He therefore would not take his father's place, but resigned the State to his younger brother, wept and refused proper nourishment, so that he died within a year. Therefore the superior man here reproves him, as he reproved himself.' Kung-yang, also, without going into particulars, says that Che was not the murderer. The critics conclude from K'uh-lêng's account that Che's crime was that he had not tasted, as he ought to have done, the medicine supplied to his father before he gave it to him, whereas Tso would seem to say that he had himself ignorantly prepared the medicine, a wrong one, which led to his father's death. Whatever the real facts were, it is difficult to reconcile the bare, hard statement of the text with our ideas of historical justice.

Par 3 地震, — see VI ix 11. Of the 5 earthquakes mentioned in the Ch'ün Ts'ew two occurred in the time of duke Ch'ou, this one, and one in his 23d year.

[The Chuen appends a narrative here about affairs in Ts'oo — 'The viscount of Ts'oo prepared a naval expedition to invade Puh. Fei Woo-keih said to him, "Tsin's leading position is owing to its being near to the great States, while Ts'oo, through its remote and obscure

position, is unable to contend with it. If you will bring this on a great scale and place your eldest son there to communicate with the northern regions, while your majesty keeps together those of the south, you will get possession of all under heaven." The king was pleased and took his advice. In consequence of this, K'ien, the king's eldest son, twelfth in line, [About the same time] the chief minister Tse-h went on a complimentary mission to T'ien, to make acknowledgments for [his king's] wife.

Par 4. The Chuen says:—When Kao Fah invaded K'ien, the vicount of that State fled to K'uei-chuan and Fah sent his son to attack it. At an earlier period, the vicount of K'ien had put to death the husband of a woman of K'uei who thenceforth lived as a widow; and in her old age she had taken up her residence in K'uei-chuan where she spun a rope with which she measured [the height of] the wall and then kept concealed; but when the troops [of T'ien] came she threw it over the wall, [hanging down] out of the State. Some one showed it to Tse-chien (K'ien's son), who made his soldiers climb up by means of it. When 20 of them had got up, the rope broke; but the troops then took their ladders and showed the men on the wall of K'uei-chuan that Duke Kung of K'uei became frightened, opened the west gate and left the place. In the 11th month on King-tse the army of T'ien entered K'uei.

Par 5. Many of the critics think that this entry of the burial of Duke Tsin of Hien is a condensation by the sage of his sons' share in his death. Confucius thus made to charge the son first with the murder of his father of which he was not guilty and then in this indirect way to withhold the charge.

[We have here four narratives appended in the Chuen:—

1st, of affairs in Ch'ing. This year Hse Yen (Tse-yew; 子儀) of Ch'ing died. He had married the daughter of one of the great officers of Tsin, by whom he had Hse-wi who was still young [when his father died]. The elder members of his family however raised Tse-hua (an uncle of Yen, called Hse K'uei; 季子) in his room. Tse-chuan who did not like his character and because the preceding murderer was not according to the natural order did not approve of the appointment, neither did he stop it; thereby alarming the Hse family. In the meantime K'uei went west to his mother's brother of it; and in the winter the people of Tsin sent a messenger with some officials of silk to Ch'ing and to ask about the cause of the appointment of Hse K'uei. The Hse family were frightened in consequence and Hse-wi fled to run away. Tse-chuan would not allow him to go; and when he begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, neither would the minister agree to that. The great officers were consulting what reply should be given [to the envoy of Tsin], but without waiting [for the result of their deliberations], Tse-chuan replied to him, "Through want of the blessing of Heaven on Ch'ing several of our ruler's officers have died in pestilence, great and small, or by too early deaths, or even before they had got any name; and now we have lost our late great officer Yen. His son being young and feeble the elders of the family fearing lest their ancestral temple

should be without a [proper] master consulted privately among themselves, and appointed the oldest of his near relatives. Our ruler and the elders [of his council] said [to themselves], Heaven, perhaps, is causing [the family] to fall into disorder—why should we take knowledge of it? There is the common saying about not pressing [by] the gate of a family in disorder. If in [any family of] the people there be the confusion of strife and we are still afraid to pass by it how much more should we be afraid in a case where the disaster is caused by Heaven! Your excellency now asks the cause [of this appointment]; but since our ruler does not presume to take knowledge of it who is there that really knows it? At the meeting of King K'uei in renewing the old covenants, our ruler said: Let no State fall in the dilatoriness of its duties; but if when any of the rulers of our ruler leaves the world the great officers of Tsin must determine who shall be his successor it is I to make Ch'ing a full strict order of Tsin—it ceases to be a State." He then declined the office and said: I to the king by me to T'ien, the people I which let the matter drop.

2d, relating to affairs in T'ien. The people of T'ien walked [Chow-lie (see XIII)] must have taken the place; on which Kuei director of Shin, said, The men of T'ien are sure to be defeated there. Formerly when we extinguished Ch'ien, T'ien was a great way to attack it but the king said I have not yet comforted the mind of the people. The fate of it [T'ien] will be the same; and we are waiting [Chow-lie] to give the word—is it possible we should not be defeated? An attendant who was by him said:—The king has been unwearied in his defence and he allowed five years rest to the people—he may be said to have comforted their minds. Hse replied, "I have heard that he who comforts the minds of the people must not let himself be internally militate, and establish the peace of his virtue abroad so that the people rejoice in their life and there are no marauders near them. Now [the king's] palaces are [built and beautified] without measure; the people are kept in daily terror so that they are flying or running around with their tails and forgetful both of their sleep and of their food. There is no comforting of them."

3d, relating to affairs in Ch'ing. There were great floods in Ch'ing; and [some] dragons sought in the pool of Wei, outside the K'uei gate. The people asked leave to sacrifice to them; but Tse-chuan refused it, saying "If we are fighting the dragons do not look at us; when dragons are fighting why should we look at them? We may offer a deprecatory sacrifice but that is their abuse. If we do not seek any thing of the dragons they will not seek anything from us." On this [the people] desisted [from their request].

4th, relating to T'ao and Wen. Tse-lie, the chief minister spoke to the vicount of T'ao about Kuei-jew (see the Chuen on V) saying "What offence is he chargeable with? The words of the common saying might be applied to T'ao.—He is angry with the members of his family and he shows his anger in the market place. It would be well to put away the former resentment against him [the vicount] accordingly send Kuei-jew back to Wei.]

## Twentieth year

一章

十年春，王正月。

○左傳曰：「十年春，十一月己卯，日南至，梓慎望氛曰：『今茲宋有亂，國幾亡。』」年而後弔，蔡有大喪，叔孫昭子曰：「然則戴桓也，汰侈無禮已甚，亂所在也。」

二章

夏，曹公孫會自鄆

○費無極言於楚子曰：「建與伍奢將以方城之外叛，自以爲猶宋、鄭也，齊、晉又交輔之，將以害楚，其事集矣。」信之，問伍奢，伍奢對曰：「君過多矣，何信於讒？」執伍奢，使城父司馬奮揚殺之，入於爾耳，誰告建也？對曰：「臣告之君。」命臣曰：「事建如事余，臣不佞，不能苟貳，本初以諼，不忍後命，故遣之，既而悔之，亦無及已。」曰：「而敢來，何也？」對曰：「使而失命，召而不來，是冉好也，逃無所入。」曰：「歸從政如他日，無極曰：『省之了材，君在吳，必憂楚國，以免其父，召之，彼仁必來，不然將爲患。』」使召之，曰：「來。」台免而父榮君，向謂其弟員曰：「爾適吳，我將歸死，台知不逮，台能死，爾能報，聞免父之命，不可以莫之介也，親戚爲戮，不可以莫之報也，介死免父，孝也，度功而行，仁也，擇任而往，知也，知死不辟，勇也，父不可乘，名不可廢，爾其免之，相從爲愈。」伍向歸，奢聞員不來，曰：「楚君人人具肝食乎？」楚人皆殺之，員如吳，曰：「伐楚之利於州，公了光，是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。」員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求。」而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。

出介宋。

三章

秋，盜殺衛侯之兄

月，入於爾耳，誰告建也？對曰：「臣告之君。」命臣曰：「事建如事余，臣不佞，不能苟貳，本初以諼，不忍後命，故遣之，既而悔之，亦無及已。」曰：「而敢來，何也？」對曰：「使而失命，召而不來，是冉好也，逃無所入。」曰：「歸從政如他日，無極曰：『省之了材，君在吳，必憂楚國，以免其父，召之，彼仁必來，不然將爲患。』」使召之，曰：「來。」台免而父榮君，向謂其弟員曰：「爾適吳，我將歸死，台知不逮，台能死，爾能報，聞免父之命，不可以莫之介也，親戚爲戮，不可以莫之報也，介死免父，孝也，度功而行，仁也，擇任而往，知也，知死不辟，勇也，父不可乘，名不可廢，爾其免之，相從爲愈。」伍向歸，奢聞員不來，曰：「楚君人人具肝食乎？」楚人皆殺之，員如吳，曰：「伐楚之利於州，公了光，是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。」員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求。」而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。

熱。

四章

冬，十一月，宋華亥、向

然將爲患。使召之，曰：「來。」台免而父榮君，向謂其弟員曰：「爾適吳，我將歸死，台知不逮，台能死，爾能報，聞免父之命，不可以莫之介也，親戚爲戮，不可以莫之報也，介死免父，孝也，度功而行，仁也，擇任而往，知也，知死不辟，勇也，父不可乘，名不可廢，爾其免之，相從爲愈。」伍向歸，奢聞員不來，曰：「楚君人人具肝食乎？」楚人皆殺之，員如吳，曰：「伐楚之利於州，公了光，是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。」員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求。」而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。

寧、華定，出奔陳。

五章

十一月，辛卯，蔡

侯廬卒。

侯廬卒。

公了光，是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求。」而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。

○宋元公無信多私，而張華向華定華亥，與向寧謀曰：「亡愈於死先睹。」華亥僞有疾，以誘羣公子。公子問之，則執之。夏六月丙申，殺公子寅、公子御、戎公子朱、公子固、公孫撥、公孫丁、拘、向勝、向行於其廬。公如華氏，請焉。弗許。遂劫之。癸卯，取犬子與母弟辰、公子地以爲質。公亦取華亥之子無感、向寧之子羅、華定之子啟與華氏盟以爲質。

衛公孟縶狎齊豹，奪之司寇與鄆。有役則反之，無則取之。公孟惡北宮喜、褚師剛，欲去之。公子朝通於襄夫人宣姜，懼而欲以作亂。故齊豹北宮喜、褚師剛公子朝作亂初，齊豹見定於公孟，爲駢乘焉。將作亂而謂之曰：「公孟之不善，予所知也。勿與乘，吾將殺之。」對曰：「吾由子事公孟，子假吾名焉，故不吾遠也。雖其不善，吾亦知之，抑以利故不能去，是吾過也。今聞耀而逃，是僇子也。子行事乎？吾將死之。」以周事子而歸死於公孟。其可也。丙辰，衛侯在平壽。公孟有事於蓋，獲之門外。齊子氏帷於門外而伏甲焉，使視盟。其戈於車薪以當門，使一乘從公孟以出。使華齊御公孟，魯駢乘及闔中齊氏用戈擊公孟，定魯以背蔽之，斷肱以中。公孟之肩皆殺之。公聞亂乘驅自闔門入，慶比御公，公南楚駢乘，使華寅乘貳車及公宮。鳴鵲驅乘於公，公戴寶以出。褚師子中遇公於馬路之衢，遂從過齊氏，使華寅肉袒執器以當其闔。齊氏射公，中南楚之背。公遂出，實閉郭門，踰而從公。公如死焉，析朱鉏宵從寶出，徒行從公。齊侯使公孫青聘於衛，既出，聞衛亂，使請所聘。公曰：「猶在竟內，則衛君也。乃將事焉，遂從諸死焉。」請將事辭曰：「亡人不佞，失守社稷，越在草莽，吾子無所辱君命。賓曰：『寡君命下臣於朝。』」阿下執事，臣不敢貳。主人曰：「君若惠，則先君之好，照臨敝邑，鎮撫其社稷，則有宗祧在，乃止。」衛侯固歸見之，不獲命，以其良馬見爲未致使故也。衛侯以爲乘焉，賓將擲，主人辭曰：「亡人之憂，不可以及吾子。」草莽之中，不足以辱從者，敢辭。賓曰：「寡君之下臣，君之牧圉也，若不獲扞外役，是不有寡君也。」臣懼不免於戾，請以除死親執殯，終夕與於燎。齊氏之宰渠子召北宮子，北宮氏之宰不與聞。謀殺渠子，遂伐齊氏，滅之。丁巳晦，公入。

與北宮喜盟於彭水之上。秋七月，戊午朔，遂盟國人。八月辛亥，公了朝，褚師圃了上霄，了高魴，出介首。閏月，戊辰，殺官姜。衛侯賜北宮喜謚曰貞了，賜析朱鉏謚曰成了，而以齊氏之墓予之。衛侯告寧於齊，且言了石。齊侯將飲酒，徧賜人夫曰：了之教也。死何忌辭曰：與於由之賞，必及於其罰。在康誥曰：父了兄弟，罪不相及。況在羣臣，臣敢貪君賜，以一先。琴張聞宗魯死，將往弔之。仲尼曰：齊豹之盜，而孟縶之賊，汝何弔焉？君了不食，衆不受亂，不爲利疚於回，不以回待人，不蓋不義，不犯非禮。

宋華向之亂，公了城。公孫忌樂舍司馬彊向官，向鄭楚建，鄒甲出奔鄭。其徒與華氏戰於鬼閭，敗了城，了城適首。華亥與其妻必盟而食所質公了者，而後食。公與人人，每日必適華氏，食公了而後歸。華亥患之，欲歸公了，向寧曰：唯不信，故質其了。若又歸之，死無日矣。公請於華贊，遂將攻華氏。對曰：不敢愛死，無乃求去憂而滋長乎？臣是以懼，敢不聽命。公曰：了死，亡有命，余不忍其詢。冬十月，公殺華向之質而攻之。戊辰，華向奔陳。華登奔吳，向寧欲殺人了，華亥曰：丁君而出，又殺其了，其誰納我？日歸之有庸。使少司寇輕以歸，曰：了之齒長矣，不能事人，以公了爲質，必免。公了既入，華輕將自門行，公遽見之，執其手曰：余知而無罪也，入復而所。

○齊侯疥，遂痞，期而不瘳。諸侯之賓問疾者多在。梁丘據與裔款曰：於公曰：台事鬼神豐於先君有加矣。今君疾病，爲諸侯憂，是視史之罪也。諸侯不知其謂我不敬，君而誅於祝固，史罔以辭賓。公說，告晏了。晏了曰：日宋之盟，屈建問范會之德於趙武，趙武曰：夫子之家事治，於晉國竭情無私。其視史祭祀，陳信不愧，其家事無猜，其視史不祈，建以詔康了，康了曰：神人無怨，官人了之光輔五君，以爲諸侯了也。公曰：據與款謂寡人能事鬼神，故欲誅於祝史，了稱是詔，何故？對曰：君有德之君，外內不廢，了無怨，動無違事，其視史薦信，無愧心矣。是以鬼神用饗，國受其福，祝史與焉。其所以蕃祉老壽者，爲信君使也。其言忠信於鬼神，其適遇淫君，外內頗邪，了怨疾，動作辟違，從欲厭私，高臺深池，撞鐘舞女，斬刈以刀，輪掠其聚，以成其違，不恤後人，暴虐淫從，肆

行非度，無所還忌，不思謗讟，不懼鬼神，神怒民痛，無俊於心，其祝史鴈信是言罪也，其蓋失敗美，是矯誣也，進退無辭，則虛以求媚，是以鬼神不饗其國，以禍之祝史與焉，所以天昏孤疾者，爲暴君使也，其言僭熒於鬼神，公曰：然則若之何？對曰：不可爲也。山林之木，衡鹿守之，澤之萑蒲，鰲守之，藪之薪蒸，虞候守之，海之鹽蜃，祈望守之，縣鄙之人，入從其政，偪介之閭，暴征其私，承嗣大夫，宜易其賄布帛，無藝微斂，無度，宮室日更，浮樂不遠，內寵之妾，肆奪於市，外寵之臣，偪令於鄙，私欲發求，不給，則應民人苦病，夫婦皆阻，祝有益也，阻亦有損，聊攝以東，姑尤以西，其爲人也多矣，雖其善祝，豈能勝億兆人之阻？君若欲陟於祝史，修德而後可，公說，便有司寬政，毀關去禁，薄斂已責。

○十二月，齊侯田於沛，招虞人以弓，不進，公使執之，辭曰：昔我先君之田也，旃以招大夫，弓以招士，皮冠以招虞人，臣才見皮冠，故不敢進，乃舍之。仲尼曰：守道不如守官，君子韙之。

○齊侯至自田，晏子侍於遼，志子猶馳而造焉，公曰：唯據與我和，夫晏子對曰：據亦同也，焉得爲和？公曰：和與同異乎？對曰：異。和如羹焉，水火醯醢鹽梅以烹，魚肉燀之以薪，宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及，以洩其過，君子食之，以平其心，君臣亦然，君所謂可而有否焉，臣獻其否，以成其可，君所謂否而有可焉，臣獻其可以去其否，是以政平而民無爭心，故詩曰：亦有和羹，既戒既平，嚴嘏無言，時靡有爭，先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也，聲亦如味，一氣二體，三類四物，五聲六律七音，八風九歌，以相成也，清濁小大，短長疾徐，哀樂剛柔，遲速高下，出入周疏，以相濟也，君子聽之，以平其心，心平德和，故詩曰：德音不瑕，今據不然，君所謂可，據亦曰可，君所謂否，據亦曰否，若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專一，誰能聽之？同之不可也如是，飲酒樂，公曰：古而無死，其樂若何？晏子對曰：古而無死，則古之樂也，君何得焉？昔爽鳩氏始居此地，季荊因之，有逢伯陵因之，蒲姑氏因之，而後大公因之，古者無死，爽鳩氏之樂，非君所願也。

XX    1    In the [duke's] twentieth year, it was spring, the king's  
          2    first month  
          3    In summer, the Kung-sun Hwuy of Ts'aou fled from Mung  
          4    to Sung  
          5    In autumn, some ruffians killed Chih, the elder brother  
          6    of the marquis of Wei.  
          7    In winter, in the tenth month, Hwa Hae, Heang Ning, and  
          8    Hwa Ting of Sung fled from that State to Ch'ing  
          9    In the eleventh month, on Sin-maou, Leu, marquis of Ts'ae,  
          10    died

2d, relating to affairs in Ts'oo 'Fei Woo-keih said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "Keen, with Woo Ch'ay, is intending to revolt with the territory beyond the barrier wall, considering himself there equal to Sung or Ch'ing Ts'e and Tsin also will both assist him, with the intention of injuring Ts'oo. The thing will be successful." The king believed him, and asked Woo Ch'ay, who replied "The one fault which you committed (Appropriating to himself his son's bride) was more than enough, why do you believe slanderers?" The king then made him be seized, and sent Fun Yang, the marshal of Shing-foo, to lill his own eldest son, but that officer warned K'een to go away before his arrival, and in the 3d month that prince fled to Sung. The king then called Fun Yang [back to the capital], who made the people of Shing-foo seize him, and carry him thither. "The words," said the king, "went forth from my mouth, and entered into your ears,—who told Keen of them?" "I did," was the reply. "O ruler and king, you had [formerly] commanded me to serve Keen as I would serve yourself. In my want of ability I could not allow myself in any way to deviate from this, but regulated my conduct by that first command. The second I could not bear to

execute, and therefore sent the prince away. When the thing was done, I repented of it; but that was then of no avail. The king asked, "How [in these circumstances] did you dare to come here?" Yang said, "I had been sent on a commission which I had failed to execute; if I had refused to come when called here, I should have been twice a traitor; and though I might have made my escape, no place would have received me." The king said, "Return, and discharge the duties of your office as before."

Woo-keih said [to the king], "The sons of Ch'ay are men of ability. If they should be in Woo, it would be to the grief of T'ao. Why not call them, making their coming a condition of their father's pardon? They are virtuous and loving, and are sure to come. If you do not do so, there will be trouble hereafter." On this the king sent to call them, saying "Come, and I will liberate your father." Shiang the commandant of Tang, said to his younger brother Yan, "Do you go to Woo, and I will return [to the capital], and die. My wisdom is not equal to yours. I can die, and you can repay. Having received this summons, based on the promise to liberate our father. It would not do not to go. When one's nearest relatives are slaughtered, it would not do not to repay the injury. To hurry to death for the liberation of our father is filial duty; to act on a calculation of what can be accomplished is virtue; to select one's duty to be performed and go to it is wisdom; to know death is before him and not try to avoid it is valour. Our father must not be abandoned; our name must not be allowed to perish. Do you exert yourself to the utmost. Our best plan is for each to allow the other to take his way."

Woo Shiang then returned [to Ying]; and when Ch'ay heard that Yan had not come, he said, "The ruler of T'ao and his great officers will [now] take their meals late. Both father and son were put to death in T'ao. Yun went to Woo, and spoke to Chow Yu of the advantages of attacking T'ao. The Kung-tze Kwang, however, said, "He wishes to revenge the murder of the members of his family and should not be listened to. [On this] Yun said, "That Kwang has another object in his mind. I will in the meantime seek for braves to take service with him, and will wait in the borders of the State [for the development of his ambition]. Accordingly he introduced Chen Shieh-chow [to Kwang], and commenced farming himself on the borders."

Par 2. For 韓 K'uh l'ang has 韓. Mung was a city of T'ao, in the north of the present of T'ao-chow. The specification of Hwuy's flight as not taking place from T'ao, simply but from Mung in T'ao, has led to much speculation among the critics. We must suppose that Mung was the city belonging to Hwuy's family; but whether he had been holding it in revolt against the earl of T'ao, or what other unsatisfactory relations there had been between them, can only be matter of conjecture. Comp. XXII. 2.

[The Chen turns here to the affairs of Sung:— Duke Yuen of Sung was without good faith and had many private favourites, while he hated the clans of Hwa and H'ang. Hwa Ting and Hwa Hae consulted with H'ang

Ning saying, "It is better to be driven into evils than to die. Let us anticipate [the duke]." [Accordingly], Hwa Hae pretended to be ill, to inveigle [into his power] the actions of the dual House; and when they came to inquire for him, he made them be seized. In the 6th month, on Ning shih he put to death the Kung tze Yin, Yu-jung Choo, and Koo, and the Kung suns Yuen and Ting and confined H'ang Shing and H'ang H'ang in his granary. The duke went to the house of the Hwa to beg [the liberation of those two], but Hae refused it, and made the duke himself a prisoner. On Kwel mau he received the duke's eldest son Lwan, and his full brother Shih, with the Kung tze Te, as hostages. The duke on his part took Woo-keih the son of Hwa Hae. Lo the son of H'ang Ning, and K'e the son of Hwa Ting as hostages; and made a covenant with the Hwa.]

Par 3. For 韓 Kung and K'uh have 韓. This Chih was the rightful heir of the State of Wei. For the reason why he was passed over and the succession given to his younger brother see on VII 8. The Chuen says:— Kung mang Chih of Wei treated T'ao P'ao with contempt, and deprived him of his office of minister of Crime, and of [his city] Keuen, which he would restore to him when he was engaged on service, and take from him [again] when he was not so engaged. He [also] hated Pih-kung He and Poo superintendent of markets, and wished to put them out of the way. [At the same time] the Kung tze Chiao had an intrigue with Seuen K'ang the widow of duke S'ang; and, being afraid, he wished to take advantage of circumstances to raise an insurrection. In this way T'ao P'ao, Pih-kung He, Poo the superintendent of markets, and the Kung-tze Chiao united in an insurrection.

Before this, T'ao P'ao had introduced Tsung Loo to Kung-mang who appointed him to the 3d place in his chariot. Contemplating the insurrection, [P'ao now] said [to Loo], "You are acquainted with the badness of Kung-mang. Do not ride in his chariot with him, for I am going to kill him." Loo replied, "It is through you that I am in the service of Kung-mang. You recommended me on the ground of my character and therefore he has not been distant to me. Although he is bad, and I was aware of it, yet for the gain of it I have served him, and would not leave him;—that was my fault. If now I should slink away on hearing of the [impending] calamity I should falsify your [words about me]. Do what you have in hand. I will do in it, and thereby complete my service of you. I will return and die with Kung-mang."

On Ping-shih, the marquis of Wei was at Ping-show and Kung-mang had a sacrifice outside the K'ao-hwoh gate. T'ao-tze's family pitched a tent outside the gate and concealed men-at-arms in it. He made the priest Wa place a spear amid the faggots in a waggon which was set to stop up the gate, and at the same time he sent a carriage to follow Kung-mang, if he should get out. Hwa T'ao was acting as chariot-ecce to Kung-mang, Tsung Loo being the 4th person in the chariot; and when they came to the turn in the gate, one of the T'ao's took the spear to strike Kung-mang, whom Tsung Loo tried to cover with his back. The blow cut off



his arm, and then fell on the shoulder of Kung-ming, both of whom were slain.

When the duke heard of the insurrection, he hurried rapidly to the capital, which he entered by the Yuch gate. K'ing Pe drove his chariot, in which was also Kung-nan Ts'oo, while Hwa Yin occupied the supporting chariot. When they arrived at the palace, Hung Lu-w'tuy got as a 4th man into the chariot of the duke, who then took into it his most valuable articles and left. Tsze-shun, a superintendent of the markets, met him in the Ma-loo street, and followed him. When he passed the house of the Ts'e, he made Hwa Yin, with the upper part of his body bared, hold an umbrella to cover where he was exposed. One of the Ts'es let fly an arrow at the duke, which hit Nan Ts'oo in the back. In this way the duke got out of the city, and Yin shut the gate of the suburbs behind them, getting over the wall himself afterwards and following. The duke went to Sze-neau. Seih Choo-ts'oo in the night got out at a hole, and followed him on foot.

The marquis of Ts'e had sent Kung-sun Ts'ing on a complimentary mission to Wei. When he had left [the capital of Ts'e], he heard of the confusion in Wei and sent to ask where he should go to accomplish his mission. The marquis said, "He is still within the boundaries of the State, and is the ruler of Wei, do you discharge your mission to him." Ts'ing then went to Sze-neau, and begged there to deliver his message. [The marquis of Wei], however, declined to receive it, saying, "A fugitive, without ability, I have failed in guarding my altars, and am here in the jungle. There is no place in which you can condescend to deliver your ruler's message." The guest replied, "My ruler charged me in his court that I should deport myself humbly as one of your officers. I dare not think of anything else." The host rejoined, "If your ruler, kindly regarding the friendship between his predecessors and mine, [has sent you] on a bright visit to my poor State, to support and comfort its altars, there is my ancestral temple, [where I should receive you]." On this [the envoy] desisted from his purpose. The marquis begged earnestly to see him, but could not obtain a favourable reply. Ts'ing, however, sent him [some good] horses in place of seeing him, [that being impossible] while he had not yet discharged his commission, and the marquis employed them for his chariot.

The guest proposed keeping watch at night, but the host declined [the service], saying, "The sad circumstances of my condition as a fugitive must not be allowed to affect you, Sir. Your followers must not be subjected to the duties arising from my position here in the jungle. I venture to decline your proposal." The guest replied, "I am an inferior officer of my ruler, as a herdsman or a groom of your Lordship. If I am not allowed to share in guarding you when you are thus abroad, I shall be forgetting my duty to my ruler. I am afraid I shall not escape the charge of being an offender, and beg you to deliver me from the risk of death." He then himself took bell in hand, and joined all night long the torch-bearers.

K'eu-tsze, the steward of the Ts'e family, had called Pih-kung-tsze [to an interview with him]. The steward of Pih-kung was not privy to the matter, and laid a plot to kill K'eu-tsze, after which

he attacked the Ts'e family, and extinguished it. On 'ling-sze the last day of the moon, the marquis [again], entered [his capital], and made a covenant with Pih-kung. He near the river P'ang. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-woo, he imposed a covenant on the people. In the 8th month, on Sin-hac, the Kung-tszu Ch'au, Poo the superintendent of markets, Tsze-yuh Seau and Tsze-kaou Tang, fled to Tsin. In the intercalary month, on Mow-shin, Seuen K'ang was put to death. The marquis conferred on Pih-kung the honorary epithet of Ching-tsze, and on Seih Choo-ts'oo that of Ch'ing tsze and bestowed on them the burial place of the Ts'e family. He announced the [restoration of] tranquillity to Ts'e, making mention of the [admirable] behaviour of Tsze-shih (The Kung-sun Ts'ing). The marquis of Ts'e was about to drink, [when the message arrived], and he gave [a cup] to the great officers all round, saying, "There is a lesson for you, gentlemen." Yuen Ho-ke declined the cup, saying, "If we share in Ts'ing's reward, we must also share in any punishment [he may incur]. In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang (Shoo, V. ix. 6, but the words quoted are not in the text, and they are a very roundabout deduction from what it says), it is said, 'The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self,' how much more is this rule applicable to officers! I do not presume to desire your gift in violation of [that rule of] the former kings."

When K'iu Chang (A disciple of Confucius; see Ana IX vi. 4) heard of the death of Ts'ung Loo, he wished to pay a visit of condolence to his family. Chung-ne, however, said to him, "Why should you pay such a visit for him, through whom Ts'e P'au proved a ruffian and Mang Chih was murdered? A superior man does not eat [the bread of] the wicked, nor receive [the advances of] rebels, he does not for the sake of gain endanger himself by corruption, nor treat others evilly, nor conceal unrighteousness, nor violate the rules of propriety."

On the 淝 in the text compare on IX x. 8. The individual intended by the term here is Ts'e P'au.

Par 4. Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧. The Chuen says — "On the insurrection of the Hwa and the H'ang in Sung, the Kung-tszu Shung (A son of duke P'ing, XI. 1), the Kung-sun Ke, Yoh Shay, the marshal K'ang, H'ang E, H'ang Ch'ing, Keen of Ts'oo (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of the year) and Keah (The reading here is uncertain, whether 申 or 申) of E, left the State to flee to Ch'ing. Their followers fought with the Hwa clan at Kwei-yen, where Tsze-shing was defeated, after which he went to Tsin. Hwa Hae and his wife were accustomed to wash their hands and then feed the Kung-tszes who were hostages with them, taking afterwards their own meal. The duke and his wife every day would go to their house with food for the Kung-tszes, and then return to the palace. Hwa Hae was annoyed at this, and wished to send the Kung-tszes home. H'ung Ning said to him "It was because he has not good faith, that you took his son as a hostage. If you send them back, we shall die very soon." The duke begged [the assistance] of Hwa Pe-suy, and

proposed to attack the Hwas; but that officer replied, "I do not grudge dying [for you], but while you wish to get rid of your sorrow will it not be increased and prolonged [by such a step]? This is why I am afraid of it; should I [otherwise] please not to obey your command?" The duke said, "My son will die according as it is appointed for him, but I cannot bear the disgrace [of my position]."

In winter in the 10th month, the duke put to death the hostages left with him by the Hwa and Hseng, and attacked those clans, when their chiefs fled to Chin, and Hwa T'ing to Woo. Hseng Ning had wished to put to death the [duke's] eldest son, but Hwa Hsiao said, "We have opposed our ruler and are going forth; if we also kill his son, who will receive us? And moreover to send him back will be an act of merit." [Accordingly], he made the sub-minister of Crime, Kang take [the hostages] back to the duke, saying to him, "You are advanced in years, and cannot take service in any other [State]. If you take these three Kung taxes back as evidence of your faith you will be pardoned." As the Kung taxes entered [the palace], Hwa Kang was going away from the gate, when the duke suddenly saw him, took him by the hand, and said, "I know that you are not guilty. Come in, and resume your office."

Par 5 For 55 Tso-shie has 55 Soo the record of Lu's submission to the marquessate of Ts'ao in XIII 9

[We have here four narratives in the Chuen —

1st, relating to affairs in Ts'ao:—The marquess of Ts'ao had a scabbliness which issued in intermittent fever and for a whole year he did not get better so that there were many visitors from the various States [in the capital], who had come to inquire for him. Keu of Lseng K'ew and E K'wan said to him, "We have served the Spirits more liberally than former rulers did; but now your lordship is very ill, to the grief of all the princes.—It must be the crime of the priests and the historiographers. The States, not knowing this, will say that it is because we have not been reverential [to the Spirits] why should your lordship not put to death the priest Koo and the historiographer Yin, and thereupon give an answer to your visitors. The marquess was pleased and laid the proposal before Gan tze, who replied, "Formerly, at the covenant of Sang, K'enh K'een asked Chuen Woo of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Hwuy (Soo the narrative on IX. xvii. 2, 5), and was answered, "The affairs of his family were well regulated; when conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he told the whole truth, without any private views of his own. His priests and historiographers, at his sacrifices, set forth the truth and said nothing to be banished. The affairs of his family afforded no occasion for doubt or fear and his priests and historiographers did not pray about them." K'een reported this to King K'ang, who said, "Since neither Spirits nor men could resent his conduct, right was it he should distinguish and abate five rulers, and make them lords of covenants." The marquess said, Keu and K'wan said that I was able to serve the Spirits, and therefore they wished the priest and historiographer to be executed; why have you repeated these words [in reference to their proposal]?" Gan tze replied, "When a virtu-

ous ruler is negligent of nothing at home or abroad, when neither high nor low have any cause for dissatisfaction, and none of his movements are opposed to what circumstances require his priests and historiographers set forth the truth, and he has nothing to be ashamed of in his mind. Therefore the Spirits accept his offerings, and the State receives their blessing, in which the priests and historiographers share. The plenty and happiness [of the State] and the longevity [of the people] are caused by the truth of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] to the Spirits are real and faithful accordingly. If they meet with a ruler abandoned to excess, irregular and vicious at home and abroad, causing dissatisfaction and hatred to high and low his movements and actions deflected from and opposed to the right, following his desires and satisfying his private aims, raising lofty towers and digging deep ponds, surrounding himself with the music of bells and with dancing girls, consuming the strength of the people, and violently taking from them their accumulations of wealth;—[if they meet with a ruler] who thus carries out his violation of the right, not caring for his posterity oppressive and cruel giving the reins to his lusts, wildly proceeding without rule or measure, without reflection or fear giving no thought to the maledictions of the people having no fear of the Spirits, and however the Spirits may be angry and the people may suffer entertaining no thought of repentance;—the priests and historiographers, in setting forth the truth, must speak of his offences. If they cover his crimes and speak of excellence they are bearing false testimony; when they would advance or retire, they have nothing which they can rightly say, and so they may vainly seek to flatter. Therefore the Spirits will not accept the offerings, and the State is made to suffer misery in which the priests and historiographers share. Short lives, premature deaths, bereavements and sicknesses, are caused by the oppression of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] are false, and an insult to the Spirits.

The duke said, "Well then, what is to be done?" Gan tze replied, "[What is proposed] will be of no avail. The trees of the hills and forests are watched over [for your use] by the *hsy-lah*; the reeds and flags of the marshes by the *chow-k'iao*; the fire-wood of the meadows by the *yu-kow*; and the salt and cockles of the sea [shore] by the *Lo-wang*. The people of the districts and borders are made to enter and share in the services of the capital. At the barrier passes near the capital, oppressive duties are levied on the private [baggage of travellers]. The places of the great officers which should come to them by inheritance are forcibly changed for bribes. There are no regular rules observed in issuing the common measures of government. Requisitions and exactions are made without measure. Your palaces and mansions are daily changed. You do not shun licentious pleasures. The favourite concubines in your harem send forth and carry things away from the markets; your favourite officers abroad issue false orders in the borders;—thus nourishing the gratification of what they selfishly desire. And if people do not satisfy them, they make them criminals in return. The people are pained and distressed; husbands and wives join

in cursing [the government] Blessings are of benefit, but curses are injurious From Leaou-shih on the east, and from Koo-yew on the west, the people are many Although your prayers may be good, how can they prevail against the curses of millions? If your lordship wishes to execute the priest and the historiographer, cultivate your virtue, and then you may do it" The marquis was pleased, and made his officers institute a generous government, pull down the barrier-passes, take away prohibitions, make their exactions more light, and forgive debts'

2d, relating to an incident in Ts'e — 'In the 12th month, the marquis of Ts'e was hunting in P'ei, and summoned the forester to him with a bow The forester did not come forward, and the marquis caused him to be seized, when he explained his conduct, saying, "At the huntings of our former rulers, a flag was used to call a great officer, a bow to call an inferior one, and a fur cap to call a forester Not seeing the fur cap, I did not dare to come forward" On this he was let go Chung-ne said, "To keep the rule [of answering a ruler's summons] is not so good as to keep [the special rule for] one's office Superior men will hold this man right"

3d, still relating to the marquis of Ts'e and Gan-tsze — 'When the marquis of Ts'e returned from his hunt, Gan-tsze was with him in the tower of Ch'uen, and Tze-yu (Keu of L'ang-k'ew of the 1st narrative) drove up to it at full speed The marquis said, "It is only Keu who is in harmony with me!" Gan-tsze replied, "Keu is an assenter merely, how can he be considered in harmony with you?" "Are they different," asked the marquis,—"harmony and assent?" Gan-tsze said, "They are different Harmony may be illustrated by soup You have the water and fire, vinegar, pickle, salt, and plums, with which to cook fish It is made to boil by the firewood, and then the cook mixes the ingredients, harmoniously equalizing the several flavours, so as to supply whatever is deficient and carry off whatever is in excess Then the master eats it, and his mind is made equable So it is in the relations of ruler and minister When there is in what the ruler approves of anything that is not proper, the minister calls attention to that impropriety, so as to make the approval entirely correct When there is in what the ruler disapproves of anything that is proper, the minister brings forward that propriety, so as to remove occasion for the disapproval In this way the government is made equal, with no infringement of what is right, and there is no quarrelling with it in the minds of the people Hence it is said in the ode (She IV in ode II),

'There are also the well-tempered soups,  
Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly  
proportioned  
By these offerings we invite his presence  
without a word,  
Nor is there now any contention in the  
service'

As the ancient kings established the doctrine of the five flavours, so they made the harmony of the five notes, to make their minds equable and to perfect their government There is an analogy between sounds and flavours There are the breath the two classes of danc's, the three subjects, the materials from the four quarters, the five notes, the six pitch-pipes, the seven

sounds, the eight winds, the nine songs,— [by these nine things the materials for music] are completed Then there are [the distinctions of] clear and thick, small and large, short and long, fast and slow, solemn and joyful, hard and soft, lingering and rapid, high and low, the commencement and close, the close and the diffuse, by which the parts are all blended together The superior man listens to such music, that his mind may be composed His mind is composed, and his virtues become harmonious Hence it is said in the ode (She, I xv ode VII 2),

'There is no flaw in his virtuous fame'  
Now it is not so with Keu Whatever you say 'Yes' to, he also says 'Yes' Whatever you say 'No' to, he also says 'No' If you were to try to give water a flavour with water, who would care to partake of the result? If lutes were to be confined to one note, who would be able to listen to them? Such is the insufficiency of mere assent"

'They were drinking and joyous, when the marquis said, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how great would [men's] pleasure have been!" Gan-tsze replied, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how could your lordship have shared in the pleasure of the ancients? Anciently the Shwang-k'ew occupied this territory To them succeeded [the House of] Ke-shuh Pih-ling of Fung followed, and then the House of P'oo-koo, after which came [your ancestor] T'ae-kung If the ancients had not died, the happiness of the Shwang-k'ew is what you never could have desired'

4th, the dying counsels of Tsze-ch'an — 'Tsze-ch'an was ill, and said to Tsze-t'ae-shuh, "When I die, the government is sure to come into your hands It is only the [perfectly] virtuous, who can keep the people in submission by clemency. For the next class [of rulers] the best thing is severity When fire is blazing, the people look to it with awe, and few of them die from it Water again is weak, and the people despise and make sport with it, so that many die from it It is difficult therefore to carry on a mild government"

'After being ill several months, he died, and T'ae-shuh received the administration of the govt He could not bear to use severity, and tried to be mild The consequence was that there were many robbers in the State, who plundered people about the marsh of Hwan-foo T'ae-shuh repented of his course, saying, "If I had sooner followed the advice of Tsze-ch'an, things would not have come to this" He then raised his troops, and attacking the robbers of Hwan-foo, killed them all, on which robbers [generally] diminished and disappeared Chung-ne said, "Good! When govt is mild, the people despise it When they despise it, severity must take its place When govt is severe, the people are slaughtered When this takes place, they must be dealt with mildly Mildness serves to temper severity, and severity to regulate mildness,—it is in this way that the administration of government is brought to harmony The ode says (III in ode IX 1) —

'The people indeed are heavily burdened —  
But perhaps a little ease may be got for them  
Deal kindly in this centre of the kingdom,  
And so give rest to the four quarters of it,'—

that has reference to the employment of mildness. [Again]—

Give no indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,  
In order to make the unconscientious careful,  
And repress robbers and oppressors,  
Who have no fear of the clear [will of Heaven] —

that has reference to the substitution for it of severity [And further]—

So may you encourage the distant  
And help the near  
And establish [the throne of] our king!—

that has reference to the harmonious blending of both of these. Another ode (IV III. ode IV 4) says —

He was neither violent nor remiss,  
Neither hard nor soft.  
Gently he spread his instructions abroad,  
And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him!—

that has reference to the perfection of such harmony. When Tseu-ch'andled and Ch'ung ne heard of it, he shed tears and said, "He afforded a specimen of the love transmitted from the ancients!"

*Twenty first year*

一 有 年 春 十 一 月 葬 蔡 平 公。  
夏 晉 侯 使 欒 來 聘。  
宋 華 亥 向 寧 定 自 陳 入 宋 南 門 以 叛。  
秋 七 月 十 一 朔 日 有 食 之。  
八 月 乙 亥 叔 輒 卒。  
冬 蔡 侯 朱 出 介 楚。  
公 如 晉 平 河 乃 復。

○左傳曰二十一年春天王將鑄無射冷州鳩曰王其以心疾死乎夫樂天子之職也夫音樂之興也而鐘音之器也天子省風以作樂器以鍾之興以行之小者不窳大者不嫺則和於物物和則嘉成故和聲入於耳而藏於心心億則樂窳則不咸嫺則不容心是以感實生疾今鐘嫺矣王心弗堪其能久乎

三月葬蔡平公蔡犬子朱失位位在卑大夫送葬者歸見昭子昭子問蔡故以告昭子歎曰蔡其亡乎若不亡是君也必不終時曰不解于位民之攸暨今蔡侯始即位而適卑身將從之

夏晉士鞅來聘叔孫爲政季孫欲惡諸晉使有司以齊餽國歸費之禮爲士鞅士鞅怒曰餽國之位下其國小

而使軼從其牢禮，是卑傲也。將復諸寡君，魯人恐，加四年焉，爲十一牢。

宋華賈遂生華軻，華多僚，華登軻爲少司馬，多僚爲御，與軻相惡，乃譖諸公，曰：「軻將納亡人，收之。」公曰：「司馬以吾故，亡其良了，死亡有命，吾不可以再亡之。」對曰：「君若愛司馬，則如亡，死如可逃，何遠之有？」公懼，使侍人召司馬之侍人宜僚，飲之酒，而使告司馬。司馬歎曰：「必多僚也，吾有讒了，而弗能殺，吾又不死，抑君有命，可若何？」乃與公謀逐華軻，將使田孟諸而告之。公飲之酒，厚酬之，賜及從者。司馬亦如之。張句尤之，曰：「必有故，使了皮承宜僚以劍而訊之，宜僚盡以告。」張句欲殺多僚，了皮曰：「司馬老矣，登之謂甚，台又軍之，不如亡也。」五月，丙申，了皮將見司馬而行，則遇多僚御司馬而朝，張句不勝其怒，遂與了皮、白狂、鄭翩殺多僚，劫司馬以叛，而召亡人。壬寅，華向入，樂人心，豐愆，華輕，禦諸橫，華氏居盧門，以南甲叛。六月，庚午，宋城舊鄆，及桑林之門，而守之。秋，七月，壬午朔，日有食之。公問於梓慎，曰：「是何物也？禍福何爲？」對曰：「一个二分，日有食之，不爲災，日月之行也，分同道也，至相過也，其他月則爲災，陽不克也，故常爲水。」

於是叔輒哭曰：「食，昭子曰：了叔將死，非所哭也。」八月，叔輒卒。

⑤冬，十月，登以吳師救華氏，齊烏枝鳴戍宋。廚人濮曰：「軍志有之，先人有奪人之心，後人有待其哀，孟及其勞，日未定也。伐諸，若入而固，則華氏衆矣，悔無及也。」從之。內寅，齊師、宋師敗吳師於鴻口，獲其一帥。公了苦淮，偃州員，華登帥其餘以敗宋師。公欲出，廚人濮曰：「吾小人，可藉死，而不能送亡君，請待之。」乃徇曰：「揚徽者，公徒也。」衆從之。公自揚門見之，下而巡之，曰：「國亡君死，一了之耻也，豈專孤之罪也？」齊烏枝鳴曰：「用少莫如齊致死，齊致死，莫如去備，彼多兵矣，請皆用劍從之。」華氏北，復卽之。廚人濮以裳裹首，而尙以走，曰：「得乎？」登矣。遂敗吳氏於新里。翟偃新居於新甲，旣戰，說甲於公而歸。華姪居於公甲，亦如之。十一月，癸未，公了城以首師，上曹翰、胡會、晉荀吳、齊苑何忌、衛公了朝救宋。內戌，與華氏戰於楮丘，鄭翩願爲鸛，其御願爲鵠，了祿御公了城，壯中。

爲有，千鑾御呂封人華豹，張公爲有相遇，城遽，華豹曰：城也，城怒而反之，將生豹，則開矣。曰：平公之靈，尙輔相余豹，則出其間，將生則又關矣。曰：不狎鄙，抽矢城射之，殫張公抽矢而下射之，折肢，扶伏而擊之，折軫，又射之，死。千鑾請一矢，城曰：余言安於君，對曰：不死，伍乘軍之大刑也。千刑而從子，君焉用之？子速，諸乃射之，殫大敗華氏，國諸南里，華亥搏膺而呼，見華緇曰：吾爲藥氏矣。緇曰：子無我廷，不幸而後亡，使華登如楚，乞師，華緇以車十五乘，徒七十人，犯師而出，食於雒上，哭而送之，乃復入楚，遠越帥師將逆，華氏大宰犯師曰：諸侯唯朱事耳，君今又爭國，釋君而臣是，助無乃不可乎？王曰：而告我也。後既許之矣。蔡侯朱出奔楚，賈極取貨於東國，而謂蔡人曰：朱不用命於楚，君王將立東國，若不先從王，欲楚必聞。蔡人懼，出朱而立東國。朱愬於楚，楚子將計，蔡無極曰：平侯與楚有盟，故封，其子有二心，故廢之。靈王殺隱太子，其子與君同惡，德君必甚，又使立之，不亦可乎？且廢置在君，蔡無他矣。

公如晉及河，鼓叛晉，晉將伐鮮虞，故辭公。

- XXI. 1 In the [dukes] twenty first year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'ac.
- 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'in sent Szü Yang to Loo on a complimentary mission.
- 3 Hwa Hae, H'ang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung entered Nan le [in the capital] of that State from Ch'in, and held it in revolt.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 In the eighth month, on Yih hae, Shuh Ch'eh died.
- 6 In winter, Choo, marquis of Ts'ac, fled from that State to Ts'ao.
- 7 The duke was going to Ts'in, but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.

[The Chuen introduces here the following narrative:— This spring, the king by Heaven's grace proposed to cast [the bell] Woo-jih (The name of the 11th of the musical pipes). The musician Chow k'ew said, The king is likely to lie from disease of the heart! Music comes within the duties of the son of Heaven. The notes are the vehicle of music. The bell is the vessel that contains the notes. The son of Heaven examines the manners [of the people]

to guide him in making his [instruments of] music. In his instruments he collects the notes, and by these notes the music grows full. The smaller notes must not be too small, nor the greater too great. [This being the case], there ensues a harmony with things without and admirable music is the result. Hence the harmonious sounds enter the ear and descend into the heart. When repose is given to the heart, there is pleasure. If the notes be too

small, the heart is not satisfied, if they be too large, it cannot bear them. It is consequently agitated, and the agitation produces disease. This bell will be too large, and the king's heart will not be able to endure it. Is it possible he can continue long?"

K'ung Ying-t'ah traces the history of this bell to the commencement of the Suy dynasty, about the end of the 6th century, when it was destroyed.]

Par 1 The Chuen says — "At the burial of duke P'ing, Choo, his heir son (太子) must here be = 世了), erred in not taking his proper place, and took a lower one (i.e., a place below an elder brother, the son of a concubine). Our great officer, who had gone to the burial, saw Ch'ou-tsze on his return, and, being asked by him about the affairs of Ts'ae, told him of this incident. Ch'ou-tsze said, with a sigh, "Is Ts'ae going to perish? If it do not perish, this ruler will not die in his State. The ode says (She, III ode V 4) —

'Not idly occupying his office,  
The people will have rest in him.'

Since the marquis of Ts'ae, immediately on his accession, [thus] took a lower [place than was proper], so it will happen to his person."

Par 2 The object of this mission, Too thinks, was to open communications between the new ruler of Tsin and the court of Loo. But it was now the 5th year of duke K'ing of Tsin, — he had been remiss in his attentions to the faithful Loo. What is more remarkable, — this was the last mission of the kind sent to Loo by Tsin, which thereby acquiesced in its own decline. Nor does the text of the classic mention any *p'ing* or friendly mission of compliment from any other State to Loo, which had fallen much from the high position which it had once occupied in the kingdom.

The Chuen says — "In summer, when Sze Yang of Tsin came on a complimentary mission, Shuh-sun was the principal minister of the State. Ke-sun wishing to bring on him the enmity of Tsin, made the officers pay to the envoy the same ceremonies which had been paid to Paou Kwoh of Ts'e when he came to return Pe (See the narrative appended to XIV 1). Sze Yang was angry, and said, "The rank of Paou Kwoh was inferior to mine, and his State was smaller [than Tsin], and to treat me with the same number of oxen which he received, is to lower my State. I will report the thing to my ruler." The people of Loo became afraid, and added four sets of animals, making [in all] eleven."

Par 3 Kung-yang has 畔 for 叛. In 南甲 we are to take 甲 in the sense of 'neighbourhood,' according to the 1st meaning given to the character in the dictionary (甲, 居也, 甲者, 什也, 九卜家只居什也). A certain neighbourhood inside the wall of the capital went by this name of Nan-le, or 'the south district.'

The Chuen says — "Hwa Pe-suy (See on par 4 of last year) had [3 sons], Ch'oo, To-leaou, and T'ang. Ch'oo was assistant-minister of War,

and To-leaou was charioteer [to the duke], cherishing a hostile feeling to Ch'oo, whom he slandered to the duke, saying, "Ch'oo will bring the fugitives back (See the narrative referred to). He often speaks of it." The duke replied, "The minister of War on my account has lost his good son (Hwa T'ang, one of the fugitives). Death and exile are as determined. I must not cause him the loss of another son in the same way." "If your Grace," said To-leaou, "[thus] loves the minister of War, you had better abandon the State. If death can be avoided, no matter to what distance you flee." The duke became frightened, and made one of his attendants call E-leaou, an attendant of the minister of War, entertain him with spirits, and instruct him to inform the minister [of what was agitated]. The minister heard it with a sigh, and said, "This must have been To-leaou. I have a slanderous son, and have not been able to put him to death. I myself also have not [managed to] die [before this]. But since the duke issues his commands, what can be done?" He then took counsel with the duke about driving Ch'oo from the State, and proposed to send him to hunt at M'ang-choo, and thence to send him away. The duke entertained Ch'oo to drink, and gave him large presents at the feast, making gifts also to his followers. [His father] the minister did the same. Chang Kae was surprised at it, and said, "There must be a reason for this." He made Tsze-p'e (Hwa Ch'oo) question E-leaou with his sword at his neck, and all the truth was thus disclosed to them. Kae wanted to kill To-leaou, but Tsze-p'e said, "The minister is old, and [the exile of] T'ang was too great a trial to him. I should [thus] be increasing [his sorrow]. My best plan is to flee."

'In the 5th month, on Ping-shin, Tsze-p'e was going to see the minister and take his leave, when he met To-leaou driving their father to court. Chang Kae could not restrain his anger, and along with Tsze-p'e, K'ew Jin, and Ch'ing P'een, he killed To-leaou. [At the same time] they carried off the minister, thereon declared a revolt, and recalled the exiles. On Jin-yin, the Hwas and H'angs entered the State. Yoh Ta-sin, Fung K'een, and Hwa K'ang tried to withstand them at Hung. The house of the Hwa family was near the Loo gate, and they took possession therefore of the south district (Nan-le, which was adjacent), and held it in revolt. In the 6th month, on K'ang-woo, [the duke] repaired the old wall of the city and the gate of Sang-lin, and appointed guards at them.'

Par 4 This eclipse took place in the forenoon of June 3d, B.C. 520. The Chuen says — "On the occurrence of this eclipse the duke asked Tsze Shun saying, "What is this for? What calamity does it indicate, or what blessing?" "At the solstices and equinoxes," was the reply, "an eclipse of the sun does not indicate calamity. The sun and the moon, in their travelling, are at the equinoxes, in the same path, and at the solstices, they pass each other. On other months, an eclipse indicates calamity. The *yang* principle cannot overcome [the *yin*], and hence there is always [disaster from] water."

Par 5 Kung-yang has 𡗗 for 輒. Shuh Cheli was the son of Shuh Kung, styled Pih-chang (辟張). He has not appeared in

connexion with the business of the State, and this record of his death must have been made simply because of his relationship to the ducal House.

The Chuen says:— At this time Shih Chieh wept because of the eclipse of the sun. Ch'ao tze said, "Tze-shuh will [soon] die. He weeps when there is no occasion for it." [Accordingly] in the 8th month, Shih Chieh died.

[The Chuen resumes here the narrative of the troubles in Sung:— In winter in the 10th month, Hwa Tang came with an army of Woo, to relieve the Hwas. [About the same time], Woo Che-ming of T'ao [had arrived] to garrison [the capital of] Sung. Puh, the commandant of Ch'oo, said, "We find in the Art of War that if beforehand with the enemy we should make up our minds to attack them and that, if behindhand with them, we should wait the decay [of their strength]. [Why should we not attack them now], while they are tired and have not yet got settled? If they enter [the city] and establish themselves, the Hwas will be very numerous, and our regrets will then be too late. His advice was followed; and on Ping yin the armies of T'ao and Sung defeated that of Woo at Hung-k'ow capturing its two commanders, the Kung tze K'oo-kan, and Yen-chow Yun. Hwa Tang led the remainder of the army and with it defeated the army of Sung on which the duke wanted to quit [the city and flee]. Puh of Ch'oo said to him, "A small man like myself can take the opportunity to die [for you], but I cannot escort you in your flight. I beg your Grace to wait [the result of another battle]." He then sent round [the city] saying, "They who display a flag will be for the duke." The people all did so, and the duke, who saw them from the Yang gate, descended, and went round among them, saying, "If the State perish and your ruler die, it will be a disgrace to you, and not the fault of me alone." Woo Che-ming of T'ao said, "It is better that we all be prepared to sacrifice our lives than that we [merely] use a small force. And that we be so prepared the best plan is to cast away our long weapons. The enemy have many such weapons, but let us all use swords." This was agreed to, and the Hwas were put to flight. They followed and engaged them again, when Puh of Ch'oo took his lower garment, wrapped up a head in it, with which he ran about, shouting, "I have got Hwa Tang." On this they defeated the Hwas at Sin-le.

Teh Lou-shi dwelt in Sin-le, and after the fight he took off his armour before the duke, and returned to his allegiance. Hwa T'ow who lived in Kung-le, did the same.

In the 11th month, on Kwei we, the Kung tze Shing (See on par 4 of last year) arrived with a force from Tsin. Han Hoo of T'ao effected a junction with Seun Woo of Tsin; and along with Yuen Ho-ke of T'ao, and the Kung-tze Chaon of Wei, they came to the relief of Sung. On Ping-sueh they fought with the Hwas at Chay-k'ew. Ching P'een wished to draw the troops up in the crane fashion, while his charioteer preferred that of the goose. Tze-lah (Heng E) drove the Kung-tze Shing, and Chwang Kiu was spearman on the right. Kan Ch'ow drove Hwa P'aoi warden of Lou, with Chang Kao as spearman. Three two chariots met, and Shing was withdrawing, when

Hwa P'aoi called out, "Shing!" on which he was angry and returned [to the fight]. As he was adjusting his arrow to the string P'aoi had already bent his bow. [Shing] said, "May the powerful influence of duke Ping [now] assist me! On this the arrow of P'aoi went past between him [and Tze-lah]. [Again] he was adjusting his arrow when [P'aoi] had again bent his bow "If you don't let me return your shot" said [Shing], "It will be mean." [P'aoi on this] took away his arrow, and Shing shot him dead. Chang Kao took his spear and descended from the chariot. An arrow [from Shing] broke his thigh, but he supported himself on the ground, and struck at Shing, breaking the cross-board of his chariot. Another arrow killed him; and then Kan Ch'ow begged for his death from an *u* = "I will report you to our ruler" said Shing; but he replied, "He who does not die, being in the same file or the same chariot, is doomed to the greatest punishment in the army. If I expose myself to this doom and follow you, how should the ruler use me? Be quick." On this [Shing] shot him dead. A great defeat was inflicted on the Hwas, and they were besieged in Nan-lo.

Hwa Hse beat his breast and cried out. Seeing Hwa Ch'oo, he said, "I am [another] Lwan (See the rebellion and fate of Lwan Ying of Tsin in K'ang's 23d year)." "Do not frighten me," said Ch'oo. "It will be my misfortune if I die after you." They then sent Hwa Tang to T'ao, to ask assistance. Hwa Ch'oo, with 15 chariots and 0 footmen, broke through the duke's army also with Tang near the Sun wept and escorted him on his route and then turned and re-entered [Nan le]. Wei Yach of T'ao led a force to [rescue and] meet the Hwas. Fan, the grand-administrator remonstrated, saying "Of all the States it is only in Sung that they have served their ruler but there also they are now contending for the capital. Is it not improper to pass over the ruler and assist his subjects? The king said, "You mention this too late. I have promised them my assistance." ]

Par 5. The Chuen says:— Fel Woo-keih of T'ao took bribes from Tung kwoh (An uncle of Choo), and said to the people of T'ao, "Choo is not observant of the orders of T'ao; our ruler and king intends to set up Tung kwoh in his room. If you do not anticipate the king's wishes, he will lay siege to T'ao." The people of T'ao were afraid, expelled Choo, and made Tung kwoh marquis. Choo complained to T'ao, and the vicount was about to punish T'ao when Fel Woo-keih said to him, "The marquis Ping had a covenant with T'ao, and therefore he was raised to the State. His son was disaffected, and therefore we [now] displace him. King Ling put to death Yin, heir-son [of T'ao]. His son (Tung kwoh) and you had the same object of hatred, and his gratitude to you must be extreme. Is it not proper further to make him the marquis of T'ao? M u t to make and unmake rests with you. T'ao has no other [to look to]."

Par 6. "The Chuen says, "The duke was going to Tsin; but when he arrived at the Ho, Koo (See on XV 5) had revolted from Tsin, which was going to attack S'een yu. In consequence of this the duke's visit was declined.



## Twenty-second year

一章 十有二年春齊侯伐莒。  
二章 宋華亥向寧華定自宋南里出  
三章 奔楚。人莒丁昌間。  
四章 夏四月乙未大子崩。  
五章 六月叔鞅如京師葬景王。  
六章 王卒亂。  
七章 劉子單子以王猛居丁阜。  
八章 秋劉子單子以王猛入丁王城。  
九章 冬十月王子猛卒。  
十章 十有二月癸酉朔日有食之。

左傳曰：二十二年春，十一月，齊北郭啟帥師伐莒。莒了將戰，鮑子牧之諫曰：「齊帥賤，其求不多，不如下之。」人國不可怒也。弗聽，敗齊師於壽餘。齊侯伐莒，莒了行成，司馬竈如莒，蒞盟。莒了如齊，蒞盟，盟於稷門之外。莒於是乎人忘其君。楚薳越使告於宋曰：「寡君聞君有不令之臣，爲君憂，無寧以爲宗室，寡君請受而戮之。」對曰：「孤不佞，不能媚於父兄，以爲君憂，拜命之辱，抑君也。」日戰，君曰：「余必亡是助，亦唯命人有。」曰：「唯亂門之無過，君若患保敝邑，無凡不衷，以獎亂人，孤之望也。」唯君圖之。楚人患之，諸侯之成謀，曰：「若華氏知困而致死，楚耻無功而疾戰，非台利也，不如出之，以爲楚功，其亦無能爲也。」已，救宋而除其害，又何求？乃固請出之，宋人從之。已，宋華亥、向寧、華定、華貜、華登、皇奄傷、省臧、平出、奔楚。宋公使公孫忌爲大司馬，邊卬爲人司徒，樂祁爲司城，仲幾爲左師，樂人、心爲右師。

樂輓爲大司寇，以靖國人。

王子朝賓起有寵於景王，王與賓孟說之，欲立之。劉獻公之庶子伯蚡事單穆公，張寶孟之爲人也，願殺之。又惡王子朝之言，以爲亂，願去之。賓孟適郊，見雄雞自斷其尾，問之，侍者曰：「自憚其犧也。」還歸告王，且曰：「雞其憚爲人，用人乎？人異於是，犧者實用人，人犧實難已。擬何害？王弗應。」夏四月，王田北山，使公卿皆從，將殺單子。劉子王有心疾，乙丑崩於榮錡氏。戊辰，劉子擊卒，無子。單子立劉蚩。五月庚辰，見王遂攻賓，起殺之。盟羣王子於單氏。

○晉之取鼓也，旣獻而反鼓子焉，又叛於鮮虞。六月，荀吳畧東陽，使師僞糴者，負甲以息於昔陽之門外，遂襲鼓，滅之以鼓子爲鞮歸，使涉佗守之。

丁巳，葬景王。王子朝因舊官百工之喪職秩者與靈景之族以作亂，帥郊、要、餞之甲以逐劉子壬戌。劉子奔揚，單子逆悼王於莊宮，以歸。王子還夜取王，以如莊宮。癸亥，單子出，王子還與召莊公謀曰：「不殺單旗，不捷與之重盟，必來背盟而克者多矣。」從之。樊頃子曰：「非言也，必不克。」遂奉王以追單子及領大盟，而復殺擊荒以說劉子。如劉，單子亡。乙丑，奔於平疇。羣王子追之，單子殺還、姑、發、弱，驪延定，稠子朝奔京。丙寅伐之，京人奔山。劉子入于王城。辛未，鞏簡公敗績於京。乙亥，甘平公亦敗焉。叔鞅至自京，師言王室之亂也。閔馬父曰：「子朝必不克，其所與者天所廢也。」

單子欲告急於晉秋，七月戊寅，以王如平時，遂如圃車，次于皇。

劉子如劉，單子使王子處守于王城，盟百工於平宮。辛卯，鄒辟伐皇，大敗，獲鄒辟。壬辰，焚諸王城之市。八月，辛酉，司徒隗以王師敗績於前城。百工叛己巳，伐單氏之宮，敗焉。庚午，反伐之。辛未，伐東園。冬十月，丁巳，晉籍談、荀躒帥九州之戎及焦瑕、溫原之師以納王子王城。庚申，單子劉蚩以王師敗績於郊。前城人敗陸渾於社。

南。丑。師。城。行。晉。次。師。然。於。司。籍。卜。位。也。了。卜。  
 伐。軍。軍。詭。箕。於。軍。泉。陰。馬。談。二。館。己。猛。  
 京。於。其。濟。遺。仁。於。次。於。督。苟。月。於。丑。卒。月。  
 毀。其。東。師。樂。人。汜。於。侯。帥。躁。庚。了。敬。不。7。  
 其。楚。南。取。徵。閏。於。社。氏。師。賈。戌。旅。一。成。四。  
 西。辛。下。右。月。解。十。於。軍。辛。首。氏。即。喪。一。

- XXII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Keu  
 2 Hwa Hae, Heang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung, fled from Nan-le of that State to Ts'oo.  
 3 We had a grand review in Ch'ang-keen.  
 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died  
 5 In the sixth month, Shuh Yang went to the capital to the burial of king King  
 6 The royal House was in confusion  
 7 The viscounts of Lew and Shen, having with them the king Mäng, took up their residence in Hwang  
 8 In autumn, the viscounts of Lew and Shen entered the royal city with the king Mäng  
 9 In winter, in the tenth month, the king's son Mäng died  
 10 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-yew, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed

Par 1 The Chuen says — 'This spring, in the 2d month, on Keah-tsze, Pih-kwoh K'e of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu. The viscount of Keu was going to fight, when Yuen-yang Muh-che remonstrated with him, saying, "The force of Ts'e is a poor one, and its demands are not great. Our best plan is to yield to it, a great State should not be angered." The viscount would not listen to this counsel, and defeated the troops of Ts'e at Show-yu. [On this], the marquis of Ts'e [himself] invaded Keu, when the viscount made his submission. The marshal Tsaou went to Keu to superintend a covenant, and the viscount went to Ts'e for the same purpose. The covenant was made outside the Tseih gate. In consequence of all this Keu conceived a great hatred of its ruler.'

Par 2 Read the narrative after par 5 of 1st year. The Chuen here says — 'Wei Yueh of Ts'oo sent a message to [the duke of] Sung, saying, "My ruler has heard that you have some bad officers, who are occasioning you sorrow. Had you not better [send them away], to the disgrace of their ancestral temples? My ruler begs to receive them, and execute them." [The duke] replied, "From my want of ability I was not able to love my uncles and elder brothers, thereby occasioning sorrow to your ruler. I thank you for the condescension of your message. Ruler and subjects, we are here fighting daily, and your ruler says, 'I must assist the subjects.' Still I accept his commands. But people have a saying, that one should not pass by the door of a house in confusion. If your ruler vouchsafe his kind protection to my

poor State, it is my hope that he will not give honour to the worthless, thereby encouraging men to create disorder. Let your ruler think of the case."

'The people of Ts'oo were troubled by this reply, but [the officers in charge of] the auxiliaries from different States took counsel together, saying, "If the Hwa, knowing to what straits they are reduced, should sell their lives dearly, and if Ts'oo, ashamed of not accomplishing its object, should fight with spirit, this will not be to our advantage. The better plan is to send [the rebels] away, as if it were brought about by Ts'oo, nor can they do anything after this. We came to succour Sung, and we shall remove the authors of its injury, — what more should we seek for?" They therefore begged earnestly that [the rebels] might be allowed to go away, and the people of Sung agreed. On Ke-sze, Hwa Hae, Hwang Ning, Hwa Ting, Hwa Ch'oo, Hwa Täng, Hwang Yen-shang, Sing Tsang, and Sze P'ing, went forth and fled to Ts'oo. The duke made Kung sun Ke grand-minister of War, P'en Yang grand-minister of Instruction, Yoh K'e minister of Works, Chung Ke master of the Left, Yoh Ta-sin master of the Right, and Yoh Wan grand minister of Crime, — in order to quiet the minds of the people.'

Par 3 Kung-yang has 姦 for 間. Too says nothing on the situation of Ch'ang-keen, but it has been referred, with every appearance of correctness, to a place in the pres dis of Sze-shwuy (泗水), dep Yen-chow 鬼 18

to be taken here as in VIII 6, XL 5. See what is said on it under VIII 8. Hou Han (許翰; Sung dyn.) says:— In the 8th year a 雉 appears as taking place in autumn; and one in the 11th year in summer; at both of which seasons it was *tsai-yung-lai*. The observance of it now in the spring was appropriate so far as the season was concerned but all the notices of 雉 in the time of duke Ch'ao have for their principal object the condemnation of the great officers, whose power was excessive. Most of the critics think that the duke himself took no part in any of these revivals.

Par 4. This was king King (景王), who was now in the 25th year of his reign. The Chuen says:— His son Ch'ao, and Pin K'o (Ch'ao's tutor) were favourites with king King who had spoken to Pin M'ang (I q., Pin K'o) about his wish to make Ch'ao his successor. Pin fan, son by a concubine to duke H'ien of L'ow did service to duke Muh of Shen, and, hating the character of Pin M'ang, wished to put him to death. He also disliked the words of the king's son Ch'ao, as likely to lead to disorder and wished to remove him out of the way.

[On one occasion] Pin M'ang had gone to the suburbs, where he saw a cock plucking out its tail. He asked what could be the meaning of such a thing, and his attendants said, "It is afraid for itself lest it should be used as a victim." He hurried back, and reported the thing to the king adding, "The cock would seem to be afraid of its being used as a victim by men. It is different with men [who like to be favoured and nourished as animals for victims are]. For such favourites you must use [good] men. To favour other men in such a way may occasion difficulties, but what injury can come from so favouring [a son of] your own?" The king made no reply.

In summer in the 4th month, the king hunted on the North hill, and made all the dukes and ministers follow him, intending to put to death the viscounts of Shen and L'ow. He was suffering, however from disease of the heart, and on Yih-ch'ow he died in the house of Yung-e. On Mow-shin, the viscount of L'ow died leaving no son [by his wife], and the viscount of Shen raised L'ow Fan to his place. In the 5th month, they had an interview with the [new] king and proceeded to attack Pin K'o, and killed him, after which they imposed a covenant on all the [other] sons of the [late or former] kings, in the house of the [viscount of] Shen.

Par 5. Shuh Yang who appears here, was a son of Shuh Kung, a younger brother of Ch'eh, whose death was recorded last year. The burial of the king took place only 3 months after his death—the unusually haste was in consequence, no doubt, of the troubles referred to in the next paragraph.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Tsin and the city of Koo:]— When Tsin took Koo-yu (See on XV 5), it sent back the viscount of that city after presenting him [in the ancestral temple]. He afterwards revolted, and joined Shen yu. In the 6th month, Seun Woo was marching near Tung-yang, and made some of his soldiers,

disguised as buyers of rice, carry their armour on their backs [in bags], and rest outside the gate of Seih yang. He then surprised Koo, and extinguished [its sacrifices], took the viscount Yuen-te, back with him, and appointed Shih To to guard the city.]

Par 6. The Chuen says:— On Ting-ao, king King was buried. His son Ch'ao, by means of the many old officers who had lost their offices and emoluments and of the families sprung from [the kings] Ling and King proceeded to raise an insurrection, and led the men-at-arms of K'aoou, Yaou, and Ts'ien, to drive out the viscount of L'ow who on Jiu-seu fled to Yang. The viscount of Shen then took king Taou (king King's son M'ang of par 9), and carried him back from the Chwang palace [to his own house]; but in the night H'wan, [an other] son of king [King] took him again and went to the palace; and [next day], on Kwei-hao, the viscount left [the capital]. H'wan took counsel with duke Chwang of Shaoou, saying, "If we do not kill Shen K'o (The viscount), we shall not succeed. If we [propose to] make a second covenant with him he is sure to come. There are many who have conquered by violating their covenants." His *mu* *tsai* was agreed to, but Fan K'ing *tsao* said "Such language is wrong. The thing is sure not to succeed." They then carried the king with them and pursued the viscount of Shen. At L'ow they made a great *tsu* *ts'ang*, and [all] returned, [after which] they put to death Ch'ih H'wang by way of apology for themselves. The viscount of L'ow went to L'ow and the viscount of Shen absconded, fleeing on Yih-ch'ow to P'ing-cho. The body of the king's sons pursued him when he killed H'wan, Koo, Fah, Joh, Tsung Yen, Ting, and Chow. The king's son Ch'ao [on this] fled to King which was attacked on Ping yin, when the inhabitants fled to the hills. The viscount of L'ow entered the royal city. On Sin we, duke K'ao of Kung was shamefully defeated at King. On Yih-hae duke P'ing of Kan was also defeated.

When Shuh Yang arrived from the capital, he spoke of the confusion of the royal House. Min Ma too said, "The king's son Ch'ao is sure not to succeed. Those with whom he is associated are those whom Heaven has disowned."

This is the third time in the period of the Ch'ao Ts'ao that the House of Chow was nearly ruined by dissensions in itself but the classic takes no notice of the two former occasions. Its silence is difficult to account for and the same course would probably have been pursued here but for the visit of Shuh yang to the capital when the troubles were going on. Tao

K'o (戴溪; Sung dyn.) says, From the beginning of the Ch'ao Ts'ao till now the royal House had thrice been in confusion, the calamity always arising from relations in it between father and sons, elder and younger brothers, through which the distinction between sons of the queen proper and of other ladies of the harem was not kept clear. King H'way by his favouritism of his son Tao, had nearly endangered the position of his eldest son, when duke H'wan made the covenant in the prince's behalf at Shou-cho (See V v 4 5), and his place was set right. Then king H'ang through gain

favouring T'ae, was obliged to leave the capital and reside in Ch'ing (See V 卷四 4), till duke Wän of Tsin restored him, and established the royal House. But for those two leaders, the confusion of the House of Chow would not have been postponed till this time. The Ch'ün Ts'ew makes record of it now, through pity for the feeble condition to which the House was reduced, and regret that such leaders as Hwan and Wän were no more to be found. Alas!

Par 7 The Chuen says — 'The viscount of Shen wished to send notice of [the king's] distress to Tsin. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-yin, he carried the king with him to P'ing-che, thence they went to Poo-keu, and halted in Hwang.'

Hwang was a city of Chow, in the north-west of the pres dis of Kung (鞏), dep Ho-nan. The Mäng was a son of king King, probably by his proper queen. The death of the king's eldest son Show is mentioned in the Chuen after par 4 of the 15th year. We may suppose that Mäng was a younger brother of Show, on whom the succession to the throne now naturally devolved, and that he had been so designated. We have seen, however, that the king had wished, before his death, to divert the succession to Chaou, older in years, but the son of a concubine. Hence arose the two parties, whose struggles produced so much confusion. Lëw Ch'ang, Hoo Gan-kwoh, and others, take the 以 in the text, as condemnatory of the viscounts, but the K'ang-he editors remark correctly that 以 itself expresses neither praise nor blame, and that the supporters of Mäng were in the right. Mäng died before the end of the year, and therefore does not enter into the chronological line of kings, though he received the posthumous epithet of king Taou (悼 王). Altogether his position was anomalous, and hence the style of the text, where he is not called 王 simply, nor 人 王, but 王 with his name attached (王 猛).

Par 8 The Chuen says — 'The viscount of Lëw went to Lew, and the viscount of Shen made king [King's] son Ch'oo keep guard in the royal city, having bound by a covenant in the temple of [king] P'ing all the officers. On Sin-maou, Sin Heih attacked Hwang, but he suffered a great defeat, and, being taken, he was burned on Jin shin in the market-place of the royal city. In the 8th month, on Sin-yew, the minister of Instruction, Ch'ow, with the royal army, was shamefully defeated at Ts'een-shung, after which all the officers revolted. On Ke-sze, they attacked the palace of the viscount of Shen, and were defeated. On Kang-woo he returned their attack. On Sin-we he attacked Tung-yu.

'In winter, in the 10th month, on Ting-sze, Tseih T'an and Seun Leih, led the Jung of Kew-chow, with the troops of T'seaou, Hën, Wän, and Yuen, to replace the king in the royal city. On Käng-shun, the viscount of Shen and Fun of Lew, with the king's army, were shamefully defeated at Keaou, and the men of Ts'een-shung defeated the [Jung] of Luh-hwän at Shay.'

The 'royal city' is correctly said by Too to have been Keah-juh (郕 鄆). Maou observes that to this city king Woo removed the 9 tripods, and that it is to be distinguished from Ch'ing-chow (成 周) or the 'lower capital' (下 都), which was built by the duke of Chow to receive the refractory people of Yin. From the time of king P'ing's removal of the seat of govt eastwards, down to king King, all the kings of Chow had dwelt in Keah-juh. It was not till 1 year after this, that King's successor, of whom we must also speak in English as king King (敬 王), occupied Ch'ing-chow, in consequence of the present disturbances still continuing. Kung-yang says that the 'royal city' of the text is the western Chow, or western capital of Chow (西 周), but it was not till after the period of the Ch'ün Ts'ew that Keah-juh came to be thus denominated.

Par 9 The Chuen continues — 'In the 11th month (The text says the 10th), on Yih-yëw, the king's son Mäng died, and the proper mourning and funeral rites could not be performed for him. On Ke-ch'ow, king King (敬 王), an own brother of Mäng, — his name was Kae, (介) succeeded to the throne, and lodged in the house of Tsze-leu.

'In the 12th month, on Käng-seuh, Tseih T'an, Seun Leih, K'ea Sin, and the marshal Tuh, of Tsin, led their forces, and encamped at Yin, at H'ow-she, at K'e ts'üen, halting at Shay, while the king's army encamped at Fan, and at H'ae, halting at Jin-jin. In the intercalary month, K'e E, Yoh Ching, and Kwei of the right column, of Tsin, crossed [the E and Loh] with their forces, and took Ts'een-shung. The king's army encamped at King-ts'oo, and on Sin-ch'ow it attacked King-ts'oo, and threw down the [wall on the] west and south.'

Too thinks that the sentence 不成喪也, in the Chuen, gives the reason why 王 猛 of par 8, 9 is here replaced by 王 了 猛, but this is not necessary. Had Mäng lived, his reign would have dated only from the next year. Of the sons of the dukes of Loo, who came to an untimely end before the expiry of the year in which their fathers died, the text simply says, 'Son So-and-so-died (See VI 卷六 IX 卷九 3)'. Here in writing of the royal House, it was necessary to prefix the 王.

Par 10 This eclipse took place in the afternoon, on the 18th November, B.C. 519. Too would change the Kwei-yew into Kwei-maou (癸 卯), but calculation shows the day to be correct. He was led to the conclusion that there was no Kwei-yew day in this 12th month, by accepting the statement in the preceding Chuen about the intercalary month which is incorrect. The intercalary month this year must have been a double 4th.

## Twenty third year

一

有二年春，卜，月，叔孫舍如首。

癸丑，叔鞅卒。

晉人執我行人叔孫舍。晉人圍郊。

夏六月，蔡侯東國卒，楚。

秋七月，呂了庚輿來奔。

戊辰，災敗頓，胡沈，蔡陳許之師，雞。

父，胡了髡，沈了逞，滅，獲陳夏，齧。

大，居丁狄泉，尹氏，朝。

八月，乙未，地震。

冬，公如首，卒，河有疾，乃復。

左傳曰：邾人城翼，還將自離姑公孫鉏曰：魯將御我，欲自武城還，循山而南，徐鉏丘弱茅地曰：道下遇雨，將不出，是不歸也，遂自離姑武城人塞其前，斷其後之木而弗殊，邾師過之，乃推而蹶之，遂取邾師獲鉏弱地，邾人愬於晉，晉人來討，叔孫婼如晉，晉人執之，書曰：晉人執我行人叔孫婼，言使人也，晉人使與邾大夫坐，叔孫曰：列國之卿當小國之君，固周制也，邾又夷也，寡君之命介子服回在，請使當之，不敢廢周制故也，乃不果坐，韓宣子使邾人聚其衆，將以叔孫與之，叔孫聞之，去衆與兵而歸，士彌牟謂韓宣子曰：子弗良圖，而以叔孫與其讐，叔孫必死之，魯亡叔孫必亡邾，邾君亡國，將焉歸？子雖悔之，何及？所謂盟主討違命也，若皆相執，焉用盟主？

乃弗與，使各居館。伯聽其辭，而愬諸宣了，乃皆執之。伯御叔孫，從者四人過邾館，以如史。先歸邾了。伯曰：以芻蕘之難，從者之病，將館了於都。叔孫曰：而立期焉。乃館諸箕，舍了服昭伯於他邑。范獻了求貨於叔孫，使請冠焉。取其冠法，而與之兩冠。曰：盡矣。爲叔孫故，中豐以貨如首。叔孫曰：見我，告安所行貨。見而不出。史人之與叔孫居於箕者，請其吠狗，弗與。及將歸，殺而與之食之。叔孫所館者，雖日必旨其牆屋，去之如始。

春，十止月，壬寅朔，師圍郊。癸卯，郊，鄒潰。丁未，首師在平陰。一師在澤邑。士使告聞。庚戌，還。

莒了庚與，虐而好劍，苟鑄劍，必試諸人。國人患之。又將叛齊，烏存帥國人以逐之。庚與將出，聞烏存執爰而止於道左，懼將止死。苑羊牧之曰：君過之，烏存以力聞可矣。何必以弑君成名。遂來介，齊人納郊公。

吳人伐州來，楚薳越帥師，及諸侯之師，奔命救州來。吳人禦諸鍾離了瑕。卒，楚師燬。吳公了光曰：諸侯從於楚者衆，而皆小國也。畏楚而不獲已，是以來。台聞之曰：作事威克其愛，雖小必濟。胡沈之君幼而狂，陳人人鬻壯而頑，頓與許蔡疾楚政。楚令尹死，其師燬，帥賤多寵，政令不壹。七國同役而不同心，帥賤而不能整，無人威命。楚可敗也。若分師先以犯胡沈，與陳必先奔。國敗，諸侯之師乃搖心矣。諸侯乖亂，楚必入介，請先者去備薄。威後者敦。陳整旅，吳了從之。戊辰晦，戰于雞父。吳了以罪人，先犯胡沈，與陳。國爭之，吳爲一軍以繫於後。中軍從上，光帥右，掩餘帥左。吳之罪人，或介或止。國亂，吳師擊之。國敗，獲胡沈之君，及陳人人，舍胡沈之囚，使奔許，與蔡頓。曰：君死矣。師譟而從之。國介，楚師人奔。書曰：胡了髡，沈了逞，滅獲陳夏齧，君了之辭也。不戰，楚入陳也。

夏四月，乙酉，單了取訾，劉了取牆人，直人。六月，壬午，了朝入於尹。癸未，尹圍誘劉佗殺之。丙戌，單了從阪道，劉了從尹道，伐尹，單了先介而敗。劉了還，己丑，伐伯免，南宮極，以成周人伐尹。庚寅，單了，劉了，樊齊，以一如劉。甲午，了朝入丁一城，次於左巷。秋七月，戊申，鄒羅納諸莊宮，尹辛敗劉師於唐。丙辰，又敗諸鄒，申了，尹辛取。

西閼丙寅攻蒯蒯潰。

八月丁酉南宮極震長弘謂劉文公曰君其勉之先君之力可濟也周之亡也其三川震今西王之大臣亦震天棄之矣東王必大克

○楚犬子建之母在郢召吳人而啟之冬十月甲申吳犬子諸樊入郢取楚夫人與其寶器以歸楚司馬薳越追之不及將死衆曰請遂伐吳以徼之薳越曰再敗君師死且有罪亡君夫人不可以莫之死也乃縊於薳越

公爲叔孫故如晉及河有疾而復

○楚囊瓦爲令尹城郢沈尹戌曰子常必亡郢苟不能衛城無益也古者天子守在四夷天子卑守在諸侯諸侯守在四鄰諸侯卑守在四境慎其四境結其四援民狎其野三務成功民無內憂而又無外懼國焉用城今吳是懼而城於郢守已小矣卑之不獲能無亡乎昔梁伯溝其公宮而民潰民棄其上不亡何待夫正其疆場脩其土田險其走集親其民人明其伍候信其鄰國慎其官守守其交禮不僭不貪不懦不吝完其守備以待不虞又何畏矣詩曰無念爾祖聿脩厥德無亦監乎若敖蚡冒至於武文土不過同慎其四境猶不城郢今土數圻而郢是城不亦難乎

- XXIII 1 In the [duke's] twenty third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin
- 2 On Kwei-ch'ow, Shuh Yang died.
- 3 The people of Tsin seized our internuncios, Shuh sun Shay
- 4 The troops of Tsin laid siege to K'iao
- 5 In summer, in the sixth month, Tung kwoh, marquis of Ts'ao, died in Ts'oo
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, K'ang yu, viscount of Keu, came a fugitive to Loo
- 7 On Mow-shin, Woo defeated the armies of Tun, Hoo, Shin, Ts'ao, Ch'in, and Heu at Ke-foo, when K'wan, viscount of Hoo, and Ch'ing, viscount of Shin, were killed, and H'ao N'eh of Ch'in was taken
- 8 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] resided at Teih ts'uen, and the chief of the House of Yin raised kung [Kings] son Ch'ao to the throne.
- 9 In the eighth month, on Yih we, there was an earth quake.



# 10 In winter, the duke was going to Tsin, but when he arrived at the Ho, he fell ill and returned.

Parr 1, 3 Here, as elsewhere, Tso-she has 媯 for 舍 The Chuen says — 'A body of men from [the capital of] Choo had been walling Yih, and on their return were to go by way of Le-koo Kung-sun Ts'oo said, "Loo will withstand us. If we want to return by Woo-shung, let us keep along the hills to the south." Seu Ts'oo, K'ew Joh, and Maou Te said, "The way [there] lies low, if we meet with rain, it will be impassable, and we shall not [be able to] return." Accordingly they determined to go by Le-koo, [first passing Woo-shung]. The men of Woo-shung had blocked up the way in front [of a pass], and cut the trees in the rear, only not quite through, but when the troops of Choo had entered, they pushed the trees down, and took the whole of them, killing Ts'oo, Joh, and Te. The people of Choo complained of this to Tsin, which sent an officer to Loo to inquire into the matter. On this Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin where they seized and held him. The words of the text are, "The people of Tsin seized our internuncius Shuh-sun Shay," because he was a commissioner [from the State].

'The people of Tsin required him to argue the matter on trial along with a great officer of Choo, but Shuh-sun said, "It is the old rule of Chow, that the minister of one of the regular States should rank with the ruler of a small State. Choo, moreover, is one of the E. Tze-fuh Hwuy is here, commissioned by my ruler as my assistant. I beg that you will let him be confronted with [the officer of Choo], for I do not dare to disallow the rule of Chow." Accordingly, he would not be put upon his trial.

'Han S'uen-tsze made the men of Choo collect all their people, intending to deliver Shuh-sun to them. When that minister heard of it, he dispensed with the attendance of his people and his weapons, and went to court. Sze Me-mow said to Han S'uen-tsze, "Your measures are not good. If you deliver Shuh-sun to his enemies, he will die [first]. If Loo lose Shuh-sun, it is sure to destroy Choo, and where will the ruler of Choo turn to when he has lost his State? You may then repent of it, but of what use will that be? What is called the lordship of covenants implies the punishment of the disobedient. If [the princes of the States] are all to seize one another, of what use is a lordship of covenants?" After this [Shuh-sun] was not delivered [to Choo], but [he and Tze-fuh Hwuy] were assigned, each of them, a separate lodging. Sze Pih received their statements, and accused them to S'uen-tsze, when they were both seized, and Sze Pih drove Shuh-sun, with four of his followers, past the lodging of the Choo-ites, on the way to the officer [who should take charge of him]. The viscount of Choo was then sent home first, and Sze Pih said [to Shuh-sun], "In consequence of the difficulty of getting forage, and the sickness of your followers, we will assign you a lodging in [another of our] great cities." Shuh-sun stood from one morning [till next], waiting for his orders, and then a lodging was assigned to him in Ke, and Tze-fuh Ch'ou-pih was placed in another city.

'Fan H'ien-tsze sought bribes from Shuh-sun, and sent to ask him for some caps. He got the

fashion of the [other's] cap, and sent two caps to him saying, "These are all." Shun Fung, on account of Shuh-sun, went with bribes to Tsin, but Shuh-sun sent word to him to come and see him, and he would tell him how to distribute the bribes. When Fung came to see him, he did not let him go forth. The officers in charge who lived with him at Ke begged from him his watch-dog. He refused it, but when he was about to return to Loo, he killed it, and gave it to them to eat. Wherever Shuh-sun was lodged, though it might be only for one day, he would have the walls and roof put in repair. When he left the house, it was [always] as when he first came to it.

Par 2 See on par 5 of last year. Shuh Yang was succeeded, as a great officer of Loo, by his son Shuh E (叔詣).

Par 4 The Chuen continues here the narrative of the troubles in Chow, and should be read in connection with that on par 9 of last year — 'This spring, in the king's 1st month, on Jin-yin, the 1st day of the moon, the two armies (I e, of the king and of Tsin) laid siege to Keaou. On Kwei-maou, the people of Keaou and Sin dispersed. On Ting-we, the army of Tsin was at P'ing-yin, and the king's at Tsih-yih. The king sent word that he was more at ease, and on K'ang-seuh [the army of Tsin returned].

K'eaou was a city of Chow, but its particular locality has not been ascertained. I translate

旨人 'the troops of Tsin.' Woo Gan-kwoh

says that the 人 is used as if the commander had been only an inferior officer, and as we know that he was not such, he adds that he is represented so, to express the sage's disapproval of all Tsin's proceedings in succouring so feebly the king in his distress! According to the Chuen, the siege of K'eaou began on Jin-yin, 12 days before Kwei-ch'ow, on which Shuh-yang died. This 4th par, therefore, should precede the 2d, but we may suppose that as the official notice from Tsin to Loo of the siege could not arrive till after that officer's death, and was given as in the text without the specification of the day, the historiographers entered the event according to the time of its communication.

Par 5 Tung-kwoh owed his elevation to the marquessate of Ts'ue to Ts'oo (See on XX 1 6), and he was probably on a visit to the court of that State when he died.

Par 6 About K'ang-yu and duke K'eaou, mentioned in the end of the Chuen here, see the narrative on XIV 5. The Chuen says — 'K'ang-yu, viscount of Keu, was oppressive and fond of swords. Whenever he had a sword cast, he would try it on people. The people felt sore under him, and he was also intending to revolt from Ts'ue, when Woo Ts'un led the people on to expel him. As he was about to leave the city, he heard that Woo Ts'un was standing with a spear on the left of the road, and, being afraid, he proposed to stop, and die [where he was]. Yuen-yang Muh-che, however, said to him, "Let your lordship pass by him. It will be sufficient for Woo Ts'un to be spoken of for his strength. Why should he seek to make himself famous by

murdering you?" On this, he came a fugitive to Loo, and the people of T'ao restored duke K'ao.

Par 7. K'uei-lang has hero 甫 for 父 and 盈 for 逞 Kung yang has 楹 for 逞 Ko-foo was in the pres. Show Chow (壽州), dep. Fung yang, Gan-hway. The Chuen says:—A band of men from Woo invaded Chow lae to the rescue of which hurried Wei Yueh with the army of T'ao and the forces of [several of] the States. The men of Woo withstood him at Chung ke, when [just at that time] T'ao-ben (The chief minister of T'ao, unable to command in this expedition) died, and the courage of the army of T'ao died away. The Kung-tso Kwang of Woo said, "The States that follow with T'ao are numerous, but they are small. They have come through fear of T'ao, and because they could not help it. I have heard that, in the conduct of affairs, the party whose energy is superior to its hesitancy though it may be the smaller is sure to be successful (See the Shoo, III. iv 7; but the application is very forced). The rulers of Hoo and Shin are young and reckless. Nêh, the great officer of Ch'in, is stout, but stupid. Tun, Hên and T'ao hate the part of T'ao. Its chief minister is [just] dead, and the courage of its army has become chilled. The commander is of low rank, and has many favourites; no unity marks his procedures and orders. The seven States are engaged in the same service, but they have not the same heart. With this commander of low rank and incompetent, his commands cannot inspire any great awe;—T'ao can be defeated. If we divide our forces, and first fall on Hoo, Shin, and Ch'in, they are sure to flee. When those three States are defeated, the forces of the others will be shaken in mind. They will all get into confusion, and T'ao will be put to a great rout. Let our men in front put away their preparations and assume but small appearance of martial array while those that follow afterwards go in strong array with ranks well ordered.

The viscount of Woo followed this counsel, and on Mow shin, the last day of the moon, a battle was fought at Ke-foo. He sent 800 criminals in front to attack the troops of Hoo, Shin, and Ch'in, which maintained a struggle with them; but behind three criminals the army of Woo was drawn out in three divisions, that in the centre following the king the right command by Kwang, and the left by Yen-yu. Some of the criminals fled, and some held their ground; but the troops of the three States were thrown into confusion by them, and being then attacked by the army of Woo, they were defeated. The rulers of Hoo and Shin were taken, and the great officer of Ch'in. The Wooites set free their other prisoners, and made them flee to [the men of] Hên, T'ao, and Tun, saying, "Our rulers are dead." They themselves followed them with shouts, and the troops of those three States took to flight. The army [also of T'ao] was greatly routed. The phraseology of the text, that "The two viscounts were extinguished, and Hên Nêh of Ch'in (was) varied, from its application to rulers and an officer (This seems to mean that the capture or the death of a ruler was spoken of as his

"extinction," while the capture of an officer might be spoken even of his "death"). The text does not say that "a battle was fought,"—because [the army of] T'ao had not formed in order of battle.

These two canons, the one on the use of the terms 滅 and 獲 and the other on the silence of the text about T'ao, have given rise to a great deal of speculation. I should judge myself, that 滅 must imply the death of the party to whom it is applied, but then 獲 should indicate capture and capture only.

Par 8. T'ieh t'ien was a neighbourhood outside the wall of the royal city within which we shall find, it was subsequently embraced in the 1st year of duke Ting. It was so named from the T'ieh spring and pool and was on the east of the city so that king K'ing (敬王) was styled the eastern king in distinction from his rival, who occupied the city itself, and was called the western king.

I have translated 尹氏 by the chief of the House of Yin (See VIII xvi. 10), which must be the meaning of the terms. The viscount of Yin took the lead in supporting Chan, whose elevation to the throne is therefore ascribed to him;—we need not seek any other reccondio meaning in the use of 氏. There were now two kings. The text decides in favour of king K'ing by the name of 天王 applied to him.

The Chuen says:—In summer in the 4th month, on 11th yêw the viscount of Shen took T'ao, and the viscount of L'ow took T'ang jin and Ch'ih jin. In the 6th month, on Jin woo, king K'ing's (景王) son Chao entered Yin. On Kwei-yêw, 12, [viscount] of Yin, invailed and killed L'ow T'ao. On Ping-sen the viscount of Shen came by way of Fan, and the viscount of L'ow by way of Yin to attack Yin. The former arrived first and was defeated, when the other returned. On K'eh-chow H'wan earl of Shao and Nan kung killed a body of men from Ch'ing-ch'ow to garrison Yin. On kang yin the viscounts of Shen and L'ow and Fan T'ao conducted the king to L'ow. On K'eah woo, the [late] king's son, Chao, entered the royal city and halted in T'ao-ling. In autumn, in the 3rd month on Mow shin, Sin Lo placed him in the palace of Chwang. Sin of Yin defeated the army of L'ow in Tang and on Ping-shen it was defeated again at Sin. On K'eah-t'ao, Sin of Yin took So-wel. On Ping yin, he attacked K'wae the people of which dispersed.

Par 9. The Chuen says:—In the 8th month, on Ting yêw Nan kung keli was killed by an earthquake. Chang Hwang said to duke Wan of L'ow "Let your lordship exert yourself. By the strength of your father your enterprise will be successful. When [the kings of] Chow [formerly] perished, there were earthquakes along the three rivers (The King Wei, and Loh; 涇渭洛). Now a great officer of the western king has perished in this earthquake;—Heaven is casting him off. The eastern king will have a great triumph.

The earthquake in the text was felt in Loo That in the Chuen on the 2d day after was in Chow The words of the Chuen 南宮極震 must be translated as I have done. Too supposes that Keih was killed by the overthrow of his house

[We have here a narrative relating to the affairs of Ts'oo and Woo — 'The mother of Keen, the eldest son of [the king of] Ts'oo was in Keih, to which she invited the people of Woo, opening also its gate for them In winter, in the 10th month, on Keah-shu, Choo-fan, the eldest son of [the king of] Woo, entered Keih, and carried back with him from it the above lady, with her treasures and other articles The marshal Wei Yueh of Ts'oo pursued them, but not being able to overtake them, he was about to die (I e, kill himself) All his people said, "Let us take the opportunity to attack Woo, and try the chance of our succeeding," but he said, "If I should again be defeated with our ruler's army, I should have to die, and would be [doubly] criminal Having lost our ruler's wife, I must die on that account" He then strangled himself in Wei-she']

Par 10 After 河 Kung and Kuh introduce a 公 thus making two parr Tso says the visit was on account of Shuh-sun Shay, who was still detained in Tsin, to effect his liberation if possible The critics are unanimous in holding that the sickness was feigned Either the duke grew afraid, or he was warned back by Tsin, and then he caused his return to be attributed to illness in order to hide his disgrace (殺恥)

[The Chuen returns to affairs in Ts'oo — In Ts'oo, Nang Wa became chief minister (In place of Yang Kae or Tsze-hea, — see on par 7), and proceeded to fortify Ying Seuh, director of Shu, said, "Tsze-chang (Nang Wa) is sure to lose Ying If we are not able to defend it, walling it is of no use Anciently, the defences

of the sons of Heaven were the rude tribes on every side of the kingdom, and when their authority became low, their defences were the various States The defences of those States were their neighbours, all round them, and when their power became low, their defences were their four borders They attended carefully to them, and formed alliances with their neighbours as helpers Then the people quietly cultivated the country, and the important labours of the three [seasons] were successfully accomplished The people had no cause for anxiety in the State, and there were no apprehensions from abroad, it was not thought necessary to fortify the cities But now we are afraid of Woo, and are fortifying Ying Small is the defence Even that proper to a State, when its power is low, is beyond us, — how can we escape the loss [of Ying]? Formerly, the earl of Leang dug a moat about his palace, and the people dispersed (See on V xix 8) When the people abandon their superiors, nothing but ruin can come If we adjusted correctly our borders, kept our lands and fields well regulated, made our stations of refuge and assembly where they were most difficult of access, cultivated the affection of the people, arranging them clearly in companies of five, so as to be on the look out [against danger], maintained good faith with the neighbouring States, looked well after the discharge of their duties by our officers, maintained all the ceremonies of intercourse, were neither assuming nor covetous, neither weak nor violent, thus completing our defences and preparations, and awaiting whatever might occur, what should we have to fear? The ode (III 1 ode I 6) says,

'Ever think of your ancestor,  
Cultivating his virtue'

Have we not examples in Joh-gaou, and Fun-maou, down to Woo and Wán? Their territory did not exceed 100 *le* square But they carefully attended to their borders, and did not fortify Ying? Now our territory is several 1000 *le* square, and we must fortify Ying! Is not our case a hard one?"']

*Twenty-fourth year.*

葬杞平公。冬，吳滅巢。丁酉，杞伯郁釐卒。秋，八月，大雩。有食。夏，五月，乙未朔，日。叔孫舍自晉。卒。月，丙戌，仲孫貜。十有四年，春，王。

○左傳曰二十四年春王正月辛丑召簡公南宮嚭以甘桓公見王子朝劉子謂蔓弘曰甘氏又往矣對曰何害同德度義大誓曰紂有億兆夷人亦有離德余有亂臣十人同心同德此周所以興也君其務德無患無人戊午王子朝入於鄆

晉士彌牟逆叔孫於箕叔孫使梁其鯀待於門內曰余左顧而歎乃殺之右顧而笑乃止叔孫見士伯士伯曰寡君以爲盟主之故是以久子不勝敝邑之禮將致諸從者使彌牟逆吾子叔孫受禮而歸二月媾至自晉尊晉也

○三月庚戌晉侯使士棼伯洸問周故士伯立於乾祭而問於介衆晉人乃辭王子朝不納其使夏五月乙未朔日有食之梓慎曰將水昭子曰旱也日過分而陽猶不克克必甚能無旱乎陽不克莫將積聚也

○六月壬申王子朝之師攻瑕及杏皆潰

○鄭伯如晉子犬叔相見范獻子獻子曰若王室何對曰老夫其國家不能恤敢及王室抑人亦有言曰螻不恤其緯而憂宗周之隕爲將及焉今王室實騷騷焉吾小國懼矣然大國之憂也吾儕何知焉吾子其早圖之詩曰蟬之騷矣惟蟲之恥王室之不寧晉之耻也獻子懼而與宣子圖之乃徵會於諸侯期以明年秋八月大雩旱也

○冬十月癸酉王子朝用成周之寶珪於河甲戌津人得諸河上陰不佞以溫人南侵拘得玉者取其玉將賈之則爲石王定而獻之與之東晉

楚子爲舟師以畧吳疆沈尹戌曰此行也楚必亡邑不撫民而勞之吳不動而速之吳踵楚而疆場無備邑能無亡乎越大夫胥犴勞王於豫章之內越公子倉歸王乘舟倉及壽夢帥師從王王及圍陽而還吳人踵楚而邊人不備遂滅巢及鍾離而還沈尹戌曰亡郢之始於此在矣王壹動而亡二姓之帥幾如是而不及郢時曰

乎。謂之。一。其。梗。爲。今。个。階。厲。小。誰

- XXIV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ping-seuh, Chung-sun Keoh died.
- 2 Shuh-sun Shay arrived from Tsin.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a great sacrifice for rain
- 5 On Ting-yew, Yuh-le, earl of K'e, died.
- 6 In winter, Woo extinguished Ch'au
- 7 There was the burial of duke P'ing of K'e.

[The Chuen continues here its narrative of the troubles in Chow — 'This spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-ch'ow, duke Keen of Shaou and Nan-kung Yin introduced duke Hwan of Kan to the [late] king's son Chaou. The viscount of Lëw said to Chang Hwäng, "The Kan is also gone to him." "What harm will that do?" was the reply. "It is only those who have virtue in common that can concert righteous measures (See the Shoo, V 1 Pt 1 8, where the characters, however, have a diff't meaning). The Great Declaration says (Shoo, V 1 Pt 11 6), 'Chow has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, but they are all divided in their ways. I have of ministers, capable of government, ten men, one in heart, and one in practice.' It was through this that Chow arose. Let your lordship's care be about virtue, and do not be concerned about the want of men." On Mow-woo, the king's son Chaou entered Woo.]

Par 1 See ix 4, *et al.* This was Mäng He-tsze. He was succeeded by his son Ho-ke (何忌), who is numbered among the disciples of Confucius.

Par 2 Comp XIV 1, where the return of Ke-sun E-joo from his detention in Tsin is recorded, as that of Shuh-sun Shay is recorded here. There, however, only the name E-joo, appears in the text, without the surname, and here both Tso-she and Kuh-lëang omit the surname, having also 姑 instead of 舍. The critics have much to say on these points, with which we need not trouble ourselves. See the K'ang-he editors *in loc*.

The Chuen says — 'Sze Me-mow of Tsin went to meet Shuh-sun in Ke (See on parr 1, 3 of last year), [and bring him away]. Shuh-sun made Lëang K'e-hing wait inside the door, having said to him, "If I look to the left and cough, kill him, but if I look to the right and laugh, hold your hand." When Shuh-sun saw Sze Pih, the latter said, "My ruler, thinking his duty as lord of covenants required him to do so, has detained you long. There are some small gifts of our poor State, which he now presents to your followers, and he has sent me to meet you, Sir." Shuh-sun received the offerings, and returned [to Loo]. The words of the text, "In the second month, Ch'oh (姑, without the clan-name) arrived from Tsin," are intended to honour Tsin (?)

[There is appended here a short note about

the affairs in Chow — 'In the 3d month, on Käng-seuh, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze King-pih to go and ask about affairs in Chow. He took his position by the Kan-chae [gate], and questioned great multitudes. In consequence, the people of Tsin repulsed the [late] king's son Chaou, and would not receive his messengers']

Par 3 This eclipse took place at sunrise, on the 1st April, B.C. 517. The Chuen says — 'On the occurrence of this eclipse, Tsze Shin said, "There will be floods." But Ch'au-tsze said, "There will be drought. The sun has passed the equinox, and the *yang* influence has not yet predominated. When it does do so, it will be in a very great degree, and we must have drought. The *yang* influence, not getting vent (莫 = 介), will be accumulated.'

[The affairs of Chow are here resumed —

1st 'In the 6th month, on Jin-shin, the army of the [late] king's son Chaou attacked Hëa and Häng, the people of both of which dispersed.

2d The earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, with Tsze-t'ae-shuh in attendance on him. At an interview with Fan Hëen-tsze, the latter asked Tsze-t'ae-shuh what he thought about the state of the royal House. "I am an old man," was the reply, "who cannot do as he ought for his own State, how dare I think about the royal House? But people have a saying that the widow does not regard her woof, but is anxious about the fall of the honoured [House of] Chow, meaning that [she is afraid of] what will happen to herself. The royal House is now indeed shaking, and our small State is full of apprehension. But it should be matter of anxiety to your great State, what knowledge can we take of it? You, Sir, should take speedy measures in reference to it. The ode (II v ode VIII 3) says —

'When the pitcher is exhausted,  
It is to the shame of the jar.'

The disquietude of the royal House is to the shame of Tsin." Hëen-tsze became frightened, and consulted with Seuen-tsze, upon which they summoned a meeting of the States for the next year.]

Par 4 This sacrifice was offered, says Tso, because of drought, and thus Shuh-sun's anticipation, mentioned under par 3, was verified. Wang T'au observes here, 'The vaticination of P'e T'au was not equal to that of Tsze-ch'an, and the vaticination of Tsze Shin was not equal to that of Ch'au-tsze. This may show that the



左傳曰：「十五年春，叔孫婁聘於宋，桐門右師見之，詔卑宋人，而賤司城氏。昭了告其人口，右師見亡乎？君了貫其身，而後能及人，是以有禮。今大了卑其大人，而賤其宗，是賤其身也，能有禮乎？無禮必亡。」宋公亨昭了，賦新宮，昭了賦申轄。明日宴飲酒樂，宋公使昭了右坐，詔相泣也。樂祁休退而告人口：「今茲君與叔孫，其皆死乎？台聞之，哀樂而樂哀，皆喪心也，心之精爽，是謂魂魄，魂魄去之，何以能久？」予公若之姊爲小邾夫人，小邾元人，牛了，以妻季子了，昭了如宋聘，目逆之。公若從，謂曹氏勿與，魯將逐之。曹氏告公，公告樂祁，樂祁曰：「與之，如是，魯君必出，政在季氏。」世矣，魯君喪政四公矣，無民而能逞其志者，未之有也。國君是以鎮撫其民，詩曰：「人之云亡，心之憂矣。」魯君失民矣，焉得逞其心？靖以待命，猶可動必變。

夏會丁黃父，謀卜字也。趙簡了令諸侯之人夫輸一粟，其成人曰：「明年將納土了。」人叔見趙簡了，簡了問揖讓周旋之禮焉。對曰：「是儀也，非禮也。」簡了曰：「敢問何謂禮？」對曰：「占也。」聞諸先人大了，產口：「夫禮，人之經也，地之義也，民之行也。人地之經，而民實則之，則人之明，因地之性，牛其六氣，用其五行，氣爲五味，發爲五色，章爲九聲，淫則昏亂，民失其性，是故爲禮以奉之，爲六畜，牛牡犧以奉五味，爲九文，六采，牛章以奉五色，爲九歌，八風，七音，六律，以奉五聲，爲君臣，牛卜以則地義，爲夫婦，外內以經。物爲父子，兄弟，姑姊，甥舅，昏媾，姻亞，以象人明，爲政事，庸力，行務，以從四時，爲刑罰，威獄，使民畏忌，以類其震曜殺戮，爲溫慈惠和，以效天之小殖，長育民，有好惡，喜怒，哀樂，牛於六氣，是故審則官類，以制六志，哀有哭泣，樂有歌舞，喜有施舍，怒有戰鬪，喜牛於好，怒生於惡，是故審行信令，禍福賞罰，以制死牛，牛好物也，死惡物也，好物樂也，惡物哀也，哀樂不失，乃能協於人地之性，是以長久。」簡了曰：「甚哉禮之大也。」對曰：「禮，牛牛之紀，人地之經緯也，民之所以小也，是以先牛向之，故人之能自曲直以赴禮者，謂之成人，人不亦官乎？」簡了口：「鞅也。」請終身守此二言也。宋樂人人心曰：「我不輸粟，我於周爲客，若之何使客？」晉牛伯曰：「自踐牛以來，宋何役之不會，而何盟之不同？」曰：「同恤牛字了。」焉得辟之了？牛君

命以會大事而宋背盟無乃不可乎。右師不敢對。受牒而退。士伯告簡子曰。宋右師必亡。奉君命以便而欲得盟以干盟主。無不祥大焉。

有鸛鵒來巢。書所無也。師己曰。異哉。吾聞文成之世。童謠有之。曰。鸛之鵒之。公出辱之。鸛鵒之羽。公在外野往饋之馬。鸛鵒踈踈。公在乾侯。徵寡與鵒。鵒之巢遠哉。遙遙禍父喪勞。宋父以驕。鸛鵒往歌來哭。童謠有是。今鸛鵒來巢。其將及乎。

秋。書再。零。旱。甚。也。

初。季公鳥娶妻於齊鮑文子。生申。公鳥死。季公亥與公思展與公鳥之臣中夜姑相其室。及季嬖與襄人檀通而懼。乃使其妾挾己以示秦遄之妻。曰。公若欲使余余不可而挾余。又訴於公甫。曰。展與夜姑將娶余。秦姬以告公之。公之與公甫告平子。平子拘展於卞。而執夜姑。將殺之。公若泣而哀之。曰。殺是。是殺余也。將爲之請。平子使暨勿內日中。不得請。有司逆命。公之使速殺之。故公若怨平子。季郈之難。閔季氏介其難。郈氏爲之金距。平子怒。益官於郈氏。且讓之。故郈昭伯亦怨平子。臧昭伯之從弟會。爲隲於臧氏。而逃於季氏。臧氏執旃。平子怒。拘臧氏。老將禘於襄公萬者二八。其衆萬於季氏。臧孫曰。此之謂不能庸先君之廟。大夫遂怨平子。公若獻弓於公爲。且與之出射於外。而謀去季氏。公爲告公果。公貴公果。公賁使侍人僚祖告公公寢。將以戈擊之。乃走。公曰。執之。亦無命也。懼而不出。數月不見。公不怒。又使言公執戈以懼之。乃走。又使言公曰。非小人之所及也。公果自言。公以告臧孫。臧孫以難告郈孫。郈孫以可。勸告子家懿。伯懿伯曰。說人以君微幸事。若不克君受其名。不可爲也。舍民數世以求克事。不可必也。且政在焉。其難圖也。公退之。辭曰。臣與聞命矣。言若洩。臣不獲死。乃館於公叔孫昭子如闕公居於長府。九月戊戌。伐季氏。殺公之於門。遂入之。平子登臺而謂曰。君不察臣之罪。使有司討臣以干戈。臣請待於沂上。以察罪。弗許。請囚於費。弗許。請以五乘亡。弗許。子家子曰。君其許之。



政自之出久矣，隱民多取食焉，爲之徒者衆矣。日入慙作，弗可知也。衆怒不可蓄也，蓄而弗治，將湍湍蓄，民將牛心，生心同求，將合，君必悔之。弗聽。郈孫曰：「必殺之。」公使郈孫逆孟懿了。叔孫氏之司馬黧戾曰：「於其衆曰：『若之何？』莫對。又曰：『我家臣也，不敢知國。』凡有季氏與無，於我孰利？皆曰：『無季氏，是無叔孫氏也。』黧戾曰：『然則救諸帥，徒以往，陷西北隅以入，公徒釋甲執冰而踞，遂逐之。』孟氏使登西北隅以望季氏，見叔孫氏之旌，以告。孟氏執郈昭伯，殺之於南門之西，遂伐公徒了。家了曰：『諸臣僞以君者，而負罪以出，君止意如之事君也，不敢不改。』公曰：『余不忍也。』與臧孫如墓謀，遂行。己亥，公孫了齊，次了陽州。

齊侯將唁公了平陰，公先了了野井。齊侯曰：「寡人之罪也，使有司待於平陰，爲近故也。」書曰：「公孫了齊，次了陽州。」齊侯唁公了野井，禮也。將求於人，則先了之禮之吉物也。齊侯曰：「自昌疆以出，請致下社以待君命。」寡人將帥敝賦以從執事，唯命是聽。君之憂，寡人之憂也。公喜了。家了曰：「人祿不再，人君胙君，不過周公以魯足矣。失魯而以了社爲臣，誰與之立？且齊君無信，不如早之首。」弗從。臧昭伯率從者將盟，載書曰：「戮力壹心，好惡同之。信罪之有無，繡繡從公，無通外內，以公命了。家了了。家了曰：『如此台不可以盟，羈也不佞，不能與一。』了同心，而以爲皆有罪，或欲通外內，目欲去君。了。好亡而惡定，焉可同也。陷君於難，罪孰人焉？通外內而去君，君將速入，弗通何爲？而何守焉？乃不與盟。

昭了自鬪歸，見了了。了了稽顙曰：「了若我何？」昭了曰：「人誰不死？了以逐君成名，了孫不忘，不亦傷乎？將若了何？」了了曰：「苟使意如得改事君，所謂了死而肉骨也。」昭了從公於齊，與公了。家了了命適公館者執之，公與昭了。了於幄內，了將安衆而納公。公徒將殺昭了，伏諸道。左師展告公，公使昭了自鑄歸。了了有畏心，冬十一月辛酉，昭了齊於其寢，使祝宗祈死，戊辰，了左師展將以公乘馬而歸，公徒執之。

○丁卯，尹文公涉於鞏，焚東訾，弗克。

十一月，宋元公將爲公，故如晉。夢弋子欒卽位於廟，已與平公服而相之。旦，召六卿曰：「寡人不佞，不能事父兄，以爲二三子憂，寡人之罪也。若以羣子之靈，獲保首領以歿，唯是編禘所以藉幹者，請無及先君仲幾對曰：『君若以社稷之故，私降昵宴羣臣，弗敢知。』若夫宋國之法，死生之度，先君有命矣。羣臣以死守之，弗敢失隊。臣之失職，常刑不赦。臣不忍其死，君命祇辱宋公，遂行。己亥卒于曲棘。」

十二月庚辰，齊侯圍郕。

○初，臧昭伯如晉，臧會竊其寶龜，僂句以卜爲信，與僭僭吉。臧氏老將如晉間，會請往。昭伯問家故，盡對。及內子與母弟叔孫，則不對。再三問不對，歸及郊，會逆問。又如初。至次於外而祭之，皆無之。執而戮之，逸奔邱。邱劬假使爲賈，正焉計於季氏。臧氏使五人以戈楯伏桐汝之間，會出逐之，反奔。執諸季氏中門之外。平子怒曰：「何故以兵入吾門拘臧氏老？」季臧有惡及昭伯從公。平子立臧會，會曰：「僂句不余欺也。」

○楚子使選賂城州屈復茄人焉。城丘皇，選管人焉，使熊相讓郭巢。季然郭卷子犬叔聞之曰：「楚王將死矣，使民不安其土，民必憂。」遂將及王，弗能久矣。

- XXV 1 In the [duke's] twenty fifth year, in spring, Shuh-sun Shay went to Sung
- 2 In summer, Shuh E had a meeting with Chaou Yang of Tsai, Yoh Ta sin of Sung, Pih kung He of Wei, Yeh Keih of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'au, Choo, T'ang, Séeh, and Little Choo, in Hwang foo
- 3 Grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the first Sin day there was a great sacrifice for rain. On the last Sin day, we sacrificed for rain again
- 5 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, the duke retired to Ts'e. He halted at Yang-chow
- 6 The marquis of Ts'e came to condole with the duke in Yay tsing
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Mow-shun, Shuh-sun Shay died
- 8 In the eleventh month, on Ke hae, Tso, duke of Sung, died in K'eh keih
- 9 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e took Yun

Par 1 The Chuen, which Maou K'e-ling says that he cannot understand, as introduced here, says — 'This spring, Shuh-sun Ch'oh having gone to Sung on a complimentary mission, the master of the Right, who lived near the T'ung gate, visited him, and spoke meanly of the great officers of the State, and especially so of the minister of Works. Ch'au-tsze told his people about the conversation, saying, "The master of the Right will, probably, have to flee from the State. The superior man tries to dignify his own person, and then goes on to dignify others, he thereby observes the rules of propriety. But the master vilifies the great officers [of his State], and speaks contemptuously of the Head of his own surname. He is thereby treating his own person with contempt, and can he have any rules of propriety? But without those rules, he is sure to come to ruin."

'The duke of Sung gave Ch'au tsze a public reception, and sang the *Sin kung* (A lost ode), to which Ch'au-tsze responded with the *Keu heah* (II vii ode IV). Next day, at the feast, when they were merry with drinking, the duke made him sit on his right, when they wept as they talked together. Yoh K'e was assisting [at the ceremonies], and reported this to others, when he had retired, saying, "This year both our ruler and Shuh-sun are likely to die. I have heard that joy in the midst of grief and grief in the midst of joy are signs of a loss of mind. The essential vigour and brightness of the mind is what we call the *hwān* and the *pih*. When these leave it, how can the man continue long?"

'The sister of Ke Kung-joh (An uncle of Ke P'ing-tsze) was the wife of [the viscount of] Little Choo, and the mother of the wife of [duke] Yuen of Sung. [She, again,] bore a daughter, who was now being given as wife to Ke P'ing tsze. Ch'au-tsze, having come to Sung on his complimentary mission, was also to receive her, [and conduct her to Loo]. Kung-joh was in his suite, and said to the lady Ts'au (The duchess) that she should not give [her daughter to P'ing-tsze] for that Loo was going to expel him. She reported this to the duke who stated it to Yoh K'e. "You will do right," was that officer's reply, "in giving her to him. The ruler of Loo will have to quit his State. The government of it has been for three generations in the hands of the Ke (Wān-tsze Hāng-foo, Woo-tsze Suh, and now P'ing-tsze E-joo). Four rulers of [the House of] Loo have now lost the control of the government (Seuen, Ch'ing, Seang, and Ch'au). There has not been a case when [the ruler] could carry out his will without the people. The ruler of a State should on this account be the protector and comforter of his people. The ode (III in ode X 6) says,

'The men are not,—  
It is the sorrow of my heart'

The ruler of Loo has lost the people, how can he get his will? If he keep quiet, and wait the issue of events, he may get on, any movement will be to his sorrow."

Par 2 Here and afterwards Kung and Kuh have 叔倪 for 叔詣. In the same way, Kung-yang has 廿心 for 人心. Shuh E was the son of Shuh Yang,—see on XXIII 2. Hwang-foo was another name for the Hih-jang

of VII vii 5. This meeting here was that given notice of in the previous year,—see the 2d narrative there after par 3.

The Chuen says — 'In summer, a meeting was held at Hwang-foo, to consult about the royal House. Ch'au K'ien-tsze [of T'uin] (Ch'au Yang) gave orders to the great officers of the various States to contribute grain to the king, and to provide men to guard his territory, saying, "Next year we will in state him."

'Tsze-t'ac-shuh had an interview with Ch'au K'ien-tsze, and was asked by him about the ceremonies of bowing, yielding precedence, and moving from one position to another. "These," said Tsze-t'ac-shuh "are matters of deportment, and not of ceremony." "Allow me to ask," said K'ien-tsze, "what we are to understand by ceremonies." The reply was, "I have heard our late great officer Tsze-ch'ian say, 'Ceremonies [are founded in] the regular procedure of Heaven, the right phenomena of earth, and the actions of men.' Heaven and earth have their regular ways, and men take these for their pattern, imitating the brilliant bodies of Heaven, and according with the natural diversities of the earth. [Heaven and Earth] produce the six atmospheric conditions and make use of the five material elements. Those conditions [and elements] become the five tastes, are manifested in the five colours, and displayed in the five notes. When these are in excess, there ensue obscurity and confusion, and the people lose their [proper] nature. The rules of ceremony were therefore framed to support [that nature]. There were the six domestic animals, the five beasts [of the chase], and the three [classes of] victims, to maintain the tastes. There were the nine [emblematic] ornaments [of robes] (See the Shoo, II iv 4), with their six colours and five methods of display, to maintain the five colours. There were the nine songs, the eight winds, the seven sounds, and the six pitch-pipes, to maintain the five notes. There were ruler and minister, high and low, in imitation of the distinctive characteristics of the earth. There were husband and wife, with the home and the world abroad, the spheres of their respective duties. There were father and son, elder and younger brother, aunt and sister, maternal uncles and aunts, father-in-law and connexions of one's children with other members of their mother's family, and brothers-in-law,—to resemble the bright luminaries of heaven. There were duties of govt and administration, services specially for the people, [legislative] vigour, the force of conduct, and attention to what was required by the times,—in accordance with the phenomena of the four seasons. There were punishments and penalties, and the terrors of legal proceedings, making the people stand in awe, resembling the destructive forces of thunder and lightning. There were mildness and gentleness, kindness and harmony, in imitation of the producing and nourishing action of Heaven. There were love and hatred, pleasure and anger, grief and joy, produced by the six atmospheric conditions. Therefore [the sage kings] carefully imitated these relations and analogies [in forming ceremonies], to regulate those six impulses. To grief there belong crying and tears, to joy, songs and dancing, to pleasure, beneficence, to anger, fighting and struggling. Pleasure is born of love, and anger of hatred. Therefore

[the sage kings] were careful judges of their conduct, and sincere in their orders, appointing misery and happiness, rewards and punishments, to regulate the death and life [of the people] Life is a good thing; death is an evil thing. The good thing brings joy; the evil thing gives grief. When there is no failure in the joy and grief, we have a state in harmony with the nature of Heaven and Earth, which consequently can endure long.

K'ên-tze said, "Extreme is the greatness of ceremonies!" Ceremonies, replied Tze-tse-shuh, "determine the relations of high and low: they are the warp and woof of Heaven and Earth; they are the life of the people. Hence it was that the ancient kings valued them, and hence it is that the man who can now bend, now straighten, himself so as to accord with ceremony is called a complete man. Right is it that ceremonies should be called great! K'ên-tze said, "I would wish all my life to keep these words in mind, [and observe them]."

Yoh Tai in of Sung said, "We shall not contribute grain; our [dukes] are guests of Chow—how can such a thing be required of guests?" Sze Pih said, "Since [the covenant of] T'âien 't'oo, what service has there been in which Sung has not shared? what covenant in which it has not taken part? It was then said that the States should together support the royal House. How can you evade this condition? You are here by the command of your ruler to join in the great business in hand—would it not be improper for Sung to violate the covenant? The master of the Right did not dare to reply but received the schedule, and retired.

Sze Pih reported the incident to K'ên-tze, saying, "The master of the Right of Sung is sure to become an exile. Bearing his ruler's orders as a commissioner here, he wished to break the covenant and thereby come into collision with the lord of ceremonies. There could be nothing more inauspicious than this.

Par 3. Kung yang has <sup>454</sup> instead of <sup>455</sup> K'eu-yuh was the ancient name for the mino grackle which is now commonly called the *pek-to* (八哥). Tse-shu says the record is of a thing previously unknown, and Yen Sze-koo observes that while the mino is found in many places in China, it does not cross the Tse river and was therefore not found in Loo. Too further lays stress on the <sup>456</sup> as meaning to build a nest in a tree, which is contrary to the habits of the mino, which breeds in holes in walls and banks; so that there were in the phenomenon of the text two prodigies. Too Chuen gives a ridiculous narrative:—Sze Ke said, "How strange! I have heard that in the times of [the dukes] Wan and Ch'ing the boys had a ditty which said,

Here are grackles apace!  
The duke flies in disgrace.  
Look at the grackles winged  
To the wilds the duke flings,  
A horse ome to him brings,  
Look how the grackles go!  
In Kan-how he is low  
Wants coat and trousers now  
Behold the grackles nest!

Far off the duke doth rest.  
Chow foo has lost his state,  
Sung foo comes proud and great.  
O the grackles so strange!  
The songs to weeping change.

So ran the ditty and now the grackles are here, and building their nests. Is the [other thing] about to happen?

The flight of duke Ch'ao from Loo was near at hand. We may be sure it had taken place before the above ditty was composed and the appearance of the grackles received its interpretation.

Par 4. On the sacrifice for rain see the Chuen on II v 7. The 6th month of Chow or the 4th of Hsü, was the season for it but there is no difficulty in conceiving of its occurrence shortly after in the 7th month of Chow. As there are three ~~six~~ days in every month, the last must have been near the beginning of the 7th month.—Ying tah makes it out to have been this year the 8d day of it. The repetition of the sacrifice indicates, as Tse says, the greatness of the drought (旱甚). Kung yang's idea, that the second sacrifice was a feint to bring the people together with the intention of at' k' g and expelling Ke-sun, is inadmissible.

Par 5. For 己亥 K'uh-liang has 乙亥 On the euphemism of 孫 (= 遜) for 奔 see

on III. 1.2 Kung yang has 楊 for 陽 Yang chow was in the north-east of the present Tung p'ing Chow (東平州), dep. of T'ao-gan. It had originally belonged to Loo but was taken by Tse, we may presume in the 21st year of duke Seang. It was therefore a kind of border city and here the duke stayed his flight for a time until he could ascertain the mind of the marquis of Tse regarding him.

The Chuen says—Before this, Ke Kung n'iao (An uncle of Ke-sun P'ing-tze, by a concubine of his grandfather) had married a daughter of Pao Wan-tze of Tse, who bore to him [a son] Shin; and on Kung n'iao's death [his brother] Kung hae with his stew and Shin Yih koo, and Kung sze Chen (Also a Ke), undertook the management of his house. By and by [his widow] Ke Sze had an intrigue with her cook Shen; and becoming afraid, she made a concubine beat her and then showed the marks to the wife of T'ain Ch'uen (A great officer of Loo whose wife was a sister of Kung n'iao), saying "Kung joh (Kung-hao) wanted to see me and when I refused, he [thus] beat me." She also complained to Kung foo (A brother of P'ing-tze), that Chen and Yih-koo had tried to force her. T'ain Ke (the wife of T'ain Ch'uen) reported what she had heard to Kung-ch' (Another brother of P'ing-tze), who, along with Kung foo, laid it before P'ing-tze. On this, the minister made Chen a prisoner in P'ien, and seized [also] Yih koo, intending to put him to death. Kung joh wept and bewailed the case saying "To kill these is to kill me. I will make intercession for them. P'ing-tze however, made his waiting boy refuse him admittance, and up to midday he had no opportunity of presenting his request. [In the meantime] the officer in charge of [Yih koo] came to ask for his orders, and Kung-che made him dispatch his prisoner

without delay In consequence of this Kung-joh had a grudge against P'ing-tsze

The cocks of Ke [-sun] and the [Head of the] How [family] were in the habit of fighting Ke-sun sheathed the head of his cock, on which How-she put metal spurs on his In consequence P'ing-tsze was enraged, and increased his own mansion at the expense of that of the other, reproving him besides, and this made How Ch'au-pih also have a grudge at P'ing-tsze

Hwuy, a cousin of Tsang Ch'au-pih, had circulated slanders against Tsang-she, and then fled to Ke-she Tsang-she [attempted to] seize him, but P'ing-tsze was enraged, and made a prisoner of Tsang-she's steward [About this time] it had been arranged to offer the *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke S'ang, but only sixteen dancers were forth-coming, all the rest being employed at Ke-she's On this Tsang-sun said, "This may make us say that we cannot use [the proper ceremonies] in the temple of our late ruler," and this made the great officers have a grudge at P'ing-tsze.

Kung joh presented a bow to Kung-wei (a son of the duke), and went with him to shoot outside the city, when they consulted about doing away with Ke-she Kung-wei informed [his brothers] Kung-kwo and Kung-fun of the design, and they made the attendant Leau-ts'oo communicate it to the duke The duke had been sleeping, and seized a spear to strike the attendant, who ran off The duke said he would seize [the plotters], and though he gave no orders to that effect, they were afraid, and did not come forth, nor see the duke for some months [Finding at the end of that time that] he was not angry with them, they made the attendant speak to him again The duke used a spear to frighten him, when he again ran off A third time they made him speak of the matter, and the duke said, "This is a thing beyond a small man like you" Kung-kwo then spoke himself, and the duke consulted Tsang-sun, who saw the difficulty of the attempt He then communicated it to How-sun, who thought it feasible, and encouraged it He next told it to T'sze-ken E-pih, who said, "They are slanderers who urge your lordship on to such a hazardous thing If it do not succeed, you will receive the name (=blame) of it It is not to be done You and several of your predecessors have lost your hold of the people If you would now seek by means of them to accomplish this object, you cannot be sure of success The government, moreover, is in his hands, and it will be difficult to take measures against him" The duke would have dismissed him, but he declined to go, saying, "I have now been a party to your wishes in this thing If word of it should leak out, I should not be allowed to die a natural death" So he took up his lodging with the duke

Shuh-sun Ch'au-tsze was gone to K'an, and the duke was residing in the Long treasury (See Ana XI xiii) In the 9th month, on Mow-seuh, he attacked Ke-she, and having killed Kung-che in the gate, entered the house P'ing-tsze ascended a tower, and made a request, saying, "Your lordship, without examining into my offences, has sent your officers to punish me with shield and spear Allow me to wait near the E, till my offences are investigated" This

was refused, and he requested that he might be imprisoned in Pe This also was refused, and he then asked to be allowed to leave the country with five chariots, but neither was this granted T'sze-ken-tsze said, "Your lordship should grant his request The government has long been in his hands Many of the suffering people get their food from him His followers are many If traitors rise when the sun has gone down, we cannot know what the result may be The anger of his many [adherents] should not be nourished Nourished and not dealt with, it will accumulate When it is so nourished and accumulated, the people will begin to have new purposes, and they will then unite with those who seek the same objects as he Your lordship will repent of it" The duke did not listen to this counsel, and How-sun strongly urged that P'ing-tsze should be put to death The duke sent him to meet M'ang E-tsze (Chung-sun Ho-ke), [and bring him to him]

[In the meantime], Tsung Le, Shuh-sun's master of the Horse, said to all his people, "What do you think of matters?" No one giving any reply, he said, "I am but an officer of a family, and do not pretend to know about the [business of the] State, but whether will it be better for us that Ke-she be, or that there be no Ke-she?" All replied, "No Ke-she is no Shuh-sun-she Le then said, "Then let us go, and rescue him?" And with this he led his followers off to Ke-she's, burst through the leaguer at the north-west corner, and entered the house The duke's men had put off their buff-coats, and were squatting about, with their quiver bds in their hands, so that they were [easily] driven away M'ang-she made a soldier get up at the north-west corner to see what Ke-she was doing, and when he told him that he saw Shuh-sun's flag, M'ang-she seized How Ch'au-pih and killed him on the west of the south gate, after which he attacked the duke's men T'sze-ken-tsze said, "All we officers who have on false pretences forced the duke to this will leave the State with our offence upon our heads Let your lordship remain E-joo will now feel himself compelled to change his conduct in the service of your lordship" The duke said, "I cannot bear to do it" He then went with Tsang-sun to the tombs, and took counsel with him, after which he took his departure On Ke-hae he withdrew to T's'e, halting in Yang-chow

This flight of duke Ch'au was mainly the result of his own weakness and incapacity During all his rule, he had enjoyed only the name of marquis The power of the State had been in the hands of the three clans, and principally in those of the Ke-sun, and in this condition things might have gone on P'ing-tsze was not prepared to seize the State for himself, and Ch'au precipitated his own fate

Par 6 Yay-tsing was a city of T's'e, in the east of the pres dis of T's'e-ho (齊河), dep Tse-nan The marquis of T's'e, we shall see, proposed to meet the duke in P'ing-yin, but Ch'au went as far as Yay-tsing, to shorten his host's journey 唁 means to condole with the living, and so is distinguished from 弔, to con-

dole on occasion of a death (唁者弔也)  
生事曰唁 死事曰弔)

The Chuen says:—The marquise of Ts'e having just died to condole with the duke in P'ing yin, the duke advanced beyond that place to Yay-tai g. The marquise said, "This is my fault. I ordered my officers to wait [for you] in P'ing yin, because it was near [to Yang chow]." What the text says about the duke's halting in Yang-chow and the marquise's condoling with him in Yay tsing describes what was proper. When one has anything to seek from another it is a good thing in *ju-pi* kety to take the initiative in being humble to him.

The marquise said, "From the borders of K'ou to the west, I will surrender to you the territory of 25,000 families, and await your lordship's further commands. I will then lead my poor levies, and follow your officers, obedient to whatever you command. Your grief is my grief." The duke was glad; but Tsze-k'ea tsze said to him, "Heaven's bounties are not repeated. The gift of Heaven to your lordship should not exceed that to the duke of Chow. Loo is sufficient. If you lose Loo, and with this territory become a subject of Ts'e, who will stand along with you? And moreover the ruler of Ts'e is devoid of good faith,—you had better soon go to Tsin. This counsel the duke would not follow. Tsang Ch'ou pih, at the head of the [other] followers, opposed to me as a consultant. The words of it were, "With our utmost strength, and with one heart, we shall cherish the same likings and dislikes, make it clear who are criminals and who are not. We will follow the duke and not separate ourselves from him, nor will we allow any communication between us here abroad and those who are in Loo." By the duke's orders, he showed this to Tsze-k'ea tsze, who said, "On these terms I cannot take the covenant. In my want of ability I cannot be of the same mind with you all, and must think that all are criminals. Perhaps I may wish to communicate from abroad with those in Loo, and may wish to leave our ruler. You all love your exile and dislike any settlement;—how can we be of one mind? What could be a greater crime than to have taught our ruler into his difficulties? If we open a communication with Loo, and leave our ruler he will soon enter Loo [again]. If we do not open such communication, what shall we do? And what shall we guard?" Accordingly he did not take part in the covenant.

Par 7. The Chuen says:—Ch'ou tsze returned from K'an (See the narrative on par 5), and went to see P'ing-tze, who bowed his forehead before him to the ground, and said, "What do you think of me?" Ch'ou tsze said, "What man is there but must die? You have given the final thing touch to your name by expelling our ruler. Your death is will not forget it.—Is it not a sore subject? P'ing tze went on, "If you can bring it about that I have an opportunity to serve our ruler in a different manner from the past you will be giving, as we say life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones.

[After this], Ch'ou-tze followed the duke to Ts'e and conferred with him, Tsze-k'ea-tsze causing all who went to the duke's lodging to be seized, [lest they should discover what was

going on]. They spoke together inside a tent, and Ch'ou tsze proposed to dispose [somehow] of all [his followers], and to restore the duke [alone]. The followers wished to kill Ch'ou tsze, and placed men in ambush for the purpose in the way [by which he must return to Loo]; but Chen, the master of the Left, told the duke of their plan, who made Ch'ou tsze return by way of Choo. [Notwithstanding this], P'ing tze was [now] of a different mind; and in winter in the 10th month, on Sin-yew Ch'ou tsze feasted in his chamber and made his priest and the keeper of his ancestral temple pray that he might die. On Mow-shin (The 7th day after) he died. Chen, the master of the Left, was going to return with the duke on horseback to Loo; but the other followers seized and held him.

[The Chuen gives here a short note about the *ju-pi* case of the struggle in Chow:—On Jin-shin, duke Wan of Yin crossed [the Loh] Ito Kung, and [attempted to] set fire to Tung tze but his attempt was unsuccessful.]

Par 8. K'eah keli, was a city of Sung.—In the present dia. of K'eah (欒), dep. K'eah-fung. The Chuen says:—In the 11th month, the duke of Sung was preparing to go to Tsin on the duke's account, when he dreamt that his eldest son, Luan, was succeeding to the dukedom in the temple, and that he himself and [his father], duke P'ing were attending on him in their full robes. In the morning, he called the six ministers together and said to them, "In my want of ability I was not able to serve my uncles and elder brothers, [as I ought to do] (Referring to the events in XX. 4 *et al.*), to the grief of yourselves—this was my fault. If by your powerful help I preserve my head and neck till I die a natural death, then let the board in my coffin on which my limbs are stretched not equal that used for my predecessors." Chung k'eh replied, "If your grace, for the sake of the altars, should privately diminish any of the accompaniments of your feast, we your servants, should not presume to take any knowledge of it. But as to the laws of the State of Sung, and the rules for life and death, these are the ordinances of our former rulers. Your servants must keep to them to the death; we dare not fall in observing them. There are regular punishments for such failure as an unpardonable offence. Your servants dare not incur such a death; your order would only disgrace us."

After this the duke went on his journey; but on Ko-hae, he died in K'eah keli.

Par 9. Yun,—see VI. xii. 8, *et al.* Tao says the marquise of Ts'e laid siege to Yun. We must understand that he did so in the interest of duke Ch'ou, so that the people yielded the city at once, and the text simply says he took it.

[The Chuen gives here two narratives. 1st, about the Tsang-san family "At an earlier period, Tsang Ch'ou pih had gone to Tsin, when Tsang Huiy stole his valued tortoise-shell of Loo-ken, and consulted it as to whether a course of good faith or its opposite would be better for him. The answer was in favour of a deceitful course. The steward of Tsang-ken wanted to go to Tsin to ask him [about some matters], and Huiy begged to go instead. Ch'ou pih asked him about [other] affairs of his family and he told him everything; but when he asked him about

his wife, and his full brother Shuh-sun, he gave him no reply. Thrice he asked in this way, and when on his return Hwuy met him in the suburbs, he asked him again, and got no answer. On his arrival he halted outside [his house], and made inquiries, to find that there was nothing the matter with those parties, on which he seized and disgraced Hwuy who fled to Hlo. Fang Kea of Hlo made him superintendent of the market there. When he had carried his accounts to Ke-she, Tsang-she made five men, with spear and shield, lie in wait for him in the T'ung-joo street. When he came forth, they pursued him, on which he turned, and fled, but was seized outside the central gate of Ke-she's mansion. "Why do ye enter my gate with arms," said P'ing-tsze, enraged,

and he [seized and] confined Tsang-she's steward. This produced ill will between the two officers, and when Ch'au-pih followed the duke, P'ing-tsze gave his place to Hwuy, who then said, "The Leu-ken did not deceive me!"

2d, about Ts'oo — 'The viscount of Ts'oo made Wei Shay wall Chow-k'uh, and bring back the people of Kea to it, and wall K'w-hwang, and remove the people of Tsze to it. He also made Heung S'ang-mei wall round the suburbs of Ch'au, and Ke Jen do the same with those of Keuen. When Tsze-t'ie-shuh heard of these things, he said, "The king of Ts'oo will [soon] die. He is not allowing the people to rest in their settlements, which must make them sad and distressed. The distress will reach the king, — he cannot continue long."

*Twenty-sixth year.*

二十六年春正月，葬宋元公。二月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。三月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。四月，公會齊侯，莒子，邾子，杞伯，盟秋。丁鄆。五月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。六月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。七月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。八月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。九月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。十月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。十一月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。十二月，公至自齊，居丁鄆。

左傳曰：二十六年春，葬宋元公。如先君禮也。庚申，齊侯取鄆。月，公至自齊，處丁鄆。魯地也。夏，齊侯將納公，命無受魯貨。中豐從安賞以幣錦一兩，縛如填，適齊師，謂了猶之人高齧，能貨了猶，為高氏後，災力下庚。高齧以錦，了猶了猶，欲之齧，魯人買之，白兩布，以道之不通，先入幣財，了猶受之，於齊。

侯曰：羣臣不盡力於魯君者，非不能事君也，然據有異焉。宋元公爲魯君如晉，卒於曲棘，叔孫昭子求納其君，無疾而死，不知天之棄魯耶？抑魯君有罪於鬼神，故及此也？君若待於曲棘，使羣臣從魯君以下，焉？若可師有濟也，君而繼之，茲無敵矣。若其無成，君無辱焉。齊侯從之，使公子鉅帥師從公。成大夫公孫朝謂平子曰：「有都以衛國也，請我受師許之，請納質弗許。」曰：「信效足矣，告於齊師。」曰：「孟氏，魯之敝室也，用成已甚，弗能忍也。」請息肩於齊。齊師圍成，成人伐齊師之飲馬於淄者，曰：「將以厭衆。」魯成備而後告，曰：「不勝衆師及齊師戰於炊鼻。齊子淵捷從洩聲子射之，中楯瓦，繇胸汰輶，七入者三十。聲子射其馬，斬鞅，殪敗駕，人以爲驪戾也，而助之。子車曰：「齊人也，將墜子車子車射之，殪其御。」曰：「又之子車曰：「衆可懼也，而不可怒也。子囊帶從野洩叱之，洩曰：「軍無私怒報乃私也，將亢子又叱之，亦叱之，再墜射陳武子中手，失弓而罵以告平子，曰：「有君子，白皙顰眉甚口平子曰：「必子彊也，無乃亢諸？」對曰：「謂之君子，何敢亢之？」林雍羞爲顏鳴，右下苑，何忌取其耳，顏鳴去之。苑子之御曰：「視下苑苑子刺林雍，斷其足，鑿而乘於他車，以歸。顏鳴三入齊師，呼曰：「林雍乘。」

○四月，單子如晉告急。五月戊午，劉人敗王城之師於尸氏。戊辰，王城人劉人戰於施谷，劉師敗績。

秋盟于鄆，陵謀納公也。

○七月，己巳，劉子以王出。庚午，次於渠。王城人焚劉。丙子，王宿於楮氏。丁丑，王次於荏谷。庚辰，王入於胥靡。辛巳，王次於滑。晉知轅趙鞅帥師納王，使女寬守闕塞。

九月，楚平王卒，令尹子常欲立子西。曰：「犬子壬弱，其母非適也。王子建實聘之，子西長而好善，立長則順，建善則治。王順國治可不務乎？」子西怒曰：「是亂國而害君王也。國有外援，不可潰也。王有適嗣，不可亂也。敗親速讐，亂嗣不祥。我受其名，賂吾以天下，吾滋不從也。」楚國何爲必殺令尹？令尹懼乃立昭王。

冬十月，丙申，王起師於滑。辛丑，在郊，遂次於尸。十一月，辛酉，晉師克羣，召伯盈逐王子朝。王子朝及召氏之族，



毛伯得尹氏固南宮豎奉周之典籍以介楚陰忌介莒以叛。召伯逆之於尸及劉了。單了盟遂軍圍澤。次於隄上。癸酉。入於成周。甲戌。盟於襄宮。首師使成公般成周而還。一。月。癸未。入於莊宮。了朝使告於諸侯。曰。昔武王克殷。成王靖四方。康王息民。竝建母弟。以蕃屏周。亦曰。台無專亨文武之功。且爲後人之迷敗傾覆。而溺入於難。則振救之。至於夷王。一愆於厥身。諸侯莫不竝走其望。以祈一身。至於厲王。一心戾虐。萬民弗忍。居於殛。諸侯釋位。以閒一政。官一有志。而後效官。至於幽王。人不弔周。一昏不若。用愆厥位。攜一奸命。諸侯替之。而建一嗣。用遷郝。則是兄弟之能用力於一室也。至於惠王。人不靖周。一頌禍心。施於叔帶。惠襄辟難。越去一都。則有首。鄭咸黜不端。以綏定一室。則是兄弟之能率先王之命也。在定一六年。秦人降妖。曰。周具有頌。一亦克能修其職。諸侯服享。一。世其職。一室具有問。一。諸侯不圖。而受其亂災。至於靈王。牛而有頌。一。甚神聖。無惡於諸侯。靈王景王克終其世。今一室亂。單旗劉狄剝亂人。卜。壹行不若。謂先王何常之有。唯余心所命。其誰敢討之。帥羣不弔之人。以行亂於一室。侵欲無厭。規求無度。冒瀆鬼神。慢棄刑法。信奸齊盟。傲狠威儀。矯誣先王。晉爲不道。是攝是贊。思肆其罔極。茲不穀震蕩播越。竄在荆蠻。未有攸底。若我。一兄弟甥舅。獎順人法。無助狡猾。以從先王之命。毋速大罰。赦圖不穀。則所願也。敢盡布其腹心。及先王之經。而諸侯實深圖之。昔先王之命曰。十石無適。則擇立長。年鈞以德。德鈞以下。一不立愛。公卿無私。占之制也。穆后及人了。壽早夭。卽世。單劉贊私。立少。以閒先王。亦唯伯仲叔。予圖之。閔馬父聞了朝之辭。曰。文辭以行禮也。了朝丁景之命。遠首之人。以專其心。無禮甚矣。文辭何爲。

○齊有昔早。齊侯使驪之。晏了曰。無益也。祇取誣焉。人道不謬。不貳其命。若之何。驪之。且大之有哲也。以除穢也。君無穢德。又何驪焉。若德之穢。驪之何損。詩曰。惟此文王。小心翼翼。昭事上帝。丰懷多福。厥德不回。以受方國。君無違德。方國將至。何忠於詩。曰。我無所監。夏后及商。用亂之故。民卒流亡。若德回亂。民將流亡。祝史之

爲無能補也。公說乃止。  
 齊侯與晏子坐於路寢。公歎曰：「美哉室，其誰有此乎？」晏子曰：「敢問何謂也？」公曰：「吾以爲在德。」對曰：「如君之言，其陳氏乎？陳氏雖無大德而有施於民，豆區釜鍾之數，其取之公也薄，其施之民也厚，公厚斂焉，陳氏厚施焉，民歸之矣。」時曰：「雖無德與女，式歌且舞。」陳氏之施，民歌舞之矣。後世若少惰，陳氏而不亡，則國其國也已。公曰：「善哉！」是，可若何？對曰：「唯禮可以已之，在禮，家施不及國，民不遷，農不移，工賈不變，士不濫，官不洎，大夫不收，公利公曰：「善哉！我不能矣。」吾今而後知禮之可以爲國也。對曰：「禮之可以爲國也久矣，與天地並。」君令臣共，父慈子孝，兄愛弟敬，夫和妻柔，姑慈婦聽，禮也。君令而不違，臣共而不貳，父慈而教，子孝而箴，兄愛而友，弟敬而順，夫和而義，妻柔而正，姑慈而從，婦聽而婉，禮之善物也。公曰：「善哉！」寡人今而後聞此禮之上也。對曰：「先王所稟於天地以爲其民也，是以先王上之。」

- XXVI 1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Yuen of Sung
- 2 In the third month, the duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun
- 3 In summer, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing
- 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, and the earl of K'e, when they made a covenant in Chuen ling
- 5 The duke arrived from the meeting, and resided in Yun
- 6 In the ninth month, on K'ung shun, Keu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.
- 7 In winter in the tenth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] entered Ch'ing chow
- 8 The chief of the House of Yun, and the earls of Shuou and Maou, fled to Ts'oo, having with them the [late] king's son Chaou.

Par 1. Tso observes that duke Yuen was now buried with the same ceremonies as the former rulers of Sung. His request as related under par. 8 of last year was thus not attended to.

[Tso-she here introduces the statement that on K'ung-shun of the 1st month the marquis of Ts'e took Yun. But the concluding par of last year records the taking of Yun; and Tso ill k. It is mentioned here in the Chuen to explain

the fact of the duke's residing in Yun, as stated in the next par. Fuh K'ien however is probably correct in holding that in the 19th month of last year the marquis of Ts'e commenced the siege of Yun, as stated by Tso-she and that the place was not captured till the time now given. This, of course, leaves XXV 9 open to the charge of inaccuracy but we have often met in the text with much greater divergences from fact.]

Par 2 Tso repeats this par with the variation of 處 for 居, adding that it is composed as from the point of view of Loo (魯地), on which Tso remarks that, the duke having now entered within the boundaries of Loo, we have the term 至, 'arrived,' but as he was still not in his capital, we have the name of the place given 齊. The 齊自齊, according to the analogy of other passages, would imply that the duke had been to the capital of Ts'e, and announced his return in the ancestral temple in his own capital. He had not been to the capital of Ts'e, but as he had had an interview with the ruler of that State, the 齊 is held to be justified. There is more difficulty with the use of the 个. Kea K'wei inferred from the term that Ke P'ing-tsze, while keeping the duke in a State of exile, yet made the usual sacrifice and announcement in the temple for him, as if he had been present! This is not at all likely. We may suppose, with Maou, that the duke went through the usual ceremonies, after a fashion, in Yun.

Par 3 Ch'ing,—the city of the M'ang-sun clan, see on IX xi 3, 4. The poor duke was not able to besiege Ch'ing himself, the real assailants were the troops of Ts'e. Because the marquis of Ts'e, however, took no part in the operations in person, and the attempt came to nothing, the text, it is supposed, ignores the action of Ts'e in the matter.

The Chuen says — 'In summer, the marquis of Ts'e, intending to restore the duke, gave orders that [his officers] should not receive any bribes from Loo. Shin Fung, however, followed Joo Kea to the army of Ts'e, carrying with him two pieces of flowered silk, rolled up tight like an ear-stopper, and said to Kaou E, an officer of Tsze-yew (Keu of Leang-k'ew, a great officer of Ts'e), that, if he could bribe him, he should be made successor to the present Head of the Kaou family, and should receive 5000 *yu* of grain [In consequence of this], Kaou E showed the silk to Tsze-yew, who desired to have it, and then E said to him that the people of Loo had bought such silks, made up in 1000 pieces, but that the roads not being open, they had first sent him these as a specimen. Tsze-yew accepted the silks, and said to the marquis, "That your officers do not do their utmost for the ruler of Loo is not because they are unable to serve you, but because of the strange things which have occurred. Duke Yuen of Sung was going on his account to Isin, and died in K'euh-keih. Shuh-sun Ch'ou-tsze was seeking to restore his ruler, when he died without any illness. I do not know whether Heaven has abandoned Loo, or whether the ruler of it has somehow offended the Spirits, in consequence of which these things have happened. If your lordship wait in K'euh-keih, you can send us to follow the ruler of Loo, and form an opinion in the case. If the enterprise be feasible let the force be increased, and you can then follow, — there will be no opposition. If it should not be successful, your lordship need not take the trouble to follow."

'The marquis adopted this advice, and sent the Kung-tsze Ts'oo with a force to follow the

duke. The commandant of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Chaou had said to P'ing-tsze, "I am charged with this great city to defend the State. I beg to be allowed to cope with the enemy." His request was granted, but when he wished to give hostages for his fidelity, P'ing-tsze refused, saying, "I believe you, and that is enough." The commandant then sent word to the army of Ts'e, saying, "The M'ang is a worn-out House of Loo. Its calls upon Ch'ing have been excessive, and we cannot endure them. We ask to be allowed to rest our shoulders [now] on Ts'e." The army of Ts'e then laid siege to Ch'ing, the people of which attacked the soldiers who were watering their horses at the Tsze but [the commandant] said that was done to satisfy the minds of the multitude. But when Loo had completed its preparations, he then sent word that he could not overcome the [reluctance of the] multitude [to surrender].

'The armies of Loo and Ts'e fought at Ch'uy-pe. Tsze-yuen Tsech of Ts'e pursued Seeh Shing-tsze, and discharged an arrow, which hit the ridge of his shield. Passing the yoke, it glanced on the pole, and its point entered [the shield] to the depth of 3 inches. Shing-tsze sent back an arrow, which cut the martingale of one of his [pursuer's] horses, and killed it. Ts'ech was putting another horse to his chariot, and some of the men [of Loo], thinking he was Tsung Le, helped him, on which he (了 甲 is understood to be the same as Ts'ech. It would seem to be so, but we have thus two designations of him, — Tsze-yuen and Tsze-ken) said that he was a man of Ts'e. They were then going to strike at him, but he shot one of them dead. His charioteer cried to him to shoot another, but he said, "The multitude may be frightened, but they should not be enraged." Tsze-nang Tse continued the pursuit of Yai Seeh, shouting out insulting language. Seeh said, "Battle is not the place for such expressions of private anger, in return for such personal conduct, I will fight with you." The other repeated his insults, and Seeh then also answered him in the same way.

'Jen Shoo sent an arrow at Ch'in Woo-tsze, which hit him in the hand so that he let fall his bow, and began reviling. Shoo told this to P'ing-tsze saying, "There is a superior man, with a white face, with thick beard and eyebrows, and an awful mouth." P'ing-tsze said, "It must be Tsze-k'ang. Were you not fighting with him?" "I called him," replied the other, "a superior man, — how should I dare to fight with him?"

Lin Yung was ashamed to remain as spearman on the right of Yen Ming, and descended from the chariot. [When he was on the ground], Yuen Ho-ke cut off one of his ears, on which Yen Ming abandoned him. Yuen-tsze's charioteer said to him, "Look firmly at his feet," and he struck Lin Yung, and cut off one of his feet, after which he got on one leg into another chariot, and went back [to the army of Loo]. Yen Ming thence entered the army of Ts'e, crying out to Lin Yung to get into his chariot.

It does not appear from the Chuen what was the issue of the battle of Ch'uy-pe, but we may conclude that the siege of Ch'ing was fruitless.

[The Chuen resumes the narrative of the distractions in Chow. — In the 4th month, the

viscount of Shen went to Tsin, to report the ugency [of the king's affairs]. In the 8th month on Mow woo, an officer of Lëw defeated an army from the royal city at She-she. On Mow shin an officer of the royal city and one of Lëw fought in She-kuh, when the forces of Lëw suffered a severe defeat.]

Par 4 5. We may presume that Chuen ling was in Tse; but its position has not been determined. The covenant there says Tse, had reference to the plans to restore the duke. It came to nothing however. The duke returned to his residence in Yun. On the 35 in par 5 see on par 2.

[The Chuen continues the narrative about Chow — In the 7th month, on Ke-sze, the viscount of Lëw went forth [from his city] with the king. On Käng woo, they halted in K'eu, and a body of men from the royal city burned Lëw. On Ping tze the king passed the night in Choo-she, and on Ting-chow they halted at Hwan-kuh. On Käng shin the king entered Sou-mei, and on Sin sze he halted at Hwah Che Leih and Chaoü Yang of Tsin led a force to re-establish the king's authority and made Joo K'wan guard the difficult pass of K'ueh.]

Par 6. The Chuen says:— In the 9th month on the death of king P'ing of T'oo, Tze-chang the chief minister wanted to appoint Tze, in his place.

"The heir-son Jin" said he, "is young, nor was his mother the [king's] proper wife, for she had really been contracted to his son K'eu. Tze-sze is old and a lover of what is good. To give the appointment to him as the eldest will be in the order of nature, and when we elect him for his goodness the State will be well governed. Ought we not to make these things of primary regard,—a king in the order of nature and the good government of the State?" Tze-sze was angry and said, "This is to throw the State into confusion, and show hatred of our [late] ruler and king. There is the State which is our support abroad,—it ought not to be insulted. There is the legitimate heir of the king,—he ought not to be disowned. If we set aside the relative [of Tsin], we shall accelerate its enmity. To disown the heir will be inauspicious, and I shall receive the name of the deed. Though you gave me all under heaven, I would still not agree to such a proposal; why should I do it for the State of T'oo? The chief minister must be put to death. On this the minister was afraid, and raised king Ch'aoü in the place [of his father]."

Par 7. The Chuen says — In winter in the 10th month on Ping-shin, the king set out with his troops from Hwah. On Sin-ch'ow he was in K'iaoü, after which he halted in She. In the 11th month, on Sin-yü the army of Tsin reduced Kung, [on which] Ying, earl of Shaoü, drove out the late [king's] son Chaoü, who fled to T'oo, along with members of the House of Shaoü, the earl of Maoü, Koo Head of the House of Yin, and Nan kung Yin, carrying with them the archives of Chow. Yin Ko fled to K'ou, and held it in revolt. The earl of Shaoü met the king at K'ue and made a covenant with the viscounts of Lëw and Shen, and they then proceeded to attack Yu-tai, and halted at T'ou-shang. On Kwei yüw the king entered Ching-chow. On K'ü le-süü a covenant was made in

the temple of [king] Sëang. The army of Tsin [then] returned. Ching kung Pan being left with troops to guard [the territory of] Chow. In the 12th month, on Kwei-we, the king entered the Chwang palace.

"The [late] king's son Chaoü sent an announcement to the various States, saying, "King Woo subdued Yin; king Ching secured tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and king K'ang gave the people rest. They all invested their full brothers with the rule of States, which might serve as defences and screens for Chow. They also felt that they would not enjoy themselves alone the result of the achievements of Wan and Woo and [reasoned] that if any of their descendants went astray or were overthrown, getting plunged into calamity [the princes, their relatives] would succour and save them. By and by king E suffered from an evil disease, and the princes all hurried to sacrifice to their hills and rivers, praying for the king's person. The mind of king Le proved stubborn and tyrannical but the myriads of the people could not bear [to hurt him] and made him take up his residence in Che. [Two of the] princes gave up their own places, that they might attend to the king's government, and when king Shen showed that he had [firm and wise] purpose, they surrendered all their offices to him. After him, in the days of king Yëw Hwa, he had not pity upon Chow. The king blindly pursued an improper course, and lost his throne. Then came king E in violation of the statutes, so that the princes set him aside and raised king [Yëw's] proper heir to the throne, who removed [the capital] to K'äsh juh;—thus were the brothers [of the king] able to employ their strength in support of the royal House."

"In the time of king Hwuy Heaven did not grant tranquillity to Chow and allowed T'uy (See the Chuen after III xix. 4) to be born with his calamitous propensities, which extended subsequently to Shuh tse (See on V xxiv. 4), so that both Hwuy and [king] Sëang had to escape from danger and leave the royal capital. Then Tsin and Ching took off those evil parties, and gave comfort and settlement to the royal House;—thus were our brothers able to fulfil the commands of the former kings."

"In the 6th year of king Ting (The 8th year of duke Senen) there came down among the people in Tsin these ominous utterances — (How shall have a king with moustaches, who will be able to discharge well the duties of his office. The States will be submissive and present their offerings for two reigns attentive to their duties. Then in the royal House will be an intruder on the throne and the princes not taking the [necessary] measures, shall experience disorder and calamity in consequence. When king Ling was born, he had a moustache but he was a king of very spirit like and sage qualities, and had no bad relations with the States. Both he and king King happily finished their reigns. But now the royal House is in confusion. K'ue of Shen and Tih of Lëw have torn all under heaven into disorder violating with an imperious conduct all rules, and saying, The former kings received the throne on no regular law. Let us give out our commands, according to our own mind who will dare to call us to account? They thus led on their

merciless partizans, and threw the royal House into disorder, insatiable in their encroaching desires, covetous beyond all measure, and guilty of disrespect to the Spirits. They insolently cast aside all penal laws, violated the covenants which they had taken, were haughty and violent in their demeanour, and falsified the orders of the former king, while Tsin, against all principle, supported and assisted them, with the intention of allowing them to carry out their allmtable designs.

“[Thus] my unworthy self, in terror and agitation, am driven abroad and am skulking here in King-man (Ts'oo), not knowing what things will come to. If you, my brothers, and relatives of other surnames, will vindicate and obey the laws of Heaven, and not assist those cunning knaves, thus following the rules of the former kings, and not accelerating the approach of Heaven's judgments, but pardoning my unworthy self, and taking measures about me — this is what I desire. I venture to set forth all that is in my heart, and the regular rules of the former kings, that the States may deeply consider it. The instructions of the former kings were to this effect — ‘When the queen has no son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected. Where years are equal, the choice must fall on the most virtuous. Where the virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by the tortoise-shell. The king must not appoint a son [merely] because he loves him, the *lung* and other ministers must not be influenced by their private leanings.’ — these were the ancient rules. The queen Muh and the [late] king's eldest son Shou died prematurely, and left the world (See the Chuen after XV 4). Shen and Lëw selfishly aided and appointed a younger son, in violation of the rule of the former kings, which is matter for all you princes, old and young, to take action upon.”

‘When Min Ma-foo heard this notification of Chiaou the [late] king's son, he said ‘It is right that such notifications should be circulated. But Chiaou violated the charge of [king] King, and kept aloof from the great Tsin, seeking his own exclusive aim, — he has been guilty of the greatest impropriety. What can this composition do?’”

[There follow here two narratives, having reference to Ts'e — ‘There appeared a comet in Ts'e, and the marquis gave orders for a deprecatory sacrifice. Gan-tsze said to him, “It is of no use, you will only practise a delusion. There is no uncertainty in the ways of Heaven, it does not waver in its purposes — why should you offer a deprecatory sacrifice? Moreover, there is a broom-star in the sky, — it is for the removal of dirt. If your lordship have nothing about your conduct that can be so described, what have you to deprecate? If you have, what will it be diminished by your deprecation? The ode (She, III I ode II 3), says,

‘Then this king Wan,  
Watchfully and reverently,  
Did bright service to God  
So did he secure great blessing  
His virtue was without deflection,  
And he received the allegiance of the  
States from all quarters.’

Let your lordship do nothing contrary to virtue, and from all quarters the States will come to

you, — why should you be troubled about a comet? The ode (A lost ode) says,

‘I have no beacon to look at,  
[But] the sovereigns of Hea and Shang.  
It was because of their disorders  
That the people fell away from them.’

If the conduct be evil and disorderly, the people are sure to fall away, and nothing that priests and historiographers can do will mend the evil.” The marquis was pleased, and stopped the sacrifice.’

2d ‘The marquis of Ts'e was sitting with Gan-tsze in his State-chamber, and said, “How beautiful is this chamber! Who will have it [hereafter]?” “Allow me to ask,” said Gan-tsze, “what you mean.” “I suppose,” the marquis replied, “the possession of this will depend on [men's] virtue.” The minister said, “According to what your lordship says, the possessor will perhaps be Head of the Ch'in family. Although that family has not great virtue, it dispenses bounties to the people. The *tow* the *qow*, the *foo*, and the *chung*, with which it receives [its payments] from the State are small (See the 1st narrative after III 1), but those with which it gives out to the people are large. Your exactions are great, and the benefactions of the Ch'in are great, so that the people are giving their affections to that family. The ode (II vii ode IV 3) says,

‘Though I have no virtue to impart to you,  
We will sing and dance.’

The bounties of the Ch'in family to the people are making them sing and dance. Hereafter, should any of your descendants be somewhat remiss, and the Ch'in family not have disappeared, the State will belong to it.” “Good!” said the duke, “what then ought to be done?” Gan-tsze replied, “It is only an attention to rules of propriety which can stop [the progress of events]. By those rules, the bounties of a family cannot extend to all the State. Sons must not change the business of their fathers, — husbandry, some mechanical art, or trade, inferiors must not be negligent, higher officers must not be insolent, great officers must not take to themselves the privileges of the ruler.” “Good!” said the marquis. “I am not able to attain to this, but henceforth I know how a State can be governed by the rules of propriety.” “Long have those rules possessed such a virtue,” was the reply. “Their rise was contemporaneous with that of Heaven and Earth. That the ruler order and the subject obey, the father be kind and the son dutiful, the elder brother loving and the younger respectful, the husband be harmonious and the wife gentle, the mother-in-law be kind and the daughter-in-law obedient, — these are things in propriety. That the ruler in ordering order nothing against the right, and the subject obey without any duplicity, that the father be kind and at the same time reverent, and the son be dutiful and at the same time able to remonstrate, that the elder brother, while loving, be friendly, and the younger docile, while respectful, that the husband be righteous, while harmonious, and the wife correct, while gentle, that the mother-in-law be condescending, while kind, and the daughter-in-law be

winning, while obedient;—these are excellent things in *ju p kety* "Good!" said the duke, [again]; "henceforth I have heard the highest style of propriety." Gan-tazo replied, "It was what the ancient kings received from Heaven and Earth for the government of their people and therefore they ranked it in the highest place."

*Twenty seventh year*

一 有七年春，公如齊，公卒自齊，居丁鄆。  
 二 夏四月，吳弑其君僚。  
 三 楚殺其人人卻宛。  
 四 秋，晉一鞅、宋樂祁犁、衛北宮、曹人邾人、滕人會丁扈。  
 五 冬十一月，曹伯午卒。  
 六 邾快來奔。公如齊。  
 八 公卒自齊，居丁鄆。

左傳曰：二十七年春，公如齊，公至自齊，處于鄆，言在外也。

吳子欲因楚喪而伐之，使公子掩餘、公子燭庸帥圍潛，使延州來季子聘於上國，遂聘於晉，以觀諸侯。於莠尹然、玉尹麋帥師救潛，左司馬沈尹戌帥都君子與王馬之屬以濟師，與吳師遇於溺，令尹子常以舟師及沙內而還。左尹卻宛、工尹譚帥師至於潛，吳師不能退。吳公子光曰：「此時也，弗可失也。」告鱄、馮諸曰：「一國有言曰：『不索何獲？』我王嗣也，吾欲求之事，若克季子，雖至不吾廢也。」鱄、馮諸曰：「王可弑也，母老子弱，是無若我何。」光曰：「我爾身也。」夏四月，光伏甲於堀室，而享王。王使甲坐於道，及其門、門階戶席，皆王親也。夾之以鉞，羞者獻體，改服於門外。執羞者坐行而入，執鉞者夾承之，及饋以相授也。光僞足疾，入於堀室，鱄、馮諸實劍於魚中以進，抽劍刺王，鉞交於胸，遂弑王。闔廬以其子爲卿，季子至曰：「苟先君無廢祀，民人無廢主，社稷有奉，國家無傾，乃吾君也。吾誰敢怨？哀死事生，以待天命，非我生亂，立者從之，先人之道也。」復命吳，吳復位而待吳公子掩餘、奔徐。

公了燭庸奔鍾吾。楚師聞吳亂而還。

卻宛直而和。國人說之。鄢將師爲右領。與費無極比而惡之。令尹了常賄而信讒。無極譖卻宛焉。謂了常曰。了惡欲飲了酒。又謂子惡。令尹欲飲酒於了氏。了惡曰。我賤人也。不足以辱令尹。令尹將必來辱。爲惠已甚。吾無以酬之。若何。無極曰。令尹好甲兵。了出之。台擇焉。取五甲五兵。曰。賓諸門。令尹个必觀之。而從以酬之。及饗日。帷諸門左。無極謂令尹曰。吾幾禍了。子惡將爲了不利。甲在門矣。了必無往。且此役也。吳可以得志。了忠取賂焉而還。又誤羣帥。使退其師。曰。乘亂不祥。吳乘我喪。我乘其亂。不亦可乎。令尹使視卻氏。則有甲焉。不往。召鄢將師而告之。將師退。遂令攻卻氏。且熱之。了忠聞之。遂自殺也。國人弗熱。令尹不熱卻氏。與之同罪。或取營焉。或取秉秬焉。國人投之。遂弗熱也。令尹炮之。盡滅卻氏之族黨。殺陽令終。與其弟完。及佗。與首陳。及其了弟。首陳之族。呼於國曰。鄢氏費氏。自以爲王。專禍楚國。弱寡一室。蒙一與令尹。以自利也。令尹盡信之矣。國將如何。令尹病之。

秋。會丁扈。令戊周。日謀納公也。宋衛皆利納公。固請之。范獻子取貨於季孫。謂司城了梁。與北宮貞了。曰。季孫不知其罪。而君伐之。請以請亡。於是乎不獲。君又弗克。而自出也。大豈無備。而能出君乎。季孫之復。人救之也。休公徒之怒。而啟叔孫氏之心。不然。豈其伐人。而說甲執冰以游。叔孫氏懼禍之濫。而自同於季孫。人之道也。魯君守齊。年而無成。季氏甚得其以。淮夷與之。有一年之備。有齊楚之援。有人之贊。有民之助。有堅守之心。有列國之憐。而弗敢宣也。事君如在國。故鞅以爲難。了皆圖國者也。而欲納魯君。鞅之願也。請從了以圍魯。無成死之。了懼。皆辭。乃辭小國。而以難復。

○孟懿子陽虎伐鄆。鄆人將戰。子冢了曰。人命不慚久矣。使君亡者。必此衆也。人旣禍之。而自福也。不亦難乎。猶有鬼神。此必敗也。嗚呼。爲無望也。人其死於此乎。公使了冢了如首。公徒敗於日知。

○楚卻宛之難，國言未已，進胙者莫不謗令尹。沈尹戌言於子常曰：夫左尹與中廢尹莫知其罪，而子殺之，以興謗讟。至於今不已，戌也惑之。仁者殺人以掩謗，猶弗爲也。今吾子殺人以興謗，而弗圖，不亦異乎？夫無極，楚之醜人也，民莫不知，去朝吳，出蔡侯，朱喪犬子建，殺連尹奢，屏王之耳目，使不聰明，不然平王之溫惠共餘，有過成莊，無不及焉，所以不獲諸侯，邇無極也。今又殺三不辜，以興大謗，幾及子矣。子而不圖，將焉用之？夫鄢將師，矯子之命，以滅三族，國之良也，而不愆位，吳新有君，疆場日駭，楚國若有大事，子其危哉？知者除讟以自安也。今子愛讟以自危也，甚其矣惑也。子常曰：是瓦之罪，敢不其圖。九月己未，子常殺費無極，與鄢將師，盡滅其族，以訛於國。謗言乃止。

冬，公如齊，齊侯請饗之。子家子曰：朝夕立於其朝，又何饗焉？其飲酒也，乃飲酒，使宰獻而請安。子仲之子曰重，爲齊侯夫人，曰：請使重見。子家子乃以君出。○十二月，晉籍秦致諸侯之戍於周，魯人辭以難。

- XXVII 1 In the [dukes] twenty-seventh year, he went to Ts'e. He arrived from Ts'e. and resided in Yun.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Woo murdered its ruler, L'ao.
- 3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, Keoh Yuen.
- 4 In autumn, Sze Yang of Ts'in, Yoh K'e-le of Sung, Pih kung He of Wei, and officers of Ts'aou, Choo, and T'ang, had a meeting in Hoo.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, Woo, earl of Ts'aou, died.
- 6 K'wae of Choo came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 The duke went to Ts'e.
- 8 The duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun.

Par 1. A second time the duke had been to the marquise of Ts'e without accomplishing any thing and he returns to his quarters in Yun. That city is always specified, because 至自齊 alone would indicate that he returned to the capital of Loo. As Tao says, the mention of Yun tells how the duke was kept from his capital (言在外地).

Par 2. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Woo, wishing on occasion of the death of [the king of] Ts'oo to invade that State, sent the two Kung-tze-tse Yen and Chuh yung with a force to lay siege to Ts'ee, and sent Ke-tze of Yen and Chow-lie on a mission to the upper

States, and to go on to Ts'in, to *olea*. how it was going on with the different princes. The J'ao-d rector Jen, and Keen director of Yuh, (The 莠 and 王 or 玉 or 工 are of doubtful meaning) proceeded with a force from Ts'oo to relieve Ts'een, and were reinforced by the marshal of the Left, Seuh, director of Shih, at the head of the gentry of the capital and the men belonging to the king's Horse. They met with the army of Woo at K'ang; and in the mean time, the chief minister Tze-clang proceeded with a naval force to the bend of the Shu, and then returned. Keoh Yuen, director of the Left, and Shieh director of Works, proceeded to Ts'een with another force so that the army of Woo could not retreat.



'The Kung-tsze Kwang of Woo thought, "This is my time, it must not be lost," and he said to Chuen Shih-choo, (See at the end of the 2d narrative after XX 1), "The upper States have a saying that if you do not seek for a thing you will not get it. I am the [former] king's heir. I wish to seek the kingdom. If the thing succeed, although Ke-tsze come [back], he will not displace me." Shih-choo said, "The king may be killed, but my mother is old and my son is young, what can I do in this matter?" Kwang replied, "I will be as you [to them]."

'In summer, in the 4th month, Kwang concealed some men-at-arms in an underground chamber, and invited the king to a feast. The king made his men-at-arms line the road, [from his palace] to [Kwang's] gate. At the gate, the steps, the [inner] doors, and the mats, were the king's friends, on either side of them, with swords. They stripped the bodies of the attendants who brought in the viands, and made them change their clothes outside the door, and those attendants then crawled in on their knees, [other] sword-bearers going with them on either side, close to their persons, and thus the viands were handed [to the king]. Kwang pretending that he was suffering in his feet, entered the underground chamber, and Chuen Shih-choo came in with a fish in which he had placed a dagger. Seizing the weapon, he stabbed the king, and at the same time [two] swords met in his breast. Thus he killed the king,—and Hoh-leu made his son a minister.

'When Ke-tsze arrived, he said, "If the sacrifices to our former rulers be not neglected, nor the people be without a [proper] master, if the offerings be presented at our altars, and the State be not allowed to fall,—he shall be my ruler. Against whom should I cherish resentment? I will mourn the dead and serve the living, while I await the decree of Heaven,—I will not create disorder. Him who is on the throne I will follow,—according to the way of our former kings." He then reported the execution of his mission and wept, at the grave [of Leaou], after which he resumed his position, and awaited the orders [of the new king].

'The Kung-tsze Yen-yu fled to Seu, and Chuh-yung fled to Chung-woo. The army of Ts'oo withdrew, on hearing of the confusion in Woo.

The critics have exercised their ingenuity, and that with little success, to find out the ground on which the murder of Leaou is ascribed to Woo. The K'ang-he editors say, 'It was Kwang who murdered his ruler, and yet the text assigns the deed to Woo, and not to Kwang. Hoo Gan-kwoh holds that the guilt is thereby ascribed to the great ministers,—which is one view. Ch'an Joh-shwuy (湛若

水, Ming dyn.) says that the style of the text is intended to make people investigate the matter, when they will discover the true criminal,—which view is preferable. Too Yu held that guilt is thereby fixed on Leaou himself, and K'ung Yung-tah and Lew Ch'ang argue that all the people wished the death of Leaou, but this view cannot be sustained. See our remarks at length under VI 11 7.

Par 3 Kuh-leang has 郤 for 郤. The Chuen says — 'Keoh Yuen was a man upright

and peaceable, but he was hated by Fei Woo-keih, and Yen Tseang-sze commander of the Left, who was a partizan of Woo-keih. The chief minister, Tsze-chang, was fond of gifts and lent an ear to slander. [Accordingly], Woo-keih, to calumniate Keoh Yuen, said to Tsze-chang, "Tsze-goh (Yuen's designation) wishes to invite you to drink with him," and then he said to Tsze-goh that the chief minister wished to come and drink with him in his house. That officer said, "I am of low rank, and unworthy of a visit from the chief minister. If he insist on paying me a visit, the kindness is extreme, wherewith shall I recompense him?" Woo-keih replied, "The chief minister is fond of buff-coats and sharp weapons. Bring forth what you have of these, and I will make a selection from them." In this way he took five of each, and said, "Place these at your gate. When he comes, he is sure to see them, and you can then present them to him."

'On the day for the feast, [Yuen] erected a tent on the left of his gate, [with those things in it], on which Woo-keih said to the minister, "I had nearly brought misfortune on you. Tsze-goh is intending evil to you, and has got men-at-arms at his gate. You must not go. Moreover, in the recent expedition, we should have got our will upon Woo, but for Tsze-goh who took bribes and returned. He also imposed on the other commanders, and made them retire, saying that it would be inauspicious to take advantage of the disorders [in Woo]. As Woo had taken advantage of our mourning, would it not have been proper to take advantage of its confusion?" The minister sent a messenger to look at Keoh's house, and there were the buff-coats. He did not go [to the feast] therefore, but called for Yen Tseang-sze, and told him the circumstances. When Tseang-sze retired, he gave orders to attack Keoh's house, and to burn it. When Tsze-goh heard of it, he killed himself. [Meantime], the people would not burn the house, and an order was issued that all who would not burn it should be held as equally guilty with Keoh. On this some took a rush rope, and some took a handful of straw, but they threw them down [again], and would not burn the house. The chief minister then caused it to be done, and extinguished all the branches of the Keoh family and its partizans, putting to death Yang Ling-chung with his younger brothers Hwan and T'ao, and Tsin Ch'un, with his sons and younger brothers. The kindred of Tsin Ch'un cried out in the city, "Yen and Fei are making themselves kings, and by their own authority working calamity to the State of Ts'oo, weakening and thinning the royal House, and deceiving the king and the chief minister for their own gain. The chief minister believes them entirely,—what is to become of the State?" This distressed the chief minister.

On this paragraph again we have much speculation, to explain the ascription of the death of Yuen to Ts'oo.

Par 4 Hoo,—see III 10, *et al*. On III 10, Too says that Hoo was in Ch'ing, to which the K'ang-he editors assent, nor do they make mention of any other Hoo there or in other places. But if there were only the one Hoo of Ch'ing, why was no minister of that State present at this meeting? On VII 19 9, Kung-

yang says that Hoo was a city of Tsin. There were probably two places of the name.

The Chuen says:—The meeting at Hoo in the autumn was to give orders about guarding Chow and to consult about restoring the duke [of Loo] Sung and Wei were eager for his restoration, and strongly urged it. Fan Hsien-tze, however had taken bribes from Ke-sun, and said to Tze-kang (Yeh K'o-le), the minister of Works [of Sung], and Pih kung Ch'ing tze (He), "Ke-sun knew not what offence he had committed, when his ruler attacked him. He offered to submit to imprisonment, or to go into exile, but both these things were refused to him. The ruler also left the State himself when his attempt proved unsuccessful. How should Ke-sun have been able without any preparations, to expel his ruler? His reason [of his position] must have been by the help of Heaven, hushing the rage of the duke's followers, and guiding the minds of [the adherents of] Shih-sun. If it were not so, how should those followers, when engaged in an attack, have thrown off their armour and sauntered about with their quiver lids in their hands? Then for the adherents of Shih-sun, afraid of the over-flow of calamity to join themselves to those of Ke-sun, was from Providence. The ruler of Loo has been keeping himself in T'ao for 8 years, and has accomplished nothing. Ke-sun has greatly won the hearts of the people, and the E tribes of the Hwai are joined to him. He has ten years' preparations, the support of T'ao and T'ao's assistance of Heaven, the help of men, the mind to maintain himself firmly and the power of various States, and yet he does not presume to use [those resources], but serves his ruler as if he were in the capital—it is for these reasons that I think it difficult to deal with him. You both are seated in the councils of States, and you wish to restore the ruler of Loo. This also is my desire. I will ask to follow you, and lay siege to [the capital of] Loo. If we do not succeed, you shall die for it." The two ministers were afraid, and declined the undertaking; and [Hsien-tze] then dismissed the [representatives of the] smaller States, and reported [to his ruler] the difficulty [of restoring the duke].

Par 6. This K'wao must have been a great officer of Choo, but what were the particulars of his flight to Loo, we do not know. The critics are severe in condemning Loo for receiving such fugitives. Five officers from Choo thus found shelter in it at different times.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives—1st, about the affairs of Loo. Ming E-tze and Yang Hoo attacked Yun, the men of which proposed to fight. Tze-k'ao tze, however said, "There has been no doubt about the will of Heaven for long. The multitude of these will surely cause our ruler to be ruined. Is it not a difficult thing for a man to make himself happy when Heaven is sending down calamity on him? Even if there were Spirits [to help him], he must be defeated here. Alas! there is no hope. He is likely to die here!" The duke then sent Tze-k'ao tze on a mission to Tsin, after which his followers were defeated at Tseu che

2d, about affairs in T'ao. Throughout T'ao the language of the people about the fate of K'ehi Yuen (See on par 3) never ceased, and

all when presenting their sacrifices, reviled the chief minister. Seu director of Shin spoke to Tze-chang saying "No one knows what were the offences of the director of the Left (K'ehi Yuen), and of the director of the middle stables, (Yang Ling-chung) and yet you put them to death, thereby producing those revillings and murmurings, which to this day have not ceased. I am myself in doubts about it. A virtuous man would not kill another even to stop revillings—Is it not strange that you should kill men to excite them, and take no measures in the matter? Now Woo-k'eh is the slanderer of T'ao, so all the people know. He removed Chao Woo (See on XV 3) caused the expulsion of Choo the marquis of T'ao (See on XXI 6) ruined our late king's eldest son K'een, and caused the death of the *Lien Yin*, Ch'ay (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of the 20th year). He has stood like a screen before the king's ears and eyes, so that he should neither hear nor see. But for this, the gentle mildness, the humility and economy, of King Ping, who excelled both Ch'ing and Ch'wang would have been universally acknowledged. That he did not gain to himself all the States was simply owing to Woo-k'eh. Now he has further put to death three innocent men, so as to excite great revillings, which have almost affected yourself. And yet you are taking no measures in regard to him;—what can you expect from such a course? Then Yen Ts'ang tze by falsifying an order from you, utterly destroyed the families of three officers, among the best men of the State, who had committed no failure of duty in their offices. Woo has got a new ruler and the borders are daily in a state of terror. If any great affair occur in our State, you will be in peril. Wise men take off slanderers, to secure their own repose, but you love slanderers to put yourself in peril. Extreme is your delusion!" Tze-chang said "I am guilty in this, and shall now take good measures in the case. In the 9th month on Ke-we Tze-chang put to death Fel Woo-k'eh and Yen Ts'ang tze, utterly destroying all the branches of their families. Thus he satisfied the people, and the revillings ceased."

Par 7 The Chuen says, "In winter the duke went to T'ao, when the marquis begged to offer him an entertainment. Tze-k'ao tze said "Morning and evening you stand in his court—how should he invite you to [the ceremony of] an entertainment. It is to a drinking [feast only]." Accordingly there was a drinking feast, and [the marquis] made the assistant-administrators offer the cup, and asked leave to take his own ease [elsewhere].

A daughter of Tze-chung (the Kung tze Yin, who died to T'ao in the duke's 12th year See on XII 8) who was called Ch'ung was in the harem of the marquis, and intimated that she wished the duke to call her to see him. On this Tze-k'ao tze left the feast, carrying the duke with him.

Par 8 [The Chuen appends here a brief note—In the 13th month, Tseu Tsin of Tsin required the guards from the different States to go to Chow. The people of Loo declined the service on account of the troubles in their State.]

Twenty-eighth year.

一  
十有八年春，  
二月，葬曹悼  
公。  
二  
公如晉，次  
丁乾侯。  
三  
夏四月，丙戌，鄭  
伯卒。  
四  
六月，葬鄭定公。  
五  
秋七月，癸巳，滕  
子卒。  
六  
冬，葬滕悼公。

左傳曰：十八年春，公如晉，將如乾侯，了冢了曰：有求於人，而卽其安，人孰矜之，其活於竟，弗聽，使請逆於晉，晉人曰：人禍魯國，君淹恤在外，君亦不使，个辱在寡人，而卽安於甥舅，其亦使逆君，使公復於竟，而後逆之。○晉祁勝與鄆臧通室，祁盈將執之，訪司馬叔游，叔游曰：鄭書有之，忠直醜止，實蕃有徒，無道立矣，了懼不免，詩曰：民之多辟，無自立辟，姑已，若何。盈曰：祁氏私有誅，國何有焉，遂執之，祁勝賂荀躒，荀躒爲之，言於晉侯，晉侯執祁盈，祁盈之臣曰：鉤將皆死，愁使台君聞勝與臧之死也，以爲快，乃殺之，夏六月，晉殺祁盈，及楊食我，食我，祁盈之黨也，而助亂，故殺之，遂滅祁氏，羊舌氏初，叔向欲娶於申公巫氏，其母欲娶其黨，叔向曰：吾母多而庶鮮，台懲舅氏矣，其母曰：子靈之妻，殺一人，君了，而亡一國，兩卿矣，可無懲乎，台聞之，甚人必有甚忠，是鄭穆少妃，姚了之了，了貉之妹也，了貉早死無後，而人鍾人於是，將必以是人有敗也，昔有仍氏，小女黶黑而甚人，光可以鑑，名曰玄妻，樂止后，夔取之，小伯封，實有永心，貪惛無饜，忿類無期，謂之封豕，有窮后，羿滅之，夔是以不祀，日代之亡，其了之廢，皆是物也，汝何以爲哉，夫有尤物，足以移人，苟非德義，則必有禍，叔向懼，不敢取，平公強使取之，生伯石，伯石始小，了容之母走謁諸姑，曰：長叔姒，小男，姑視之，及堂，聞其聲而還，曰：是豺狼之聲也，狼了野心，非是莫與，羊古氏矣，遂弗視。

○秋，晉韓宣子卒，魏獻子爲政，分祁氏之田，以爲七縣，分羊舌氏之田，以爲三縣。司馬裨卒，爲郎大夫。賈辛爲祁大夫，司馬烏爲平陽大夫，魏戊爲梗陽大夫，知徐吾爲塗水大夫，韓固爲馬首大夫，孟丙爲孟大夫，樂霄爲銅鞮大夫，趙朝爲平陽大夫，僚安爲楊氏大夫，謂賈辛司馬烏爲有力於王室，故舉之。謂知徐吾、趙朝、韓固、魏戊，餘子之不失職，能守業者也。其四人者，皆受縣而後見於魏子，以賢舉也。魏子謂成鯨吾與戊也，縣人其以我爲黨乎？對曰：「何也？戊之爲人也，遠不忘君，近不偪同，居利思義，在約思純，有守心而無淫行，雖與之縣，不亦可乎？」昔武王克商，光有天下，其兄弟之國者十有五人，姬姓之國者四十人，皆舉親也。夫舉無他，唯善所在，親疏一也。詩曰：「唯此文王，帝度其心，莫其德音，其德克明，克明克類，克長克君，王此大國，克順克比。」比于文王，其德靡悔。旣受帝祉，施於孫子。心能制義曰度，德正應和曰莫，照臨四方曰明，勤施無私曰類，教誨不倦曰長，其慶刑威曰君，慈和徧服曰順，擇善而從之曰比。經緯天地曰文，九德不愆，作事無悔，故襲天祿，子孫賴之，主之舉也。近文德矣，所及其遠哉！賈辛將適其縣，見於魏子。魏子曰：「辛來，昔叔向適鄭，驪蔑惡，欲觀叔向從使之收器者而往，立於堂下，一言而善，叔向將飲酒，問之曰：『必驪明也。』下執其手以土，曰：『昔賈大夫惡娶妻而美，三年不言不笑，御以如皐，射雉獲之，其妻始笑而言。』賈大夫曰：『才之不可以已，我不能射，汝遂不言不笑，夫今子少不殿子，若無言，吾幾失子矣。』言之不可以已也如是，遂如故。知今汝有力於王室，吾是以舉汝，行乎敬之哉！毋墜乃力，仲尼聞魏子之舉也，以爲義，曰：『近不失親，遠不失舉，可謂義矣。』又聞其命賈辛也，以爲忠。詩曰：『永言配命，自求多福。』忠也，魏子之舉也，義其命也，忠其長有後於晉國乎？」

○冬，梗陽人有獄，魏戊不能斷，以獄主其大宗，賂以女樂，魏子將受之。魏戊謂閭沒，安寬曰：「主以不賄聞於諸侯，若受梗陽人賄，莫甚焉。」吾子必諫，皆許諾，退朝待於庭，饋入，召之，比置三歎，旣食，使坐。魏子曰：「吾聞諸伯叔諺曰：『唯食忘憂。』吾子置食之間，三歎何也？」同辭而對曰：「或賜二小人酒，不夕食，饋之始至，恐其不足，是以歎中。」

梗獻獻之爲人願饋再足而軍曰置、  
陽了而心君之腹小卑及以不食之將咎  
人辭已屬了腹小卑及以不食之將咎

- XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'aou
- 2 The duke went to Tsin. He halted in Kan-how.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Ning, earl of Ch'ing, died
- 4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Ch'ing
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, Ning, viscount of T'äng, died
- 6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of T'äng

Par 1 This was the 6th month since his death. The burial was late.

Par 2 Kan-how was a city of Tsin, in the south-east of the pres. dis. of Ch'ing-gan (成安), dep. Kwang-p'ing (廣平), Chih-le. The duke found that Ts'e was tired of him, and now threw himself on the protection of Tsin.

The Chuen says — "This spring, the duke was going to Tsin, and wanted to proceed to Kan-how. Tsze-kea-tsze said to him, 'When one has to request a refuge from another, and at once proceeds to where he would be at ease, who will have any pity for him? You should go [only] to the borders [at first].' The duke would not listen to this suggestion, [and proceeded to Kan-how], and sent word [from it] to the capital of Tsin, begging that he might be met there. The marquis, however, said, 'Heaven is afflicting the State of Loo, and its ruler has long endured his sorrow abroad. Without sending a single messenger to me, however, he threw himself upon one merely related to him by affinity. It should suffice for him to have got [the marquis of Ts'e] to meet him.' The duke was made to return to the borders, and then he was met."

The critics think that all these notices of the movements of the duke, where he went, where he halted, &c., are from the pencil of Confucius himself, — to show that the ruler of Loo was still in existence, and indicate his condemnation of the usurpation of Ke-sun. See the note by the K'ang-he editors on this par.

Par 3, 4 Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧. The burial of the earl of Ch'ing in the 3d month after his death must have been so hastened on for some extraordinary reason.

[The Chuen introduces here a narrative of affairs in Tsin — "K'e Shing and Woo Tsang of Tsin exchanged wives, in consequence of which K'e Ying (Head of the K'e family, and son of K'e Woo mentioned in the Chuen appended to IX. in 4,) purposed to seize them. Consulting, however, the marshal Shuh Y'ew on the subject, that officer said, 'We read in a book of Ch'ing that those who hate what is right and dislike what is correct are very many. The sway of what is

unprincipled is established. I am afraid you will not escape evil consequences, [if you do it]. The ode (She, III. 11 ode X. 6) says,

'The people have many perversities,  
Do not you set up your perversity before them.'

Suppose you let them alone for the present." Ying said, "If our K'e family privately punish them, what is it to the State?" Accordingly he seized the criminals. [In the meantime] K'e Shing bribed Seun Leih, who spoke for him to the marquis, and K'e Ying was seized. One of his officers said, "He is sure in any case to die, but let my master hear of the death of Shing and Tsang, and it will be a satisfaction to him." On this he put both those men to death. In summer, in the 6th month, Tsin put K'e Ying to death, and Sze-wo of Yang, who was a partizan of his and had aided his lawlessness. On this account he [also] was put to death, and the families of K'e and Yang-shieh were extinguished.

'Formerly Shuh-hiang had wished to marry a daughter of Woo-shin, duke of Shin, but his mother wanted him to take one of her kindred rather. He said to her, "My mothers (I.e. the inmates of his father's harem) are many, but my father has few children by them. I must keep aloof from your kindred." She replied, "The wife of Tsze-ling (Woo-shin. His wife was Hea Ke See on VII. x. 8, et al.) proved the death of three husbands, one ruler, and her son, and ruined a State, and two of its ministers. Ought you not to keep aloof from her? I have heard that, where there is extreme beauty there is sure to be extreme wickedness. She was the daughter of Yaou Tsze, a younger wife of [duke Muh] of Ch'ing, and the younger sister of Tsze-nuh. The brother died early, leaving no offspring, and since Heaven accumulated so much beauty in her, there must [still] be great ruin to be accomplished by her."

"In ancient times the prince of Jing had a daughter, with splendid black hair and very beautiful, so that her brightness cast a light around her, and she was named 'the dark Lady.' The prince K'wei, [Shun's] minister of Music, married her, and she bore to him Pih-fung, who

In truth had the heart of a pig insatiably covetous and gluttonous quarrelsome and perverse without measure so that men called him the great Pig. E, the prince of K'ung extinguished him [and his House] and so K'wei had none to maintain his sacrifices. Moreover the ruin of the three dynasties and the acting aside of [our prince] Kung tze (See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii 1, et al) were brought about by such creatures. Why are you going to do such a thing? Those strange beings are sufficient to move men [from their principles]; and if virtue and righteousness are not maintained, calamity is sure to come.

Shuh liang was afraid, and did not dare to take the lady but duke P'ing forced him to do so. She bore to him Pih-shih (See wo of Yang above). At the time of his birth, the mother of Tze-yang ran to tell her mother in law saying My sister-in-law has a boy. The mother in law was going to see the child, but when she got to the hall, she heard his voice, and returned, saying "It is the voice of a wolf. A wolfish child will have a wild heart. None but he will destroy the clan of Yang-shih." So she would not look at him.]

Par 6. Here again Kung yang has <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ for <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~.

[The Chuen has here another long narrative about affairs in Tsin.— In autumn, Han Senen tze of Tsin died and the government passed into the hands of Wei Hsien tze (Mentioned before in the Chuen on IX. xlii 7). He divided the lands of the Ku and Yang-shih families, the former into 7 and the latter into 9 districts; and made Sze-ma Mo-mow great officer of Woo; K'ia Sin, of Ku; Bro-ma Woo, of P'ing ling; Wei Mow of Kung yang. Cho Seu-woo, of Too-shway; Han hoo, of Ma-show, Mang Ping of Yu Yoh Szeau, of Tung te; Chiau Chiau of P'ing yang; L'au Gan, of Yang-shih. He gave 4 appointments to K'ia Sin and Sze-ma Woo because of their services to the royal House; and the 10 (he Seu-woo, Chiau Chiau, Han Koo, and Wei Mow) because he considered that though they were the sons of concubines, they would not fail in their offices and could maintain the inheritance of their fathers. The [other] four all received their districts, and then appeared before Wei tze showing that they were appointed because of their worthiness. He said to Ch'ing Chuen "As I have given Mow (His own son by a concubine) a district will men say that I am acting partially?" "Why should they do so?" was the reply. Mow is of such a character that, though kept at a distance, he does not forget his ruler and, though kept as a near favourite he will not assume anything over his associates. In presence of gain he thinks of righteousness; in the midst of difficulties, he seeks to maintain his purity. He can keep his heart, and abstain from all illicit conduct. You have given him a district, but was it not proper to do so? Formerly, when king Woo subdued Shang and obtained grand possession of all the land, 15 of his brothers received States, and 40 other princes of the surname of Ke all the same—these were all appointments of kindred. They were not because of the virtue of their subjects, whether nearly or distantly related. The old (Shu III. i. ode VII. 4) says,

Now this king Wan  
Was gifted by God with the power of judgment,  
So that the fame of his virtue silently grew  
His virtue was highly intelligent,  
Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination;  
Capable of leading capable of ruling—  
To rule over this great nation,  
Rendering a cordial submission able to produce cordial union.  
When the way came to king Wan,  
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.  
He received the blessing of God,  
And it was extended to his descendants.

To have a mind able to determine what is right is called the power of judgment. When virtue through its correctness is responded to with harmony we have its silent exertion. Extending a bright influence over all quarters is called illumination. Rarest beneficence without selfish partiality is called discrimination. Teaching without being weary is called leading. The ruler is he who makes happy by his rewards and awes by his punishments. Subjection is when there is a universal subjection to gentleness and harmony. Cordial union is the effect of the choice of what is good and following it. Character of which heaven and earth are the warp and woof is called accomplished. When these nine virtues are found without error there is nothing in the conduct to occasion dissatisfaction. Thus it was that king Wan received his dignity from Heaven, and his descendants were blessed through him. In your promotions you have approximated to the virtue of Wan. Far-extending will be the effect!"

When K'ia Sin was about to proceed to his district, he appeared before Wei tze, who said to him, "Come hero, Sin. Formerly when Shuh-liang went to Ch'ing Tsung Miel of that State, who was an ugly man, wished to see him, and followed for that purpose the servants who were removing the dishes [of the feast]. As he stood below the hall, he uttered one sentence so excellent, that when Shuh-liang, who was about to drink heard it, he said, 'That must be Tsung Miel; and with this he descended the steps took him by the hand and ascended with him saying 'Formerly a great officer of K'ia, who was ugly married a wife who was beautiful; but for 8 years he neither laughed nor spoke. He drove with her to [the marsh of] K'ao, and there shot at a pheasant and hit it, upon which she laughed for the first time and spoke, so that the officer said, 'One's ability should not be unexercised. If I had not been able to shoot, you would not have laughed nor spoken. Now for your features are rather undistinguished and if you had not spoken, I should probably have remained unacquainted with you. Your [ability of] speech must not be unexercised. In this way they became like old acquaintances. Now you have done good service to the royal House, and therefore I have given you your appointment. Go and be reverently attentive to your duty. Mind not aught in the energy of your services."

When Chung ho heard of the appointments made by Wei tze, he considered them to be just and said, "He has not failed in his duty

to those near him of his own House, nor has he erred in his promotion of others more remote. His conduct may be pronounced just." When he heard of his charge to Kea Sm, he considered it to be loyal. The ode (III i ode I 6) says,

'Ever strive to be in accordance with the will [of Heaven],  
And you will be seeking for yourselves much happiness.'

This is loyalty. Wei-tsze's appointments were just, and his charge was loyal,—was it not likely that his posterity would continue long in the State of Tsin?

Par 6. Though the duke was in exile, we see that Ke-sun kept up the reciprocities of Loo with foreign States, as if there had been nothing the matter with itself.

[The Chuen gives a narrative here, illustrating the faithfulness of Wei Mow above.—In winter, a man of Käng-yang had a lawsuit, which Wei Mow was not able to determine, and he referred it [to the capital]. The principal member of the man's family offered a bribe of some female musicians, which Wei-tsze was going to receive. Mow said to Yen Muh and Joo K'wan, "Our lord is noted through the States for not receiving

bribes, but there could be no greater case of such acceptance, if he receive [what is offered by] this man of Käng-yang. You must remonstrate with him." They agreed to do so, and when [Wei-tsze] retired from the audience of the marquis, they were waiting in his court-yard. When his meal was brought in, he called them [to join in it], and during its course, they sighed three times. When it was over, he made them sit down [with him], and said, "I have heard my uncles repeat the common saying that 'Me it makes a man forget his sorrow,'—what was the reason that while the food was being served up, you gave [those] three sighs?" They answered both together, saying, "We were drinking with a friend and ate nothing [last] evening. When the first course came in, we were afraid there might not be sufficient, and therefore we sighed. When the second course came, we condemned ourselves, and thought, 'How could we be feasted by the general, and not get enough?' This was the reason of the second sigh. And when the last course was ended, [we thought], 'Would that it were with minds of superior men as it is with the bellies of small men like us!—that they were satisfied when they had enough!'" On this Wei-tsze refused [the bribe of] the man of Käng-yang.]

*Twenty-ninth year.*

冬<sup>五章</sup>十月。齊侯使高張來唁公。公至自乾侯。居。公卒。諡曰厲。公如晉。次於乾侯。夏<sup>四章</sup>四月。庚子，叔

左傳曰，十九年春，公至自乾侯，處于鄆，齊侯使高張來唁公，稱于君。子家子曰，齊與君矣，君祇辱焉。公如乾侯。○月，己卯，京師殺召伯盈，尹氏固及原伯魯之了。尹固之復也，有婦人遇之周郊，尤之曰，處則勸人爲禍，行則數日而反，是夫也，其過一歲乎。夏五月，庚寅，子趙申入於鄆以叛，陰不佞敗之。平子每歲買馬，凡從者之衣屨而歸之。子乾侯，公執歸馬者賣之，乃不歸馬。衛侯來獻其乘馬，曰啟服，斬而死。公將爲之櫛，了家子曰，從者病矣，請以食之。乃以帷裏之。公賜公衍羔裘，使獻龍輔於齊侯，遂入羔裘，齊侯喜。

與之陽穀。公衍，公爲之生也。其母偕出，公衍先生，公爲之母曰：「相與偕出，請相與偕告。」三日，公爲生，其母先以告公，公爲兄。公私喜於陽穀，而思於魯曰：「務人爲此禍也，且後生而爲兄，其誣也久矣。」乃黜之，而以公衍爲太子。

○秋，龍見於絳郊。魏獻子問於蔡墨曰：「吾聞之，過莫知於龍，以其不生得也，謂之知信乎？」對曰：「人實不知，非龍實知。古者，音龍，故國有蔡龍氏，有御龍氏。獻子曰：『是二氏者，吾亦聞之，而不知其故。』是何謂也？」對曰：「昔有騃叔安，有裔子曰董父，實甚好龍，能求其蓄，欲以飲食之。龍多歸之，乃擾畜龍，以服事帝舜。賜之姓曰董，氏曰蔡。龍封諸豳川，豳夷氏其後也。故帝舜氏世有裔龍及有夏，孔甲擾於有帝，帝賜之乘龍，河漢各二，各有雌雄。孔甲不能食，而未獲，蔡龍氏有陶唐氏既衰，其後有劉累，學擾龍於蔡龍氏，以事孔甲，能飲食之。夏后嘉之，賜氏曰御龍，以更豕韋之後。龍一雌死，潛醢以食夏后，夏后饗之，既而使求之，懼而遷於魯縣。范氏其後也。獻子曰：『今何故無之？』對曰：『夫物，物有其官，官修其方，朝夕思之，一日失職，則死及之。失官不食，官宿其業，其物乃至。若泯棄之物，乃坻伏鬱湮不育，故有五行之官，是謂五官，實列受氏姓，封爲上公，視爲貴神。社稷五祀是尊，是奉木正曰句芒，火正曰祝融，金正曰蓐收，水正曰玄冥，土正曰后土。龍，水物也，水官棄矣，故龍才生，得才然。周易有之，在乾之姤曰：『潛龍勿用。』其同人曰：『見龍在田，其大有。』曰：『飛龍在天，其夬。』曰：『亢龍有悔。』其坤曰：『見羣龍無首，吉。』坤之剝曰：『龍戰于野，若不朝夕見，誰能物之？』獻子曰：『社稷五祀，誰氏之五官也？』對曰：『少皞氏有四叔，曰重曰該曰修曰阼，實能金木及水，使重爲句芒，該爲蓐收，修及阼爲玄冥，世不失職，遂濟窮桑。此其三祀也。顓頊氏有子曰犁，爲祝融，共工氏有子曰句龍，爲后土，此其二祀也。后土爲社，稷田正也。有列山氏之子曰柱，爲稷，自夏以土祀之，周棄亦爲稷，自商以來祀之。」

○冬，晉趙鞅荀寅帥師城汝濱，遂賦晉國一鼓鐵，以鑄刑鼎。著范宣子所爲刑書焉。仲尼曰：「晉其亡乎！失其度。」



矣夫首國將守唐叔之所  
 受法度以經緯其民卿大  
 人以序守之民是以能尊  
 其貴貴是以能守其業貴  
 賤不愆所謂度也文公是  
 以作執秩之官為被廬之  
 法以為盟主今棄是度也  
 而為刑鼎民有鼎矣何以  
 尊貴貴何業之守貴賤無  
 序何以為國且夫官了之  
 刑吏之鬼也首國之亂制  
 也若之何以為法蔡史墨  
 曰范氏中行氏其亡乎中  
 行實為下卿而卜令擅  
 作刑器以為國法是法姦  
 也又加范氏烏易之亡也  
 其及趙氏趙孟與焉然不  
 得已若德可以免

- XXIX 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, he came from Kan-how, and resided in Yun. The marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang there to condole with him.
- 2 The duke went to Tsin, and halted in Kan-how.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Käng-tsze, Shuh E died.
- 4 It was autumn, the ninth month.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, [the people] of Yun dispersed.

Par 1 In XXVI 2, it is said that the duke came from Ts'e (个自齊) and resided in Yun. Though he had not been to the capital of Ts'e, he had had a meeting with the marquis, which was held sufficient to authorize the record that he came from Ts'e. But though he had entered Tsin, and been met perhaps on its borders (See the Chuen on XXVIII 2) by officers from its court, he had not had a meeting with the marquis, and therefore it could only be said here that 'he arrived from Kan-how.'

The Chuen says — 'When the duke came from Kan-how, and [again] resided in Yun, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang to condole with him, and that officer merely addressed him by the title of "Sir," on which Tsze-kea tsze said, "The ruler of Ts'e is humbling you. You are only being disgraced." The duke then went [back] to Kan-how.' The duke had left Ts'e and gone to Tsin, hoping that he would receive better treatment, and substantial help. On the contrary he found himself worse off, and on his return to Yun, the marquis of Ts'e only treated him with contempt. The style of the messenger in calling him 'Sir (子君)' was the mode of addressing a great officer. The message of condolence was really a message of mockery.

[There is a narrative here about affairs in Chow — 'In the 3d month, on Ke-mou, Ying earl of Shou, Koo chief of the House of Yin, and the son of Loo earl of Yuen (See the Chuen on XVIII 4) were put to death in the capital. On the return of Koo of Yin (See on XXVI 8), a woman met him in the suburbs of Chow, and condemned his conduct, saying, "When in Chow, he encouraged others to do evil, when he left it, he numbered the days till his return —

this fellow is not likely to last beyond 3 years." In summer, in the 5th month, on Käng-jin, the [late] king's son Chaou-keu entered Léen, and held it in revolt. Yin Puh-ning defeated him.']

Par 2 The Chuen says — 'Every year P'ing-tsze bought horses, and provided clothes and shoes for the [duke's] followers, and sent them to Kan-how. The duke seized those who brought the horses and sold them, on which the horses were not again sent.

'The marquis of Wei sent him a horse of his own chariot, which was called K'e-fuh. It fell into a ditch and died, and the duke was going to have a coffin made for it, but Tsze-kea-tsze said to him "Your followers are in distress. Please give [the value] to them to get food." On this he had it wrapped up in a curtain, [and buried it].

'The duke gave Kung-yen a robe of lamb's fur, and sent him to present a Lung-foo [piece of jade] to the marquis of Ts'e. Kung-yen took the opportunity to present [also] the robe, and the marquis was pleased, and gave him [the city of] Yang-kuh.

'The mothers of Kung-yen and Kung-wei (Both, the duke's sons. See the Chuen on XXV 5) were both withdrawn to the birth-chamber, when their sons were born. Kung-yen was born first, but Kung-wei's mother said, "We retired here together. Let us announce the births of our children [also] together." Three days after, Kung-wei was born, and his mother gave the announcement of his birth first, so that the duke considered him the elder of the two. Now, however, the duke was selfishly glad because of [the gift of] Yang-kuh, and thinking [also] of what had happened in Loo, he said "It was Woo-jin (Kung-wei) who wrought this misery, and though the last-born he is considered the elder, — his falsity is of long standing." Ac-

cordingly he degraded him, and appointed Kung yen to be his eldest son and heir.

Par 3. K'uh Hsiao says here:— Ke-sun E-joo, said, "Shuh has died without any illness. This is [another proof of] why we are without the duke. It is by the will of Heaven, and not from any offence of mine." His glossarist Fan Ning observes that Shuh E had wished to bring the duke back. Of this Tso-she says nothing nor of E's dying without any apparent cause.

Par 4. [The Chuen appends here a long narrative on the subject of dragons.— In autumn, a dragon appeared in the suburbs of K'ang, on which Wei Hsien-tze asked Ts'ao M'ih [the grand historiographer] saying "I have heard that of all the scaly tribes the dragon in the most knowing, because it cannot be got alive. Is it true to say that it is thus knowing? M'ih replied, "This is only men's want of knowledge; it is not that the dragon is really knowing. Anciently they kept dragons, and hence there were in the kingdom the families of Hwan lung (Dragon-rearer) and Lu lung (Dragon-ruler). Hsien-tze said, "I have heard myself of those two families, but do not know their history—what is the meaning of their names? [The historiographer] replied "Formerly there was Shuh-jan of Loo who had a distant descendant called Tung foo, very fond of dragons, and able to find out their tastes and likings, so as to supply them with meat and drink. Many dragons came to him, and he, according to their nature, reared them in the service of the emperor Shun who gave him the surname of Tung, and the clan-name of Hwan lung. He was [also] invested with [the principality of] Tsung-chuen, and the family of Tsung-e is of his posterity. Thus in the time of the emperor Shun, and for generations after dragons were reared

"We come [then] to K'ung k'eh of the Hsia dynasty who was [so] obedient and acceptable to God, that God gave him teams of dragons two from the Ho and two from the Han—in pairs, male and female. K'ung k'eh could not feed them, and no members of the Hwan lung family were to be found. But amid the remains of the family of Tsao t'ing (Yaou) was a descendant called Loo Luy who had learned the art of rearing dragons from the family of Hwan-lung. With this he undertook to serve K'ung k'eh, and was able to feed the dragons. The sovereign esteemed his service, gave him the clan name of Yu-lung, and appointed him to the place of the descendants of Ch'ao-wel (See on IX xiv 1). One of the fatal dragons died and he secretly preserved it as minced meat in brine, supplying with it the table of the sovereign of Hsia, who enjoyed it, and required him to find others [for the same use]. On this Loo Luy was afraid, and removed to Loo-hsien. The family of Fan is descended from him.

Hsien-tze said, "What is the reason that there are none now? M'ih replied, "Every kind of creature must have its own officers, who carefully attend to the laws of its nature, morning and evening thinking of them and who, if for a single day they fail in their duties, should be liable to death lose their offices, and have no support. When the officers rest in the performance of their appointed duties, the creatures come to them [abundantly]. If they neglect and abandon those duties, the creatures cease to appear and lie concealed—their pro-

duction is restrained and stopped. In this way there were the officers of the five elementary principles, who were called the five officers, received their several clan names and surnames, and were appointed dukes of the highest rank. They were sacrificed to, [after death], as Spirits and received honour and offerings, at the altars of the land and grain, and at the five [regular] sacrifices. The chief officer of wood was called Kow mang; of fire, Chuh-yung; of metal, Juh-show; of water, Hsien ming; of earth, Hw' too. The dragon is a creature of the water; there is no longer an officer of the water and therefore it is not got alive. If this be denied, [consider] what we have in the Yih of Chow. In the case of the diagram K'ien (☰), on the line which appears

changed in Kow (☳), we have, The dragon lies hid in the water; it is not the time for active employment; on that which is changed in Tsung jin (☱), The dragon appears in the fields; on that which is changed in Ta yew (☴), Flies the dragon in the heavens and on

that which is changed in K'wao (☲), The dragon goes too far. There will be reason for repentance; and where all its lines would be as in K'w'ao (☲), There appear all the dragons without a head. It is fortunate. Then in the case of K'w'ao, on that line which is changed in Poh (☶), we have, The dragons fight in the wilderness. If the dragon had not constantly—morning and evening—appeared, who could have thus described it? Hsien-tze asked, "What were the families of the five officers, sacrificed to at the altars of the land and grain, and of the five Spirits of the elementary substances?" M'ih again replied, "In the time of Shao-hao, there were four men, called Ch'ung, Kae, S'ew and He able to regulate [the kingdoms of] metal, wood, and water. Ch'ung was made Kow mang kae Juh-show and S'ew and He, Hsien ming. For ages those families did not fall in their duties but completed the merit of K'ung sang (Shao-hao). These shared in three of the sacrifices. Chuen h'eh had a son called Lo who became the Chuh-yung. Kung lung had a son called Kow lung who became the Hw' too. These shared in two of the sacrifices. Hw' too was sacrificed to at the altar of the land at that of the Spirit of the grain, the director of Agriculture. A son of L'een-shan was called Ch'ao, and he shared in this sacrifice. During the Hsia dynasty and previously they sacrificed to him. K'ao, the ancestor of Chow was also director of Agriculture. From the Shang dynasty downwards, they have sacrificed to him.

Par 5. This event put the climax to the duke's misery and destitution. Henceforth he had no foot hold in Loo. 潰—see on VI. III. I. The people no doubt, found the residence of the duke and his followers in the city to be both troublesome and burdensome. They dispersed, therefore and left his followers the sole occupants of it. The duke himself was at this time in Kan how

[We have here another narrative about affairs in Tsin — 'In winter, Chaou Yang and Seuen Yin of Tsin led a force, and walled Joo-pin, after which they laid upon the [districts of the] State a contribution of a *loo* (=480 catties) of iron, in order to cast penal tripods, on which they inscribed the penal laws prepared by Fan Seuen-tsze'

'Chung-ne said, "Tsin is going to ruin! It has lost its [proper] rules [of administration] Tsin ought to keep the laws and rules which T'ang-shuh received for the regulation of his people. If the ministers and great officers would keep them in their several positions, the people would be able to honour their higher classes, and those higher classes would be able to preserve their inheritances. There would be nothing wrong with the noble or the mean. We should have what might be called the [proper] rules. For this purpose duke Wan made his officers of different degrees, and formed the laws of P'e-leu (See on V xxvii 5), thus becoming lord of covenants. When those rules are now abandoned, and tripods with the penal

laws on them are formed instead, the people will study the tripods, and not care to honour their men of rank. But when there is no distinction of noble and mean, how can a State continue to exist? Moreover, the penal laws of Seuen-tsze are those adopted at the review in E (See the Chuen at the beginning of VI vi),—the enactments which led to the disorder of Tsin, how can they be made its laws?" The historiographer Ts'ae Mii said, "The families of Fan and Chung-liang are in danger of perishing. Chung-liang Yin (*I q* Seun Yin) is an inferior minister, and yet he intrudes into the duties of a higher rank, presuming to make these articles with the penal statutes, to form the laws of the State. This is giving an example of lawlessness, and moreover he involves the Fan family, and will ruin it by the change he is making. Wherein the Chaou family is concerned, Chaou-m'ang indeed has been a party to this, but he could not help it. If he cultivate his virtue, he may escape [the fate of Yin]'"

Compare with the remarks attributed here to Confucius the narrative appended to VI 2.]

Thirtieth year

章 吳滅徐。徐子 冬十月。公在乾侯。六月庚辰。公疾卒。秋八月葬。冬十月。公在乾侯。正月上巳。公在乾侯。

左傳曰。十一年春。公在乾侯。不先言鄆與乾侯。非公且微過也。夏六月。晉頃公卒。秋八月。葬鄭游。公目送葬。魏獻子使景伯詰之曰。悼公之喪。了四。中。了。蟻。送。葬。今。台。了。無。貳。何。故。對曰。諸侯所以歸。晉君。禮也。禮也者。小事大。人。字。小。之。謂。事。人。在。其。時。命。字。小。在。恤。其。所。無。以。敵。邑。居。人。國。之。間。其。其。職。貢。與。其。備。御。不。虞。之。患。豈。忘。其。命。先。之。制。諸。侯。之。喪。一。中。人。大。送。葬。唯。嘉。好。聘。亨。軍。之。事。於。是。才。使。卿。首。之。喪。事。敵。邑。之。間。先。君。有。所。助。執。紼。矣。若。其。不。開。雖。上。人。大。有。所。不。獲。數。矣。人。國。之。患。亦。慶。其。加。而。不。討。其。之。明。底。其。情。取。備。而。已。以。爲。禮。也。靈。之。喪。我。先。君。簡。公。在。楚。我。先。人。夫。印。段。實。往。敵。邑。之。少。卿。也。一。史。不。討。恤。所。無。也。今。大。人。曰。公。從。舊。舊。有。豐。有。省。不。知。所。從。從。

其豐則寡君幼弱是以不共從其省則吉在此矣唯大夫圖之晉人不能詰

吳子使徐人執掩餘使鍾吾人執燭庸二公子奔楚楚子大封而定其徙使監馬尹大心逆吳公子使居養莠尹然左司馬沈尹戌城之取於城父與胡田以與之將以害吳也子西諫曰吳光新得國而親其民視民如子辛苦同之將用之也若好吾邊疆使柔服焉猶懼其至吾又彊其讐以重怒之無乃不可乎吳周之內裔也而棄在海濱不與姬通今而始大比於諸華光又甚文將自同於先王不知天將以爲虐乎使伯嚭喪吳國而封大異姓乎其抑亦將卒以祚吳乎其終不遠矣我盍姑億吾鬼神而寧吾族姓以待其歸將焉用自播揚焉王弗聽吳子怒冬十二月吳子執鍾吾子遂伐徐防山以水之己卯滅徐徐子章禹斷其髮攜其夫人以逆吳子吳子唁而送之使其趨臣從之遂奔楚楚沈尹戌帥師救徐弗及遂城夷使徐子處之○吳子問於伍員曰初而言伐楚余知其可也而恐其使余往也又張人之有余之功也今余將自有之矣伐楚何如對曰楚執政衆而乖莫適任患若爲三師以肄焉一師至彼必皆出彼出則歸彼歸則出楚必道敝亟肄以罷之多方以誤之既罷而後以三軍繼之必大克之闔廬從之楚於是乎始病

- XXX. 1 In his thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan how  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, Keu tsih, marquis of Tsai, died  
3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke King of Tsai  
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo extinguished Seu, and Chiang yu, viscount of Seu, fled to Ts'oo

Par 1 The duke had gone, the previous spring, to Kan-how and we may suppose, had remained there. It was of no use for him to think now of returning to Yun, as that city had been abandoned by the inhabitants. The 在 in the text, instead of the 居 in XXVII. 1 *et al* is accounted for by the fact that Yun was in Loo, a city belonging to the duke, in which circumstances obliged him for a time to take up his residence, whereas he could only be described as being in Kan how which belonged to another State. But is there anything more

any judgment of Confucius, indicated by the record 公在乾侯 repeated as it is at the commencement of the two next years? Dukes of Loo had more than once on previous occasions during the period of the Chun Ts'ao been absent from their capitals at the beginning of the year but once only does the text record the fact, in the 公在楚 of IX. xlix. 1 See the notes there. The critics are divided on the question. Too Yu (Trying to explain Ts'ao's language here which the Kang ho editors do not give and which I have tried in vain to under

stand) finds in the language the expression of condemnation,—indicating that the duke was an exile, through his own misconduct, and obstinacy in rejecting the counsels of T'ze-kea, and this view is strongly advocated by Maou Se-ho. Loo Ch'ang and others see in the language the expression of the sage's sympathy with the duke. Loo had cast him out, but the sage would thus keep Loo in mind of him

(所以存公), and show his own opinion that the duke was still the only ruler of the State. It is sufficient for the student to be content with the fact as it is recorded.

Par 2, 3 The funeral of the marquis took place earlier than it should have done, according to the rule prescribed for such a ceremony. That the duke, though in Tsin, took no action on the occasion, shows that his residence in that State was barely permitted.

The Chuen says — 'Yew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin to offer the condolences of his State, and to accompany the funeral. Wei Hcen-tze sent Sze King-pih to question him, saying, "On the death of duke Taou, Ts'ze-se came with condolences, and Tsze-keaou attended the funeral (See the 1st narrative of the Chuen after IX xv 7), what is the reason that you Sir, have no second commissioner with you?" Keih replied, "The reason why the States acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Tsin lies in the rules of propriety, by which are [here] to be understood the service of a great State by a small one, and the cherishing of the small State by the great one. The service appears in obedience to the commands which are given from time to time, the cherishing in the great State's compassion for the other's wants or inabilities. In consequence of the situation of our poor State between great States, we perform our duties and render our contributions. If we have unhappily not been able [at any time] to present our contribution against unforeseen evils, it was not because we presumed to forget your commands."

'The rule of the ancient kings was, that, on the death of the prince of a State, a simple officer should be sent from other States to express their condolences, and a great officer to attend the funeral. Only on occasions of marriage, friendly alliances, complimentary missions, and offerings, was a minister to be sent. On occasions of death among the rulers of Tsin, when there was leisure in our poor State, our former rulers have at times assisted, and held the traces of the bier. If there was no leisure [from existing affairs], even an officer and great officer have not been sent as the letter of the rule required. Your great State approved, in its kindness, where our observances exceeded, and did not condemn where they were deficient, entering intelligently into the circumstances of our condition, and accepting what we were able to do, as a compliance with propriety. On the death of king Ling (In the 29th year of duke S'ang), our ruler was in Ts'oo, and our great officer Yin Twan went to the capital. He was but a junior minister of our State, but the king's officers threatened no punishment,—they pitied our not having the means to do otherwise. Now, Sir great officer, you ask why we have not followed the old fashion. The old fashion went sometimes beyond the rule, and sometimes fell short of it. I do not know which old fashion we ought to have followed. If you say that

which went beyond the rule, our ruler is too young to have observed it. If you say that which fell short of the rule, then I am here. Do you consider the matter?"

'The people of Tsin could not question him any further.'

Par 4 Kung-yang has 出 for 羽. The Chuen says — 'The viscount of Woo required the people of Seu to seize Yen-yu, and the people of Chung-woo to seize Chuh-yung (See the Chuen on XXVII 1), on which those two Kung-ts'zes fled to Ts'oo. The viscount of that State made them a large grant of land, and determined where they should remove to, making Ta-sin, the inspector of [the king's] horses, meet them and conduct them to Yang as their residence. Jen the Yü-director, and Seuh commandant of Shun, the marshal of the Left, walled that city, and annexed to it part of the lands of Shung-foo and Hoo. This was done with the intention of injuring Woo, but Ts'ze-se remonstrated, saying, "Kwang of Woo has lately got that State, and is showing affliction to his people. He regards them as his sons, and shares in all their sufferings,—it must be with the intention of using them. If we were to cultivate good relations with the borders of Woo, and make them submit to our gentleness we should have reason to fear that State's attacking us, but we go and give territory to its enemies, and thereby increase its anger,—this surely is improper. Woo is connected by a long descent with the House of Chow, but lying apart along the sea, it has not had intercourse with the other Ke States. Now, however, it has begun to be great, and may be compared with one of the States of the kingdom. Kwang also is very accomplished, and will wish to pursue a similar course to the former kings. We do not know whether Heaven will make him the object of its wrath, causing him to clip and ruin the State of Woo, and aggrandize with it some other surname, or whether it will in the end make him the instrument of blessing Woo. The result will not be distant, why should we not meanwhile allow our Spirits to be quiet, and our people to rest in peace, till we see how the scale turns? Why should we ourselves commence a toilsome struggle?" The king would not listen to this advice, and the viscount of Woo, enraged [with the course of Ts'oo], in the 12th month seized the viscount of Chung-woo, and then went on to invade Seu. He raised embankments on the hills so as to lay the capital under water, and on Ke-maou he extinguished the State. Chang-yu, the viscount of Sen, cut off his hair, and went forth, with his wife, to meet his enemy, who consoled with him and sent him away, making his most intimate officers follow him, on which he fled to Ts'oo. Seuh commandant of Shun, was leading a force to relieve Sen but he did not arrive in time, so he walled E and assigned it to the viscount of Sen for a residence. The viscount of Woo asked Woo Yun, saying, "When you spoke formerly of invading Ts'oo, I knew the advisableness of such a measure (See XX the 2d narr at the beginning). But I was afraid the king would send myself, and I disliked another man's receiving the merit of my exploits. Now it will be my own,—what do you say to attacking Ts'oo?" Yun replied, "The govt of Ts'oo is in the hands of many, who are

at variance among themselves, and not one of them could bear the burden of calamity. If we form three armies to harass it, when one of them approaches, all the forces of Ts'oo will turn out. Let it then retire; and when they retire let us advance again. Ts'oo will thus be weary with marching; and when we have thus repeatedly harassed and worn it out leading it wrong also in many ways, if we follow up our plan with all our three armies, we are sure to make a great conquest." Hsiu len followed this counsel, and Ts'oo thus began to be distressed.

Thirty first year

二一有年春一十月公  
在乾侯。  
季孫意如會晉荀躒于適  
。夏四月丁巳薛伯穀卒。  
晉侯使荀躒唁公于乾侯。  
秋葬薛獻公。  
冬黑肱以濫來奔。  
一有月辛亥朔日有食  
之。

左傳曰三十一年春王正月公在乾侯言不能外內也

晉侯將以師納公范獻子曰昔召季孫而不來則信不臣矣然後伐之若何晉人召季孫獻子使私焉曰子來我受其無咎季孫意如會晉荀躒于適歷荀躒曰寡君使躒謂吾子何故出君有君不事周有常刑子其圖之季孫練冠麻衣跣行伏而對曰事君臣之所不得也敢逃刑命君若以臣爲有罪請囚於轅以待君之察也亦唯君若以先臣之故不絕季氏而賜之死若弗殺弗亡君之惠也死且不朽若得從君而歸則固臣之願也故有異心

薛伯穀卒同盟故書

夏四月季孫從荀伯如乾侯子家子曰君與之歸一慙之不忍而終身慙乎公曰諾衆曰在一言矣君必逐之荀躒以晉侯之命唁公且曰寡君使躒以君命討於意如意如才敢

逃死，君其入也。公曰：君患顧先君之好，施及亡人，將使歸葬，除宗祧以事君，則不能見夫人，已所能見夫人者，有如河。荀躒掩耳而走，曰：寡君其罪之恐，敢與知魯國之難，臣請復於寡君，退而謂季孫，君怒未怠，了姑歸祭了家了，曰：君以乘入於魯師，季孫必與君歸，公欲從之，衆從者脅公，不得歸。

○秋，吳人侵楚，伐夷，侵潛，入楚，沈尹戌帥師救潛，吳師還，楚師還，潛於南岡而還。吳師圍弦，左司馬戌，右司馬稽，帥師救弦，及豫章，吳師還，始用了肯之謀也。冬，邾黑肱以濫來奔，賤而書名，重地故也。君了曰：名之不可不慎也，如是，夫有所有名，而不如其已，以地叛，雖賤必書，地以名其人，終爲不義，弗可滅已，是故君子動則思禮，行則思義，不爲利回，不爲義疚，或求名而不得，或欲蓋而名，章懲不義也。齊豹爲衛司寇，守嗣人夫，作而不義，其書爲盜，邾庶其，莒牟夷，邾黑肱，以土地出，求食而已，不求其名，賤而必書，此物者，所以懲肆而大貪也。若艱難其身，以險危大人，而有名章微，攻難之上，將奔走之，若竊鼎，叛君，以微人利而無名，貪冒之民，將寘力焉，是以春秋書齊豹曰盜，叛人名，以懲不義，數忠無禮，其善志也，故曰：春秋之稱微而顯，婉而辨，上之人能使昭明，善人勸焉，淫人懼焉，是以君了貴之。

十一月，辛亥朔，日有食之，是夜也，趙簡子夢了，而轉以歌，曰：占諸史墨，曰：吾夢如是，今而日食，何也？對曰：六年及此月也，吳其入郢乎？終亦弗克，入郢必以庚辰，日月在辰尾，庚午之日，日始有謫，火勝金，故弗克。

- XXXI
- 1 In his thirty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how
  - 2 Ké-sun E-joo, had a meeting with Seun Leih of Tsin in Teih-leih
  - 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, Kuh, earl of Seeh, died
  - 4 The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Leih to condole with the duke in Kan-how
  - 5 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Heen of Seeh.
  - 6 In winter Hih-kwäng came a fugitive to Loo with [the city of] Lan
  - 7 In the twelfth month, on Sin-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed

Par 1 See on the 1st par of last year. Tao-she observes here that the record indicates the duke's incompetency both in Loo and abroad. His own subjects would not have him in Loo, and neither T'ai nor Tsin would afford him effectual succour.

Par 2. We have here and in par 4 an account of negotiations which might have ended in the restoration of the duke to Loo, but for the obstinacy of him and his followers. Duke Hsing of Tsin had been succeeded by his son Woo (4) — duke Ting, — who was anxious to signalize his accession by such an exercise of his influence. Hung yang here and afterwards, has 侯 for 侯. Tsin leih was a city of Tsin.

The Chuen says — The marquis of Tsin proposed sending an army to restore the duke but Fan Hsien tzu said to him, "If you summon Ke-sun and he do not come, it will be evident that he is a traitor to his ruler. What do you say to attacking him after [he has refused to come]?" [Accordingly] the people of Tsin summoned Ke-sun to their State, and Hsien tzu privately sent word to him to be sure to come, saying that he would undertake that he should not suffer anything. When they met as described in the text, Keun Leih said, "My ruler has charged me to say to you, 'Why have you expelled your ruler?' Chow has a regular punishment for him who has a ruler and does not serve him. Do you consider the case." Ke-sun, who had on a cap of white silk, wore clothes of sackcloth, and was barefoot, prostrated himself and replied, "I have not found it in my power to serve my ruler and I will not presume to flee from the punishment which he may order. If he considers that I am chargeable with guilt, let me be confined in P'o to await the result of his investigation; and then let it be with me as he shall determine. If out of regard to my fathers, he do not entirely cut off the family of Ke, but appoint [only] me to die, or if he do not put me to death or send me into exile, it will be his kindness, which I'll death even I will not forget. But if I am allowed to follow him, and return to Loo, this is what I desire. Should I dare to have any other thought?"

Par 3. Tao-she observes here that we have this record, because the earl of Seeh and the duke had covenanted together and to illustrate his meaning, Tao says that this is the first time that the name of an earl of Seeh has appeared in the text and Tao-she thought it necessary to assign the reason for it. Other canons, however, account for the occurrence of the name here differently.

Par 4. This is the sequel of par 2. The Chuen says — In summer in the 4th month Ke-sun followed Cho Hsi (Seun Leih) to Kan-hou when Taze-kia tzu said [to the duke], "Let your lordship return with him. If you cannot bear the shame of [a day], how can you bear that of your whole life?" The duke assented, but all [the rest of his followers] said, "It all lies in a single word. You must [get Tsin to] expel him."

Seun Leih expressed to the duke the condolences of the marquis of Tsin, and said, "My ruler charged me, in accordance with your lordship's orders, to reprove E-joo. He does not presume to flee from [a sentence of] death. You can [now] enter Loo. The duke said

"Through the kindness of your ruler having regard to the friendship between our predecessors, and extended to me a fugitive I will return, and cleanse and set in order my ancestral temple to do service to him, but I cannot see that man. I swear by the Ho that I will not see him." Seun Leih covered his ears, and ran away saying, "My ruler feared that this would be his offence. He dare not take any further knowledge of the troubles of Loo. I will report to him what has occurred. He then retired, and said to Ke-sun, "Your ruler's anger is not yet abated. Do you return for the present, and offer the sacrifices." Taze-kia tzu urged the duke to enter among the troops of Loo with a single chariot, assuring him that Ke-sun would in that case return to Loo with him; and he wished to do so, but all the [other] followers put such a constraint upon him that he could not return.

Kuh kang gives a different account of this affair. Acc. to Tao-she's account, there is a difficulty with the 陪. If the way was now open for the duke's return to Loo, there was occasion for congratulation rather than condolence. Acc. to Kuh-kang, Seun Leih was sent to condole with the duke that he could not enter Loo, and to say I have spoken about it in your behalf but E-joo refused. The K'ang bo editors seem to admit both accounts, or to think at least that Kuh kang gives the truth, which is veiled under the speeches in Tao-she.

Par 5. [The Chuen here continues the narrative at the end of last year — In autumn, a body of men from Woo made a stealthy incursion into Ts'oo, attacked E, and overran the country about Ts'oo and Luh. Seuh, commandant of Shin, led a force to relieve Ts'oo, on which the troops of Woo retired. Those of Ts'oo did the same, after removing the people of Ts'oo to Nan kang.]

A force from Woo [then] laid siege to Hsien; and Seuh and K'ao, marshals of the Left and the Right, led troops to relieve it; and when they had got to Yu-chang the Woo-lies retired. In this way Woo began to use the plan of Taze-seu (Woo lun).]

Par 6. Kang yang has 弓 for 肱. There should be a 邦 before 黑 but it was inadvertently omitted by the historians or which is more likely has dropped out of the text. Lan was a city of Choo, — in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'ang (滕), d. p. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says — The fugitive was of low rank, but his name is given, importance being attached to the [fact of his surrendering] territory (See on V 4). The superior man will say "The care which is to be exercised in the case of the name appears here. [Hsi kwang] had it is territory and so he has his name [recorded], though it would have been better for him that it had not been so. Retiring with the territory although he was of low rank, it was necessary to mention the territory and thence to name the man, so that in the end his doing what was not righteous could not be obliterated; therefore the superior man is anxious that his movements should be in accordance with propriety and his conduct with righteousness. He does not take a crooked course for gain, nor does he





我兄弟竝有亂心，以爲伯父憂。我一二親昵甥舅，不皇敢處。於今十年，勦戍五年，余一人無日忘之。閔閔焉如農夫之望歲懼以待時，伯父若肆大惠復二文之業，弛周室之憂，徵文武之福，以固盟主，宣昭令名，則余一人有大願矣。昔成王合諸侯，城成周以爲東都，崇文德焉。今我欲徵福假靈於成王，修成周之城，俾成人無勦諸侯用寧，蝥賊遠屏，晉之力也。其委諸伯父，使伯父實重圖之。俾我一人無徵怨於百姓，而伯父有榮施。先王庸之，范獻子謂魏獻子曰：「與其戍周，不如城之。」天子實云：「雖有後事，晉勿與知可也。」從王命以紓諸侯，晉國無憂，是之不務而又焉從事？魏獻子曰：「善。」使伯音對曰：「天子有命，敢不奉承，以奔告於諸侯。遲速衰序，於是焉在。冬十一月，晉魏舒、韓不信如京師，合諸侯之大夫於狄泉，尋盟。且令城成周。魏子南而衛彪侯曰：「魏子必有大咎，千位以令大事，非其任也。」詩曰：「敬天之怒，不敢戲豫。」敬天之渝，不敢馳驅。況敢千位以作大事乎？己丑，士燮卒。管成周計丈數，揣高卑，度厚薄，勿溝洫，物土方，議遠邇，量事期，計徒庸，慮財用，費餼糧，以令役於諸侯。屬役賦丈，晉以授帥，而效諸劉子。韓簡子臨之，以爲成命。

十二月，公疾，偏暈。大夫不受，賜子家子。雙琥一環一璧，輕服受之。大夫皆受其賜。己未，公薨。子家子反賜於府人，曰：「吾不敢逆君命也。」大夫皆反其賜。晉曰：「公薨于乾侯，言失其所也。」趙簡子問於史墨曰：「季氏出其君，而民服焉，諸侯與之，君死於外，而莫之或罪也。」對曰：「物生有兩，有三，有五，有陪貳。故天有三辰，地有五行，體有左右，各有妃耦。王有公諸侯，有卿皆有貳也。天生季氏以貳魯侯，爲日久矣。民之服焉，不亦宜乎？魯君世從其失，季氏世修其勦，民忘君矣，雖死於外，其誰矜之？社稷無常奉，君臣無常位，自古以然。故詩曰：『高岸爲谷，深谷爲陵。』三后之姓，於今爲庶。主所知也。在易卦，雷乘乾曰大壯，天之道也。昔成季友桓之季也，文姜之愛子也，始震而卜，卜人謁之曰：『生有嘉聞，其名曰友，爲公室輔及生。』如卜人之言，有文在其手，曰『友』，遂以名之。旣而有大功於魯，受寶以爲上卿，至於文子、武子，世增其業，不廢舊績。魯文公薨而東門遂殺適立庶魯君，於是乎失國。」

假人。不可以器與名。爲君。傾國。是以得不知君。公矣。民君也。四氏於此。政在季

- XXXII 1 In his thirty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how. He took K'an.
- 2 In summer, Woo invaded Yueh.
- 3 It was autumn, the seventh month
- 4 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke joined Han Puh-sin of Tsin, Kaou Chang of Ts'e, Chung Ke of Sung, She-shuh Shin of Wei, Kwoh Ts'an of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'anou, Ken, Seeh, K'e, and Little Choo, in walling Ch'ing-chow
- 5 In the twelfth month, on Ke-we, the duke died in Kan-how.

Par 1 K'an,—see II xi 9 Tso repeats on this par his remark on the first of last year, with the addition that it shows also how the duke could not use his friends,—referring to his repeated neglect of the counsels of Tsz-ka. He says nothing of the duke's capture of K'an. Kung-yang erroneously says it was a city of Choo, but this is inconsistent with what we read of it in the Chuen on XI 1 4. The questions of how and why the duke took it must be left unanswered.

Par 2 The Chuen says —'This was the first instance of a [regular] expedition on the part of Woo against Yueh. The historiographer Mih said, "In less than 40 years Yueh is likely to have possession of Woo! The year-star is now in Yueh's quarter of the heavens, and Woo, invading that State, is sure to experience an evil influence from it"'

Par 4, K'uh-leang has 太叔 for 世叔, and after 呂人 he has 邾人, where Kung-yang also has 邾婁人

The Chuen says —'In autumn, in the 8th month, the king sent Foo Sin and Shih Chang to Tsin, to ask that Ch'ing-chow might be walled. The son of Heaven said, "Heaven sent down calamity on Chow, and made my brothers all have a feeling of insubordination, to the grief of you my uncle. You princes of my own surname, and those of other surnames, have not dwelt in quiet, [because of my troubles], now for ten years, and for five you have had the labour of guarding my territory. There is not a day in which I, the one man, forget your service. My grief is like that of the husbandman, who is looking for a good year [after one of scarcity], and trembling waits for the [coming] season. If you, my uncle, will extend your great kindness, and repeat the service of [your ancestors], the two Wān, by removing the sorrow of the House of Chow, thereby getting the blessing of Wān and Woo, to establish your position as lord of covenants, and publish abroad your good name, then I, the one man, will have got what I greatly wish. Formerly king Ch'ing assembled the princes, and fortified Ch'ing-chow, that it might be the eastern capital [of the

kingdom],—thus honouring the virtue of [king] Wān. Now I wish, by the blessing and powerful influence of king Ch'ing, to repair the walls of Ch'ing chow, that my guards may be relieved of their toil that the States may be able to rest, that the evils which prey on us like insects may be removed far away,—and this is to be done by the strength of Tsin. I lay it upon you, my uncle, that you may take it into serious consideration, and thus I, the one man, will not excite [any longer] the dissatisfaction of the people, and you will have the glory of the beneficence, which [the Spirits of] my predecessors will reckon to be your merit.

'Pan Heen-tze said to Wei Heen-tze, "It is better to wall the city than to keep on guarding Chow,—as the son of Heaven has said. If there be any future troubles, Tsin need not take any knowledge of them. By following the king's orders we shall give relief to the States, and Tsin will be freed from a cause of anxiety,—if we do not earnestly address ourselves to this, in what other thing should we engage?" Wei Heen-tze approved, and sent Pih-yin to reply, "We dare not but receive with reverence the orders of the son of Heaven, and will at once send instructions to the various States. How early or how late and in what order [the work is to be done], shall be as you prescribe."

'In winter, in the 11th month, Wei Shoo and Han Puh sin went to the capital, and assembled the great officers of the [various] States in Teih-ts'euén, where they renewed the [existing] covenant, and gave orders for the walling of Ch'ing-chow. [On this occasion] Wei-tze took a position with his face to the south (As if he had been a ruler giving audience), which made Pew He of Wei say, "Wei-tze is sure to meet with [some] great calamity. To arrogate such a place, and there give orders for our great undertaking, does not belong to his office. The ode (She, III 11 ode X 8) says —

'Revere the anger of Heaven,  
And presume not to be mocking and self-complacent  
Revere the changing moods of Heaven,  
And presume not to be gadding about,'

how much less should one arrogate a place [that is not his] to carry out a great undertaking."

On Ke-ch'ow Sze Mo-mow surveyed Ch'ing chow and calculated the height and thickness of the wall [that had to be built] measured the depth of the moats and ditches, determined the situation of the ground estimated the distance of the parts [from one another], reckoned the time for the work and the number of the work men, made provision for the materials, and wrote down the amount of provisions, in order to assign their services to the different States, with the quantity of work to be done by their men. He gave his specifications to the officers [of the different States], and submitted the whole to the viscount of Lōw Han K'ien tze under took the superintendence of the work; and thus the [king's] command was executed.


Par 5 The Chuen says:—In the 12th month, the duke was ill, and gave gifts to his great officers all round, which they would not receive. Tze-k'ea tze, however received what were presented to him,—a piece of jade with two tigers cut upon it, a ring and a pair; on which all the others accepted their gifts. On Ke-wa, the duke died, and Tze-k'ea tze returned the gifts to the treasurer saying "I took them because I did not dare to oppose the ruler's order. All the others did the same. The style of the text, that "the duke died in Kan-how shows how he was not in the proper place for such an event.

Ch'ao K'ien tze asked the historiographer M'ih, saying "Ke-aho expelled his ruler and the people submitted to him, and the States assented to his act. His ruler has died out of Loo, and no one incriminates him." M'ih replied, "Things are produced in twos, in threes in fives,—in pairs. Hence in the heavens there are the three Sze; in earth there are the five elementary substances; the body has the left [side] and the right and every one has his mate or double. Kings have their dukes, and princes have their ministers who are their doubles. Heaven produced the Ke family to be the double of the marquise of Loo, as has been the case for long. Is it not right that the people should submit in this case? The rulers of Loo have, one after another lost their power and the Heads of the Ke family have, one after another diligently improved their position. The people have forgotten their ruler and, though he has [now] died abroad, who pities him? The

[same] altars are not always maintained in a State; rulers and ministers do not always retain their [different] positions; from of old it has been so. Hence the ode (II iv ode IX. 3) says,

High banks become valleys,  
Deep valleys become heights.

The surnames of the six reigns of the three [previous dynasties] are now borne by men among the people,—as you know. Among the diagrams of the Yih there is Ta-ch'wang (大

壯 , where we have the [trigram of] thunder mounted upon that of heaven,—thus showing the way of Heaven. Ch'ing Ke-yōw was the youngest son of duke Hwan, the beloved son of Wan K'ang. When she first felt that she was pregnant, she consulted the tortoise-shell, and the diviner told her that she would have a son of admirable character and famous, that his name would be Yōw and that he would be a help to the ducal House (Comp. the narrative appended to IV ii 5). When the child was born, as the diviner had said, there was the character Yōw (友) on his hand, by which he was named. Afterwards, he did great and good service to Loo, received Pe and was made minister of the highest rank. His descendants Wan-tze and Woo-tze successively increased their patrimony and did nothing contrary to the old services of their family. On the death of duke Wan of Loo, when Tung mun (the Kung tze Buy of VI. xviii. 8, et al.; called also S'ang-chung) killed his proper heir and raised the son of a concubine to the marquessate, the rulers of Loo from that time lost their power and the government was in the hands of the Ke family. The deceased was the fourth of them. When the people have ceased to know the ruler as such, how should he possess the State? Hence it appears that rulers of States should be careful of the insignia and names of rank, and should not let them be in the hands of others."

The last eight years of duke Ch'ao's life were thus spent by him as a fugitive from Loo in T'ue and Tain. He was evidently a man of little character or capacity and the wonder is that Ke-erui E-foo did not take the title of marquise of Loo to himself.

First year.

定公

<sup>一章</sup>元年春王三月，晉人執宋

仲幾于京師。

<sup>二章</sup>夏六月癸亥，公之喪，金白

乾侯。戊辰，公卽位。

<sup>三章</sup>秋七月癸巳，葬我君昭公。

<sup>四章</sup>九月大雩。

<sup>五章</sup>立煬宮。

<sup>六章</sup>冬十月，隕霜殺菽。

左傳曰：元年春，十正月辛巳，晉魏舒合諸侯之人人於狄泉，將以城成周。魏了泄政，衛彪傒曰：將建人了，而易位以令，非義也。人事奸義，必有人咎。晉不失諸侯，魏了其不免乎？是行也，魏獻了屬役於韓簡了，及原喜過，而川於人陸焚焉，遂卒於甯。范獻了次其柏櫛，以其不復命而田也。孟懿了會城成周，庚寅，栽宋仲幾不受功，曰：滕，薛，鄆，台役也。薛字曰宋爲無道，絕我小國於周，以我適楚，故我常從宋。晉文公爲踐上之盟，曰：凡我同盟各復舊職。若從踐上，若從宋，亦唯命。仲幾曰：踐上固然。薛字曰：薛之卑祖，爰仲居薛，以爲夏申止。爰仲遷於邠，仲虺居薛，以爲湯人相。若復舊職，將承一官，何故以役諸侯？仲幾曰：代各異物，薛焉得有舊爲宋役，亦其職也。一彌牟曰：晉之從政者新了，姑受功歸，台視諸

故府仲幾曰：縱子忘之，山川鬼神，其忘諸乎？士伯怒，謂韓簡子曰：薛徵於人，宋徵於鬼，宋罪大矣，且已無辭，而抑我以神，誣我也，敢寵納侮，其此之謂矣，必以仲幾爲戮，乃執仲幾以歸。三月，歸諸京師。城三旬而畢，乃歸諸侯之戍。齊高張後，不從諸侯，晉女叔寬曰：周襄弘、齊高張皆將不免，長叔違天，高子違人，天之所殞，不可支也；衆之所爲，不可奸也。

夏，叔孫成子逆公之喪於乾侯。季孫曰：子家子盟言於我，未嘗不中吾志也。吾欲與之從政，子必止之。且聽命焉。子家子不見叔孫，易幾而哭。叔孫請見子家子，子家子辭曰：「禍未得見，而從君以出，君不命而弔，我不敢見。」叔孫使告之曰：「公衍公爲，實使羣臣不得事君。若公子宋主社稷，則羣臣之願也。凡從君出而可以入者，將嘔子。」是聽子家氏，未有後。季孫願與子從政，此皆季孫之願也，使不敢以告。對曰：「若立君，則有卿士大夫，與守龜在羈，弗敢知。若從君者，則貌而出者，入可也；寇而出者，行可也。若羈也，則君知其出也，而未知其入也。」羈將述也，喪及壞隤，公子宋先入從公者，皆自壞隤反。六月癸亥，公之喪至。自乾侯，戊辰，公即位。

季孫使役如闕公氏，將溝焉。榮駕鸞曰：「生不能事，死又離之，以自旌也。縱子忍之，後必或耻之。」乃止。季孫問於茅鴞，鸞曰：「吾欲爲君諡，使子孫知之。」對曰：「生弗能事，死又惡之，以自信也，將焉用之？」乃止。秋七月，癸巳，葬昭公於墓道南。孔子之爲司寇也，溝而合諸墓。

昭公出，故季平子禱於煬公。九月，立煬宮。  
○周鞏簡公棄其子弟，而好用遠人。

- I 1 In the [dukes] first year, in spring, in the kings third month, the people of Tsai seized Chung Ke of Sung in the capital.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Kwei hae, the coffin of duke [Ch'au] arrived from Kan how. On Mow-shin the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 3 In autumn in the seventh month, on Kwei sze, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'au.
- 4 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

5 We set up a temple to duke Yang

6 In winter, in the tenth month, there fell hoarfrost, which killed the pulse

TITLE OF THE BOOK 一定公, 'Duke Ting'

As duke Ch'au's sons had been the instigators of the attack on Ke P'ing-tsze which had led to their father's expulsion from the State and his death in exile, it was not to be supposed that one of them would now be called to the marquissate. P'ing-tsze was not prepared to seize the State for himself, and as some action was now necessary, in consequence of duke Ch'au's death, he agreed to the appointment of Sung (宋), a son of duke S'ang, and a younger brother of Ch'au, who had been among his followers in Ts'e and Ts'in. We are not told who the mother of Sung was, but he must at this time, we may conclude, have been over 40 years of age. His honorary title denotes 'Giving rest to the people, and greatly anxious (安民人慮曰定)'

Ting's 1st year synchronized with the 11th of king King (敬 1), the 3d of Ting of Ts'in (定), the 39th of King of Ts'e, the 26th of Ling of Wei (靈 公), the 10th of Ch'au of Ts'ao (昭), the 5th of Heen of Ch'ing (獻 公), the 1st of T'ung, duke Yin, of Ts'au (隱 公通), the 21st of Hwuy of Ch'in (惠 公), the 9th of Taou of K'e (悼), the 8th of King of Sung (景 公), the 28th of Gae of Ts'in (哀 公), the 7th of Ch'au of Ts'oo (昭), and the 6th of Hoh-leu (閼廬) of Woo

Par 1 The three Chuen all make two paragraphs of this, taking the 4 characters 元年春 1 as the 1st, and 月, 六, 六, as the other, and the K'ang-he editors follow their example. But 元年春 1 do not make sense by themselves, and to suppose that 止月 was purposely suppressed by Confucius, to mark his condemnation of all the circumstances of the time, appears to me quite unreasonable. The K'ang-he editors say — 'On the omission of 止月 after 元年, Too Yu observes that it is owing to the fact that duke Ting's accession only took place in the 6th month. Many of the critics have followed him, holding further that the suppression shows the impropriety of Ke-she's exercising the ducal prerogative of giving out the times of new moon,—and this view is altogether in accordance with the facts and reason of the case. Shao Paou, Ch'au H'ang, and Yu Kwang, however, think the omission is owing simply to there having been nothing to record under the 1st and 2d months of this year.' I cannot hesi-

tate to accept this latter explanation, unless, indeed, as it may be, 止月 have dropped out of the text. On the whole of the paragraph, as I have printed it, the Chuen narrates — 'In spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-sze, Wei Shoo of Ts'in assembled the great officers of [many of] the States in Teih-ts'uen, to proceed to the wailing of Ch'ing-chow. Wei-tsze took the government of the undertaking, on which Pew He of Wei said, "It is not right in him to take another position than his own, when we are [thus] proceeding to strengthen the [residence of the] son of Heaven. A violation of right in such a great matter is sure to be followed by great evil. If Ts'in do not lose the States, Wei-tsze will probably come to an early death." Wei Heen-tsze then proceeded to entrust the service to Han Keen-tsze and Yuen Shoo-kwo, while he himself hunted in Ia-luh, setting fire to the coverts, and as he was returning, he died in Ning. Fan Heen-tsze refused to his body the coffin of cypress wood, because he had gone to hunt before reporting the execution of his commission.'

M'ing E-tsze [now came to] take part in the wailing, and on K'ang-jin they erected the building-frames. Chung Ke of Sung, however, then declined his share of the work, saying, "T'ang, S'eh, and E must serve for us." The administrator of S'eh said, "Sung is acting contrary to what is proper, cutting off its small States from Chow. Having taken us with it to Ts'oo, we have always followed it. But when duke Wan of Ts'in made the covenant of T'seen-t'oo, it was said, 'All of us covenanting States shall return to our old duties.' Whether we shall follow [that covenant of] T'seen-t'oo or follow Sung, it is [for Ts'in] to say." Chung Ke said, "By that covenant even it should be as I say," and the administrator replied, "The founder of S'eh, He-chung, dwelt in S'eh, and was master of the carriages to [the founder of the] Hea [dynasty]. He removed to P'ei, but Chung-hwuy [again] dwelt in S'eh, and was minister of the Left to T'ang. If we were to resume our old duties, we should be officers of the king,—what cause is there that we should do service for any of the States?" Chung Ke said, "Each of the three dynasties is a different thing. How can S'eh have any older [duty] than its present? To do the service of Sung is its duty." Sze Me-mow said, "The present chief minister of Ts'in is newly appointed (Fan H'een-tsze, who had taken the place of Wei Shoo). Do you (to Chung Ke) in the mean time accept the duty. When I return [to Ts'in], I will look into the old archives." Chung Ke replied, "You may forget it, but will the Spirits of the hills and streams forget it?" Sze Pih was angry, and said to Han Keen-tsze, "S'eh makes its appeal to men, and Sung makes its appeal to Spirits. The offence of Sung is great. Having nothing, moreover, to say for itself, it presses us with [this appeal to] Spirits,—it is imposing on us. Its conduct is an illustration of the saying, 'If you open the door to favourites, you will experience contempt from them (See the Shoo,

IV. viii. Pt. II. 9). We must make an example of Chung Ka. Accordingly they seized Chung Ka and carried him back [to Tsin] but in the 3d month they brought him again to the capital.

The walling was finished in 30 days, and the guards of the different States were then sent home. Kaou Chang of Ts'ao arrived late and did not engage in the work with the other States. Joo Shuh-k'wan of Tsin said, "Neither Chang Hwang of Chow nor Kaou Chang of Ts'ao will escape [an evil fate]. Chang Shuh has acted in opposition to Heaven, and Kaou tze in opposition to men. That which Heaven is overthrowing cannot be supported; that which all men are engaged in cannot be opposed."

[It is difficult to reconcile the second part of this Chuen with the text. The seizure of Chung Ka in the capital was the bringing of him back to it from Tsin, whither he had been carried after his seizure. On Ke-ch'ow of the 11th month of last year Sze Mo-mow made all the arrangements, and K'ang yin was the day after that on which the work commenced; and not a day in the 1st month of this year Shu-tze, when the meeting was held in Tsin-tzu wen, was the 8th day before Ke-ch'ow.]

Par 2. 3. The Chuen says:—In summer Shuh-sun Ch'ing tze (The son of Shuh-sun Shay or Ch'ao tze; his name was Puh kan,

不敢 went to meet the coffin of the duke in Kan bow. Ke-sun had said to him, "Tze-k'ea-tze repeatedly spoke [to the duke] about me, and always cuttily expressed my views. I wish to carry on the government along with him. You must [try to] detain him, and allow him to do as he pleases." Tze-k'ea-tze, however, would not see Shuh-sun, and wept at a different time [from him over the coffin]; and when Shuh-sun sought an interview with him, he declined it, saying "I had not seen you, when I followed our ruler forth, and he died without giving me any orders. I dare not [now] see you." Shuh-sun then sent to say to him, "Kung yen and Kung wei were the cause why we all were made unable to serve our ruler. If the Kung tze Sung (Duke Ting) will preside over the altars, it is what we all desire. As to all who left the State in attendance on the ruler, we will receive your instructions regarding those who may be permitted to enter it [again]. No one was appointed to be the representative of the family of Tze-k'ea, but Ke-sun wishes to carry on the government along with you. These all are the wishes of Ke-sun, and he instructed me to inform you of them." The other replied, "As to the appointment of a ruler there are the ministers, the great officers, and the keeper of the tortoise-shell in the State [to decide about it]; I dare not take any knowledge of it. As to those who followed the ruler let those who left the State from a feeling of propriety return, and let those who did so as enemies [of Ke-sun] go elsewhere. As to myself, our ruler knew of my leaving the State, but he did not know that I would enter it [again]; I will go to another State.

When the coffin arrived at Hwao-tzu the Kung-tze Sung entered Loo before it, and those who had followed the duke all went back from that place. In the 6th month, on Kwei hse,

the coffin arrived in the capital, and on Mow shu duke [Ting] became marquis.

The accession of Ting thus took place on the 5th day after the arrival of duke Ch'ao's coffin, as if the latter had died, like most of his predecessors, in his palace in Loo. On the 5th day (Acc. to Tzu Yu) after the death of the ruler of a State his body in its coffin was solemnly conveyed to the ancestral temple and there and then his successor solemnly took his place; and again on the 1st day of the next year another solemn declaration of the new rule was made. This, however was dispensed with in the present case and the whole of this year was considered as belonging to duke Ting.

Par 4. The Chuen says:—Ke-sun was sending workmen to K'an (The place where the dukes of Loo were interred), intending to separate by a ditch the [last] home of the duke [from the other graves]; but Yung K'ea-go said to him, "You could not serve him when alive and now he is dead, you would separate him [from his fathers], to be a monument of yourself. You may bear to do so [now], but the strong probability is that hereafter you will be ashamed of it." On this Ke-sun desisted from that purpose; but he asked K'ea-go, saying "I wish to give him his posthumous title so that his descendants may know him [by it]." That officer replied, "You could not serve him, when he was alive, and now that he is dead, you still hate him—you would thereby show the truth about yourself. He [again] desisted from his purpose and in autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei tze, he buried duke Ch'ao on the south of the road to the tombs. When Confucius was minister of Crime, he united this tomb with the others by means of a ditch.

Par 6. Yang was the 3d duke of Loo, a son of 17th kin, and grand-son of the duke of Chow. He held the marquessate for 6 years, a.c. 1037–1032, as successor to his brother duke K'an. There had of course long ceased to be any temple to him, and why one was now erected does not clearly appear. All the critics agree in holding that it was done by Ke-sun, though made to appear as the act of the State.

The Chuen says:—When duke Ch'ao went forth, on that account Ke-sun prayed to duke Yang and [now] in the 9th month, he erected a temple to him. The meaning of this Chuen, as Tzu explains it, is that for some reason or other on duke Ch'ao's leaving the State Ke-sun had selected Yang's displaced tablet from among all the others, and prayed to him for his protection. This he supposed had been a reward to him and he raised the temple as an expression of his gratitude.

A more plausible account of the affair is derived by Wan Hsiao kung (萬孝恭) early in the Yuen dynasty, who connects the succession of Yang though only a brother to duke K'an, with the succession of Ting, to the exclusion of the sons of duke Ch'ao.

[The Chuen appends the following brief notice:—Duke K'een of Chung set aside his sons and younger brothers, and liked to employ strangers.]

Par 7. The 10th month of Chow was only the 8th of 1136. Frost so early and at the same time so bitter was an unusual thing, and is





and in many ways leading it astray. The above narrative gives one of the delusions practised on Ts'oo in accordance with that advice.

[There is a brief narrative here, apparently meaningless in itself but introductory to part 3 of next year:—Duke Chwang of Choo was

drinking with E Yih koo, when that officer went out for a private occasion. [As he did so], the porter begged a piece of meat from him, on which he took his staff from him and beat him with it.]

Par 4 新作—see on V xx, 1

*Third year*

二年春，卜。二月，辛卯，邾乃復。三月，辛卯，邾及邾子盟。夏四月，仲孫何忌、秋，邾邾公拔。

左傳曰：三年春，二月，辛卯，邾子在門臺，臨廷，闕以緡水沃廷。邾子望見之，怒，闕曰：夷射姑旋焉，命執之，弗得，滋怒，自投於牀，廢於鐵炭，爛遂卒。先葬以車五乘，殉五人。莊公卞急而好潔，故及是。

○秋，九月，鮮虞人敗晉師於平中，獲晉觀虎，恃其勇也。

冬，盟于鄆，修邾好也。

○蔡昭侯爲兩佩與兩裘，以如楚，獻一佩一裘於昭王。昭王服之，以享蔡侯。蔡侯亦服其一，子常欲之，弗與。三年止之，唐成公如楚，有兩黼黻馬，子常欲之，弗與。亦三年止之。唐人或相與謀，請代先從者許之，飲先從者酒，醉之，竊馬而獻之子常。子常歸唐侯，自拘於司敗，曰：君以罪馬之故，隲君身，棄國家，羣臣謂相夫人以饋馬，必如之。唐侯曰：寡人之過也。二三子無辱皆賞之。蔡人聞之，固請而獻佩於子常。子常朝見蔡侯之徒，命有司曰：蔡君之久也，官不共也。明日禮不畢，將死。蔡侯歸及漢，執玉而沈。曰：余所有濟漢而南者，有若大川。蔡侯如晉，以其子元與其大夫之子爲質焉，而請伐楚。

- III. 1 In the duke's third year, in spring, in the king's first month, he was going to Ts'in, but when he got to the Ho, he returned.
- 2 In the second month, on Sin maou, Ch'uen, viscount of Choo, died.
- 3 It was summer, the fourth month.

- 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Choo.
- 5 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke and the viscount of Choo made a covenant in Pah

Par. 1 We do not know why the duke suffered this repulse from Tsin Kea Kwei thinks it may have been because Tsin considered that he was dilatory in presenting himself at its court after he succeeded to Loo It may have been so, but there is no historical evidence to go upon in the matter

Par 2 Kung and Kuh have 月 instead of 月 The Chuen says —‘In the 2d month, on Sin-maou, the viscount of Choo was in one of the gate-towers (See on II 2), looking down upon the court-yard, which the porter was sprinkling with a pitcher of water The sight made him angry, but the porter said that E Yih-koo had made his water in the court (See the Chuen after par 3 of last year) The viscount ordered that officer to be seized, but he could not be found, which put him in a greater rage, so that he threw himself down on a bench, fell upon a vessel of charcoal, was burned and died Before he was put into his grave, five chariots and five men were buried [in an adjoining grave] It was owing to the irascibility of duke Chwang, and his love of cleanliness, that he came to this end’

Ch’uen had been viscount of Choo for 33 years He was succeeded by his son Yih (益), known as duke Yin (隱公)

Par 4 [The Chuen appends here —‘In autumn, in the 9th month, the people of Sēen-yu defeated an army of Tsin at P’ing-chung, and captured Kwan Hoo of that State,—through his reliance on his valour’]

Par 5 Kung-yang has 枝 for 拔 Too does not assign the position of Pah Most of the critics take it as the same as T’an,—see VII iv 1 Tso says the object of this covenant was to confirm the friendship of Loo and Choo The viscount of Choo is of course the son of duke Chwang, and the transaction is commented on as improper on his part, so soon after the death of his father

[We have here a narrative about the rapacity of the chief minister of Ts’oo —‘Ch’au, marquis of Ts’ae, had made two sets of girdle-ornaments and two robes of fur, with which he went to Ts’oo, where he presented one set and one robe to king Ch’au The king wore them at an entertainment which he gave to the marquis, who himself wore the others Tsze-chang (Nang Wa, the minister) wished to get them, but was refused, in consequence of which he detained the marquis in Ts’oo for 3 years Duke Ch’ing of T’ang [also] went to Ts’oo, with two splendid gray horses, which Tsze-chang wanted, and when they were not given to him, he detained the marquis also for 3 years Some officers of T’ang took counsel together, and asked leave to take the place of those who had attended the marquis to Ts’oo This being granted them, they made those others drunk, stole the horses, and presented them to Tsze-chang, who thereupon allowed the marquis to return to T’ang These men then presented themselves as prisoners to the minister of Crime, saying, ‘Our ruler, through his fondness for those horses, put his body in straits, and abandoned his country We beg leave to assist the parties concerned to recover other horses, which shall be equal to them’ The marquis said, “It was my fault Do not you, gentlemen, subject yourselves to disgrace,”—and he rewarded them all

‘When the officers of Ts’ae heard this, they urgently begged their marquis to present the girdle ornament to Tsze-chang, and this was followed by the minister’s saying to the officers, when he was at audience, and saw the followers of the marquis of Ts’ae, “The ruler of Ts’ae has been here so long, because you have not been ready [with the necessary gifts] If they are not all furnished by to-morrow, ye shall die” When the marquis of Ts’ae had got to the Han on his return, he took a piece of jade in his hand, and sank it in the water, saying, “I swear by this great stream that I will not cross the Han again to go to the south” He went [by and by] to Tsin, with his son Yuen and the sons of his great officers, and presented them as hostages, begging that Ts’oo might be invaded’]

Fourth year

四年春  
二月  
鄭伯  
許男  
衛侯  
陳侯  
蔡侯  
宋公  
曹伯  
齊侯  
魯侯  
晉侯  
秦侯  
吳侯  
越侯  
鄭侯  
許男  
衛侯  
陳侯  
蔡侯  
宋公  
曹伯  
齊侯  
魯侯  
晉侯  
秦侯  
吳侯  
越侯

胡了，滕了，薛伯，杞伯，小邾了，齊國夏，丁巳  
 陵侵楚。三夏四月，庚辰，蔡公孫姓帥師滅  
 沈，以沈了嘉歸殺之。四五月，公及諸侯盟  
 于皐鼬。五杞伯成卒于會。六六月，葬陳惠  
 公。七許遷于容城。八秋七月，公卒自會。  
 劉卷卒。九葬杞悼公。十楚人圍蔡。十一葬劉文公。十二  
 首，鞅衛孔圉帥師伐鮮虞。十三葬劉文公。十四  
 冬，有月，庚午，蔡侯以吳了及楚人戰  
 于柏舉，楚師敗績，楚囊瓦出介鄭。十五  
 庚辰，吳入郢。

左傳曰：四年春，三月，劉文公合  
 諸侯于召陵，謀伐楚也。晉荀寅  
 求貨於蔡侯，弗得，言於范獻子  
 曰：「國家方危，諸侯方貳，將以饒  
 敵不亦難乎？」水渚方降，疾遽方  
 起，中山不服，藥盟取怨，無損於  
 楚，而失中山，不如辭蔡侯。吾自  
 方城以來，楚未可以得志，祇取  
 勤焉。乃辭蔡侯，晉人假羽旄於  
 鄭，鄭人與之明日，或旆以會。晉  
 於是乎失諸侯。  
 沈人不合於召陵，晉人使蔡伐  
 之，夏，蔡滅沈。  
 將會衛子行，敬子言於靈公曰：  
 「會同難，曠有煩言，莫之治也。其  
 便祝佗從公曰：『善乃使子魚子  
 魚辭曰：『臣展四體，以率舊職，猶  
 懼不給，而煩刑罰，若又共二微

人罪也。日夫祝社稷之常隸也。社稷不動。祝不出竟。官之制也。君以軍行。祓社釁鼓。祝本以從。於是乎出竟。若嘉好之事。君行師從。卿行旅從。中無事焉。公曰。行也。及皐鼬。將長蔡於衛。衛侯使祝佗私於長弘。曰。聞諸道路。不知信否。若聞蔡將先衛。信乎。長弘曰。信。蔡叔康叔之兄也。先衛不亦可乎。了魚曰。以先觀之。則尚德也。昔武王克商。成王定之。選建明德。以藩屏周。故周公相王室。以尹天下。於周爲睦。分魯公以人路。人旂。夏后氏之璜。封父之繁弱。殷民六族。條氏。徐氏。蕭氏。索氏。長勺氏。尾勺氏。使帥其宗氏。輯其分族。將其類醜。以法則周公。用卽命於周。是使之職事於魯。以昭周公之明德。分之山川。陪敦祝宗。卜史。備物典策。官司彝器。因商奄之民。命以伯禽。而封於少皞之虛。分康叔以大路。少帛。緡伐。旃旌。人呂。殷民七族。陶氏。施氏。繁氏。錡氏。樊氏。饑氏。終葵氏。封畛土畧。自武父以南。及圃田之北。竟取於有閭之一。以具一職。取於相土之東都。以會一之東蒐。聘季授土。陶叔授民。命以康誥。而封於殷虛。皆啟以商政。疆以周索。分唐叔以人路。密須之鼓。闕鞞。沾洗。懷姓九宗。職官五正。命以唐誥。而封於夏虛。啟以夏政。疆以戎索。者皆叔也。而有令德。故昭之以分物。不然。文武成康之伯猶多。而不獲是分也。唯不尙午也。管蔡啟商。甚間王室。於是乎殺管叔。而蔡蔡叔。以申七乘。徙七十人。其子蔡仲。改行帥德。周公舉之。以爲一卿士。見諸一而命之以蔡。其命書。八。一。曰。胡。無若爾考之違一命也。若之何其使蔡先衛也。武王之母弟八人。周公爲人宰。康叔爲司寇。肅予爲司宰。五叔無官。豈尙午哉。曹父之昭也。管武之穆也。曹爲伯甸。非尙年也。今將尙之。是反先王也。管文公爲踐一之盟。衛成公不在。夷叔其母弟也。猶先蔡。其載書。八。一。若。曰。晉重。魯申。衛武。蔡甲午。鄭捷。齊潘。宋。一。曰。呂期。藏在周府。可覆視也。台了欲復文武之畧。而不止其德。將如之何。長弘說。告劉了。與范獻了謀之。乃長衛侯於盟。反自召陵。鄭子大叔木。个而卒。管趙簡了爲之臨。甚哀。曰。黃父之會。人了。詔我九。一。曰。無始亂。無怙富。無恃寵。無違同。無敖禮。無驕能。無復怒。無謀非德。無犯非義。

秋楚爲沈故闢蔡

伍員爲吳行人以謀楚，楚之殺卻宛也。伯氏之族出，伯州犂之孫馮，爲吳大夫宰，以謀楚。楚自昭王卽位，無歲不有吳師。蔡侯因之以其子乾與其大夫之子爲質於吳。冬，蔡侯吳子唐侯伐楚，舍舟於淮，內自豫章與楚夾漢。左司馬戍謂子常曰：「子公漢而與之，主下我，恐方城外以毀其舟，還塞大隧直轅冥，阬子濟漢而伐之，我自後擊之，必大敗之。」既謀而行，武城黑謂子常曰：「吳用木也，我用革也，不可久也。不如速戰。」史皇謂子常：「楚人惡子而好司馬，若司馬毀吳舟於淮，塞城口而入，是獨克吳也。子必速戰，不然不免。」乃濟漢而陳，自小別至於大別。三戰，子常知不可，欲奔。史皇曰：「安求其事？難而逃之，將何所入？子必死之，初罪必盡。」說十一月，庚午，二師陳於柏舉。闔廬之弟夫槩王晨請於闔廬曰：「楚瓦不仁，其臣莫有死志，先伐之，其卒必奔，而後大師繼之，必克。」弗許。夫槩王曰：「所謂臣義而行，不待命者，其此之謂也。」今日我死，楚可入也。以其屬五千先擊子常之卒。子常之卒奔，楚師亂，吳師大敗之。子常奔鄭，史皇以其乘廄死。

吳從楚師，及清發將擊之。夫槩王曰：「困獸猶鬪，況人乎？若知不免而致死，必敗我。若使先濟者知免，後者慕之，蔑有鬪心矣。半濟而後可擊也。」從之。又敗之。楚人爲食，吳人及之，奔食而從之，敗諸雍澁。五戰及郢，己卯，楚子取其妹季芊畀我以出，步睢鍼尹固與王同舟，王使執燧象以奔吳師。庚辰，吳入郢，以班處官。子山處令尹之宮，夫槩王欲攻之，懼而去之。夫槩王入之左司馬戍及息而還，取吳師於雍澁，傷初司馬臣闔廬，故耻爲禽焉。謂其臣曰：「誰能免吾首？」吳句卑曰：「臣賤可乎？」司馬曰：「我實失子，可哉。」三戰皆傷曰：「吾不可用也。」已，句卑布裳，剄而裹之，藏其身，而以其首免。楚子步睢濟江入於雲中，王寢盜攻之，以戈擊王。王孫由于以背受之中，肩王奔。卽鍾建負季芊以從，由于徐蘇而從。鄒公辛之弟懷將弑王，曰：「平王殺吾父，我殺其子，不亦可乎？」辛曰：「君討臣，誰敢讐之？君命，天也。若死天命，將誰讐？」詩曰：「桑亦不茹，剛亦不吐，不侮矜寡，不畏強禦。」唯仁者能之。違強陵弱，

非勇也，乘人之約，非仁也，滅宗廢祀，非孝也，動無令名，非知也，必犯是，余將殺汝。鬬辛與其弟巢，以上奔隨。吳人從之，謂隨人曰：周之子孫，在漢川者，楚實盡之，人誘其衷，致罰於楚，而君又竄之，周室何罪？君若顧報周室，施及寡人，以獎人衷，君之患也。漢陽之川，君實有之。楚了在公宮之北，吳人在其南，了期似上，逃上而己爲上，曰：以我與之，上必免。隨人卜與之，不吉，乃辭。吳曰：以隨之辟小，而密邇於楚，楚實存之，世有盟誓，至於今，未改。若難而棄之，何以事君？執事之患，不唯人。若鳩楚竟，敢不聽命。吳人乃退。鑪金初，留於了期氏，實與隨人娶。上使見辭曰：不敢以約爲利。上割了期之心，以與隨人盟。初，伍員與申包胥友，其亡也，謂申包胥曰：我必復楚國。申包胥曰：勉之，了能復之，我必能興之。及昭王在隨，申包胥如秦乞師，曰：吳爲封豕長蛇，以荐食上國，虐始於楚，寡君失守社稷，越在草莽，使下臣告急，曰：夷德無厭，若鄰於君，疆場之患也。逮吳之不定，君其取分焉。若楚之遂亡，君之上也。若以君靈撫之，世以事君。秦伯使辭焉，曰：寡人聞命矣，了姑就館，將圖而告。對曰：寡君越在草莽，未獲所伏，下臣何敢即安？立依於庭牆而哭，日夜不絕聲，勺飲不入口。七日，秦哀公爲之賦無衣，九頓首而坐，秦師乃出。

- IV. 1 In the duke's fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died
- 2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lew, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquises of Ts'ae and Wei, the [heir-] son of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, Tun, Hoo, and T'ang, the earls of Seeh and K'e, the viscount of little Choo, and Kwoh Hea of Ts'e, in Shaou-ling, when they made an incursion into Ts'oo
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Käng-shin, the Kung-sun Säng of Ts'ae led a force and extinguished Shin, carrying back with him Kea, the viscount of Shin, whom he then put to death
- 4 In the fifth month, the duke and the above princes made a covenant in Kaou-yew
- 5 Ch'ing, earl of K'e, died during the meeting
- 6 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Ch'in

- 7 Heu removed [its capital] to Yung shing
- 8 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the meeting
- 9 K'eu'en of Lëw died.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Taou of K'e.
- 11 A body of men from Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 12 Sze Yang of Tsin and K'ung Yu of Wei led a force, and invaded Sëen yu.
- 13 There was the burial of duke Wän of Lëw
- 14 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Käng woo, the marquis of Ts'ae and the viscount of Woo fought with an army of Ts'oo in Pih keu, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated. Nang Wa of Ts'oo fled from that State to Ch'ing
- 15 On Käng-shin, Woo entered Ying

Par 2. Shao ling, — see V iv 3. The Chuen says:—In the 3d month, duke Wän of Lëw assembled the States in Shao ling, to consult about invading Ts'oo. Sean Yin of Tsin asked a bribe from the marquis of Ts'ae; and when he did not get it, he said to Fan Hëen-tze, "The State is now in a perilous condition, and the other States are disaffected towards it: shall we not find it a difficult enterprise to invade an enemy in such circumstances? The rains are beginning to come down: fever is arising; Chung-shan (Sëen-yu) is not submissive. To throw away our covenant with Ts'oo, and excite its enmity, will occasion no injury to Ts'oo, but to us the loss of Chung-shan. Our best plan will be to refuse [the request of] the marquis of Ts'ae. Since the affair at Fang-shing (See on IX. xvi. 7) we have not been able to get our will on Ts'oo—we shall only be making toil for ourselves." Accordingly the request of the marquis of Ts'ae was refused. The men of Tsin borrowed a [royal] pennon with feathers from Ch'ing [to look at]; and when it was given to them, a man of no note carried it, next day, at the top of a flag to the meeting [to humiliate Ch'ing]; and in consequence of this Tsin lost the States.

A great opportunity was thus lost by Tsin of establishing more than its former supremacy among the States, but the above Chuen shows us the reason of its failure. Though the princes were present at the meeting, they were only puppets in the hands of their ministers, who were not animated by any spirit of unity or regard for any advantage but their own. An incursion into Ts'oo was but a lame and impotent conclusion to such a gathering under the sanction of a representative of the king; and even that incursion is difficult to make out from the Chuen.

Lew Ts-kwei (呂大圭) towards the end of the Sung dynasty describes the occasion very clearly:—"By this meeting in Shao ling Tsin might have regained its supremacy among the States, but it lost the opportunity. Ts'ae, Ch'in, Ch'ing, Heu, Tun, and Ilo had been the submissive servants of Ts'oo, but they all joined in this meeting, showing that they were distressed

by Ts'oo and weary of it, and wanted to transfer their service to Tsin. For 24 years, from the meeting at Ping k'ew (X. xiii. 4), Tsin had not been able to assemble the States; but now, above, it had got the presence of, the viscount of Lëw and, below it had called together the rulers of 17 States—the forces of duke Hwan of Ts'ae had never been on so grand a scale. Of the [grand] expedition of Hwan, however, it is written that he invaded Ts'oo, and that he imposed a covenant [on Ts'oo] at Shao ling (V iv 1,3); while of this expedition of [duke] Ting of Tsin, where he assembled the rulers of 17 States, it is only said, that "An incursion was made into Ts'oo." An incursion is a small affair. Ting was evidently a man with whom nothing could be done. From this time Tsin could have no hope of again presiding over the States.

Par 3. Shin, — see on VI iii. 1. It is necessary to distinguish this Shin from the city of the same name, belonging to Ts'oo, of the 尹 or commandants of which we read so often in the Chuen. It was in the pres. dia. of Koo-ch'ie (固始), Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan. This latter 沈 is sometimes written 寢 (Ts'ien). 姓 is here pronounced as 生 (Säng).

The Chuen says — The people of Shin did not attend the meeting in Shao ling, and they of Tsin sent Ts'ae to attack it. In summer Ts'ae extinguished Shin. Maou thinks that it was to the meeting in Shao ling that Kung-sun Säng carried the viscount of Shin, and that it was Tsin which there put him to death. It may have been so, and the concluding sentence of the Chuen relates what took place after the meeting.

Par 4. Kung yang has 浩油 for 鼻飮. K'ou-yên was in the pres. dia. of Lan-ying (臨穎), dep. K'ao-fung. It belonged to Ch'ing.

The Chuen says, "In prospect of the meeting, Tze-häng King-tze of Wei had said to duke Ling of that State: "It may be difficult to get an



agreement of opinion at the meeting, and there will be troublesome speeches about which no one can decide. You should make the litigator T'o (See Ana VI xiv) go with you." The duke approved of the advice, and instructed Tsze-yu (The designation of T'o) to go with him, but he declined to do so, saying, "When I do all my four limbs are capable of to discharge the duties of my old office, I am still afraid of not being equal to them, and of giving the penal officer the trouble to record my failings. If I must now discharge two offices, I shall commit some great offence. Moreover, the priest is an ordinary inferior officer, attached to the altars of the land and grain. While those are not moved, he does not go out of the limits of the State,—this is the rule of his office. When the ruler is about to march with an army, the priest sprinkles the altar of the land, anoints the drums, and follows the ruler, carrying the Spirit-tablets with him. On such an occasion he passes beyond the limits of the State, but when the business is one of civility or friendship, the ruler goes at the head of 2,500 men, or a minister goes at the head of 500, but I take no part in the affair." The duke, however, replied, "You must go."

"When they got to Kaou-yew, it was in contemplation to give Ts'ae precedence over Wei, and the marquis sent the priest T'o to speak privately to Ch'ang Hw'ang, saying, 'I have heard something on the road, and do not know whether it be true or not. Should I have heard that Ts'ae is going to have precedence [at this meeting] over Wei is it true?' Hw'ang replied, 'Ts'ae Shuh was the elder brother of K'ang Shuh (See the Shoo V Bk. ix and xvii), is it not proper that [Ts'ae] should take precedence of Wei?' Tsze-yu said, "Looking at the matter from [the example of] the former kings, we find that what they exalted was virtue. When king Woo had subdued Shang, king Ch'ing completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed [the princes of] intelligent virtue, to act as bulwarks and screens to Chow. Hence it was that the duke of Chow gave his aid to the royal House for the adjustment of all the kingdom, he being most dear and closely related to Chow. To the duke of Loo (Pih-k'in, the duke of Chow's son) there were given—a grand chariot, a grand flag with dragons on it, the *hwang*-stone of the sovereigns of Hea, and the [great bow], Fan-joh of Fung-foo. [The Heads of] six clans of the people of Yin,—the T'eaou, the Sui, the Seiou, the Soh, the Chang-choh, and the We-choh, were ordered to lead the chiefs of their kindred, to collect their branches, the remoter as well as the near, to conduct the multitude of their connexions, and to repair with them to Chow, to receive the instructions and laws of the duke of Chow. They were then charged to perform duty in Loo, that thus the brilliant virtue of the duke of Chow might be made illustrious. Lands [also] were apportioned [to the duke of Loo] on an enlarged scale, with priests, superintendents of the ancestral temple, diviners, historiographers, all the appendages of State, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their offices. The people of Shang-yen were also attached, and a charge was given to Pih-k'in, and the old capital of Shaou-haou was assigned as the centre of his State.

'To K'ang Shuh (The first marquis of Wei) there were given a grand carriage, four flags,—of various coloured silks, of red, of plain silk, and ornamented with feathers,—and [the bell], Ta-leu, with seven clans of the people of Yin,—the T'eaou, the She, the Po, the E, the Fan, the Ke, and the Chung-k'wei. The boundaries of his territory extended from Woo-foo southwards to the north of Poo-t'een. He received a portion of the territory of Yew-yen, that he might discharge his duty to the king, and a portion of the lands belonging to the eastern capital of Seang-t'oo, that he might be able the better to attend at the king's journeys to the east. Tan Ke delivered to him the land, and T'eaou Shuh the people. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement to K'ang (Shoo, V ix),' and the old capital of Yin was assigned as the centre of his State. Both in Wei and Loo they were to commence their govt. according to the principles of Shang, but their boundaries were defined according to the rules of Chow.

'To T'ang Shuh (The first lord of I sm) there were given a grand carriage, the drum of Mei-hsu, the *Keueh-lung* mail, the bell Koo-seen, 9 clans of the surname Hw'ae, and five presidents over the different departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of T'ang (Now lost),' and the old capital of Hea was assigned as the centre of his State. He was to commence his govt. according to the principles of H'ea, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Jung. Those three princes were all younger brothers, but they were possessed of excellent virtue, and they were therefore distinguished by those grants of territory and other things. If it were not so there were many elder brothers in the families of W'än, Woo Ch'ing, and K'ang, but they obtained no such grants,—showing that it was not years which [these kings] valued. Kwan and Ts'ae instigated the [remaining descendant of] Shang poisonously to dismember the royal House, on which the king put Kwan Shuh to death, and banished Ts'ae Shuh, giving him seven chariots and an attendance of seventy men. His son Ts'ae Chung adopted a different style of conduct and pursued a virtuous course, on which the duke of Chow raised him to be a minister of his own, introduced him to the king, and obtained a charge appointing him to the rule of Ts'ae. In that charge it is said, 'Be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders (Shoo, V xxvii 3),—how then can Ts'ae be made to take precedence of Wei? The own brothers of king Woo were eight. The duke of Chow was prime minister, T'ang Shuh was minister of Crime, Tan Ke was minister of Works, and five were not in any office. Was any preference given to years? [The first lord of] Ts'ae was a son of W'än (By a different mother from the duke of Chow or king Woo), and [the first lord of] Ts'in was a son of Woo, yet Ts'ae was [only] an earldom in the *teen* domain,—showing that no preference was given to years. And now you are going to give a preference to them,—contrary to the practice of the former kings. When duke W'än of Ts'in presided over the covenant of Ts'een-t'oo (V xviii 8, but in the text there Ts'ae has precedence of Wei. Too tries to explain this in harmony with the Chuen here), duke Ch'ing of Wei was not present but [only] his full brother E-shuh, who notwithstanding

ing took precedence of Ts'ao. The writing of the covenant was—The king speaks to this effect—Ch'ung of Tsin, Shih of Loo, Woo of Wei, K'eh woo of Ts'ao, T'ieh of Ch'ing, P'wan of Ts'ao, Wang-shih of Sung, K'e of K'uei—It is deposited in the royal library and can there be examined and seen. You wish to observe the old ways of Wán and Woo;—how is it then that you do not make virtue your regulat'ing principle as they did?

Chang Hwang was pleased with this representation, and laid it before the viscount of L'ow who took counsel upon it with Fan Hsien tze, the result being that providence was given to Wei at the covenant.

In chu ling from Shao ling, Tze-t'ao-shuh died before he arrived at Ch'ing. Ch'ao K'ien tze wept for him very <sup>and</sup> fully and said, "At the meeting of Hwang foo (X. xxv 2), he gave me these nine maxims:—Do not begin disorder; do not trust in riches; do not rely on favour; do not propose a common agreement; do not carry yourself proudly in ceremonies; do not be proud of your power; do not transfer your anger; take no counsel that are contrary to virtue; do nothing against righteousness."

Par 5, Kung yang has 戊 instead of 成 Duke Ch'ing was succeeded by his son K'eh (乞), known as duke Yin (隱公), but he was murdered very soon by a younger brother Kwo (過), who established himself in his place, and is known as duke He (桓公).

Par 7 Yung-shing was in the pres. dia. of K'ien-le (監利), dep. King-chow Hoo-pih. This is now the 4th time within the Ch'ün Ts'ao period that Hsü changed its capital. The Chuen says nothing about this removal; but Wang Paou observes that the changes were all ordered by Ts'ao, though the text presents them as if they originated with Hsü himself. This removal would be forced on Hsü for having obeyed the summons of Tsin, and attended the meeting in Shao ling.

Par 8. This was duke Wán (文) of L'ow who first appears in the Chuen on LX. xxii 4, by his designation of Pih-fan (伯筭), and which records also his elevation to be viscount. His name was K'uei (卷). The king sent notices of his death to the princes with whom he had been present at the meeting of Shao ling, according to royal practice. Otherwise there was no interchange of such communications between the princes of the States and the nobles of Chow. It was also in accordance with royal practice that such notices should only contain the name of the deceased noble, without mentioning his title. Kung and K'eh giro each a different reason for the notification of this death, but both are incorrect. A Chuen, under the 20th year of Ch'ao, however gives Tsin as the name of the viscount of L'ow (劉狄). The individual probably had the two names, Tsin and K'uei.

Par 11. This attack on Ts'ao was, no doubt, as Tso says, in consequence of Ts'ao's extinction of Shih. It was the duty of Tsin to come now

to the help of Ts'ao; and as it did not do so, we shall presently find Ts'ao leagued with Woo.

Par 12 For 國 Kung yang has 國 In the Chuen on par 3, we have Seen Yin urging on Fan Hsien-tze the necessity of action against S'hen yü. Ch'ao P'ing fei says, For Tsin to invade Ts'ao would have been a gain to the other States, but an injury to its own six ministers: hence when duke Ting went out against Ts'ao, the ministers, jealous of his acquiring the merit of success, refused the request of Ts'ao, humiliated Ch'ing, and frustrated the whole enterprise. The invasion of S'hen yü was an injury to the marquis of Tsin, but a gain to his ministers; hence S'uan-sho, S'ao-sho, and Ch'ao sho, one after another attacked it, to show their merit and ability.

Par 13. Notice of the death of the viscount of L'ow having been sent to the States, because he had covenanted with their princes, it was in order for them to send representatives to his funeral. Many of the critics fail to see this, and find it difficult to account for this par. Ch'ao K'wang says the thing was contrary to propriety (非禮); K'ao K'ang, that only Loo sent a representative, and therefore the thing is recorded. The remarks of Le L'een (李廉; end of the Yuen dyn) are worthy of notice—The three Kung (公) of the son of Heaven (See Shoo, V. xx 5) were so denominated. Any one who filled that office and had territory as a noble of the royal domain, was also called Kung, the title following the name of the territory as in the instances of "The duke of Chao (祭公), "the duke of Chow (周公州公), &c. The king's other ministers and great officers, who had received investiture as nobles of the royal domain, were all called "viscounts (子), as in the instances of "the viscount of Wán (溫子), "the viscount of L'ow (劉子), "the viscount of Shien (單子), &c. But towards the end of the Chow dynasty all the nobles of the domain received the title of Kung after their death, as in the instances of "duke Shih of Ch'ing (成肅公), "duke P'ing of Shien (單平公), &c. The Ch'ün Ts'ao in this par. takes the opportunity of the burial of "duke Wán of L'ow" to call attention to the usurpation. In the mention of the individual, when alive, as "the viscount of L'ow" when dead as "K'uei of L'ow" and, at his burial as "duke Wán of L'ow" we have the careful and severe pencil of the sage.

Par 14. For 柏舉 Kung yang has 伯莒 and K'eh-K'ang 伯舉. The place belonged to Ts'ao, and was in the present dia. of Ma-shing (麻城), dep. Hwang-chow (黃州), Hoo-pih. The Chuen says:—Woo Yun acted as messenger [to other States] for Woo, [constantly]

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laying plans against Ts'oo. When Keoh Yuen was put to death by Ts'oo (X xxvii 3), the different branches of the Pih family left that State, and P'ei, the grandson of Pih Chow-lae, was made grand-administrator of Woo, that he [also] might plan against Ts'oo. From the date of king Ch'ou's accession, there was no year in which Ts'oo was not [somehow] attacked by Woo. The marquis of Ts'ue took advantage of these circumstances, and placed his son K'üen, and the sons of his great officers, in Woo as hostages [of his fidelity in an alliance against Ts'oo].

'This winter, the marquis of Ts'ue, the viscount of Woo, and the marquis of T'ang, invaded Ts'oo. They left their boats in a bend of the Hwae, and advancing from Yu-chang, they lined one side of the Han, the army of Ts'oo being on the other. Seuh, marshal of the Left, said to Tsze-chang (The chief minister of Ts'oo), 'Do you keep on this side of the Han, going up or down, according as they move. I will [meantime] lead all the troops outside the wall of defence, and destroy their ships, and then, on my return, I will shut up the passes of Ta-sui, Chih-yuen, and Ming-gae. If you then cross the Han, while I fall on them from behind, we shall give them a great defeat.' Having agreed on this plan, he marched [to execute his part of it], but Hah, [commandant] of Woo-shing said to Tsze-chang, 'Woo uses [shields] of wood, while ours are of leather. We must not remain here long, your best plan is to fight soon.' The historiographer Hwang [also] said to him, 'The people of Ts'oo hate you, and love the marshal. If he destroys the boats of Woo on the Hwae, and then enters the country, after stopping up the passes in the wall, he alone will have [the merit of] conquering Woo. You must fight soon, or you will not escape [your doom].' Tsze-chang then crossed the Han, and drew up his troops. Three battles were fought between Seau-p'ieh and Ta-p'ieh (See on the Shoo, III 1 Pt ii 3), and then Tsze-chang, knowing that he could not conquer, wished to flee [to another State]. The historiographer said to him, 'You sought the office, when it seemed safe, if now, in difficulty, you flee from it, what State will you enter? You must die in this struggle, and will thus make a complete atonement for your former offences.'

'In the 11th month, on Käng-woo, the two armies were drawn up at Pih-keu, when the younger brother of Hoh-leu, [who afterwards called himself] king Foo-k'ue, early in the morning made a request to Hoh-leu, saying, 'In consequence of the want of benevolence in Wn of Ts'oo, his officers have no mind to die [in this struggle]. If I first attack him, his soldiers are sure to flee, and if you then follow up my success with the whole army, we are sure to conquer.' Hoh-leu refused him permission, but he then said, 'I will now give an illustration of the saying that a minister does what is right without waiting for orders. I will die to-day, but [the capital of] Ts'oo can be entered [in consequence].' He then with his own men, 5,000 in number, commenced the battle by an attack on the soldiers of Tsze-chang, who took to flight. The army of Ts'oo was thrown into confusion, and that of Woo inflicted a great defeat upon it. Tsze-chang fled to Ch'ing, and the historiographer Hwang died in his war chariot.'

The 蔡侯以吳了 of the text indicates that the marquis of Ts'ue was the mover of the expedition against Ts'oo, of which this battle was the first great event. As Maou says, 經特書蔡侯以之, 以上在蔡也. The ruler of Woo appears in this par for the first time with his title of 了 or viscount, and many of the critics foolishly see in this a sign of the sages approval. The circumstance seems to be immaterial. Though Ts'ue instigated the expedition, it was of course carried on and carried out by the power of Woo.

Par. 15. Kung and Kuh have 楚 instead of 郢. Ying, 10 miles to the north of the present city of King-chow (荊州), Hoo-pih, had been the capital of Ts'oo since the time of king Woo (B.C. 740-689).

Continuing the preceding narrative, the Chuen says — 'Woo pursued the army of Ts'oo to the T'ing-shih, and was about to fall upon it there, but king Foo-k'ue said, "A wild beast in the toils will still fight, how much more will man! If they know that there is no escape for them, and so fight to the death, they will be sure to defeat us. If we let the first of them cross, and know that they can escape, the rest will be anxious to follow them, and have no mind to fight. Let us then attack them when the half of them have crossed." This plan was taken, and so the army of Ts'oo was defeated again. [At one place] the men of Ts'oo were taking their meal when those of Woo came upon them, and they fled. The latter ate the food and resumed the pursuit, defeating them again at Yung-she, and with five battles, they reached Ying.

'On Ke-maou, the viscount of Ts'oo took his youngest sister, Me Pe-go, left the city, and crossed the Ts'eu Koo, the director of Remonstrances, went with him in the same boat, the king, [to keep back] the army of Woo, making men lead elephants with torches [tied to their tails], so as to rush upon it. On Käng-shin, Woo entered Ying, and [the viscount and others] occupied the palaces according to their rank. Tsze-shau (A son of the viscount) took the palace of the chief minister, where Foo-k'ue was going to attack him, which frightened him so that he left it, and the other then entered it.

'Seuh, marshal of the Left, returned, after getting as far as Seih, and defeated the troops of Woo at Yung-she, but was wounded himself. Aforetime he had been in the service of Hoh-leu, and therefore felt that it would be a disgrace to him to be taken. He said to his officers, 'Which of you can carry off my head?' Woo Kow-pe said, 'Will it do if one so mean in rank as I do it?' "Yes," said the marshal, "it has been my error that I [did not know your worth before]. In each of these three battles I have been wounded, and am of no more use." Kow-pe then spread his skirt on the ground, cut off the marshal's head, and wrapped it up, after which he hid the body, and made his escape with the head.

'The viscount of Ts'oo, after crossing the Ts'eu, crossed [also] the Kiang, and took

refuge in the marsh of Yun. While he was sleeping, some robbers attacked him and [one of them] aimed a blow at him with a spear which Wang-sun Yaw yu intercepted by interposing his back, and receiving the weapon in his shoulder. The king on this fled to Yun, followed by Chung K'ien carrying his young sister on his back. Yaw yu [also] slowly revived, and followed him. Hsiao, the younger brother of Sin, commandant of Yun, wanted to kill the king, saying "King Ping put my father to death. May I not now put his son to death?" Sin said, "When a ruler punishes a subject, who dare count him an enemy for it? The ruler's order is [the will of] Heaven. If a man dies by the will of Heaven, who can be regarded as the enemy? The ode (She, III. III. ode VI. 8) says,

He neither dares the mild,  
Nor violently rejects the strong.  
He does not insult the poor nor the widow;  
Nor does he fear the violent or powerful.

It is only the truly virtuous man who can do thus. To avoid the powerful and insult the weak is contrary to valour. To take advantage of another's straits is contrary to benevolence. To cause the destruction of your ancestral temple and the discontinuance of its sacrifices is contrary to filial piety. To take action which will have no good name is contrary to wisdom. If you are determined to violate all these principles, I will kill you."

[After this], Tow Sin, and another younger brother Ch'au, fled with the king to Suy while they were followed by the men of Woo, who said to the people of Suy "The States about the Han, possessed by descendants of [the House of] Chow have been all destroyed by Ts'oo. Heaven has now moved our hearts to inflict punishment on Ts'oo, and your ruler is counselled to [rule]. What is the offence of the House of Chow? If your ruler will try to recompense the House of Chow and extend his favour to us, so that we may accomplish the purpose which Heaven has put into our hearts, it will be the act of his kindness, and the lands of Han-yang shall be his." The viscount of Ts'oo was on the north of [one of] the palaces of the marquis of Suy and the men of Woo were on the south of it. Tseu-ke (A brother of king Ch'au), who was like the king, [told the latter] to make his escape, and as if he himself were the king, proposed to the people of Suy to deliver him up, for that so the king would escape. They consulted the turtle-shell about it, and receiving an unfavourable reply they refused the request of Woo, saying, "Suy though small and isolated, and situated near to

Ts'oo, has been preserved by that State. For generations there have been the engagements of our vassals between us, which to this day we have not violated. If in the time of its calamity we should abandon it, where-with should we serve your ruler? The troubles of your ministers would not arise from one man only. If you can consolidate under Woo all the territory of Ts'oo, we shall not presume not to obey your orders." On this the men of Woo withdrew. Loo Kin before this had been an officer in the family of Tseu-ke, and [now] appealed to the people of Suy not to give up [the fugitives]. The king requested that Kin might be introduced to him, but he declined the honour saying "I do not dare to make your straits a source of profit." The king made a cut over [the region of] Tseu-ke's heart, and [with the blood] made a covenant with the people of Suy.

At an earlier period, Woo Yun had been on terms of friendship with Shin Paou-sen; and when he fled from Ts'oo, he said to him "I shall repay Ts'oo for this." Paou-sen replied,

Do your utmost. You can repay [your wrong], and I can raise up Ts'oo [again]. When king Ch'au was in Suy Shin Paou-sen went to Ts'in to beg the help of an army and said, "Woo is a great pig and a long snake, bent on eating up the superior States, one after another. Its tyranny has commenced with Ts'oo. My ruler having failed to maintain his altars, is now a fugitive in the wilds, and has sent me to tell you of his distress and to say for him, That barbarous State of the east is insatiable. If it became your neighbour it will be a constant cause of trouble to your borders. While Woo has not settled its conquest, let your lordship [come and] take a portion of it. If Ts'oo indeed perishes, the land will be yours; if by your powerful help and comfort [I can preserve it], it will be to serve your lordship with it for generations." The earl of Ts'in sent a refusal [for the present] to him, saying, "I have heard your orders. Go in the meantime to your lodging. I will take counsel and inform you of the result."

Paou-sen replied, "My ruler is a fugitive in the wilds, and has nowhere to lie down. How dare I go to a place of ease?" He stood leaning against the wall of the courtyard, and cried. Day or night his voice was not silent; a spoonful of water did not enter his mouth;—for seven days. [At the end of that time], Duke Gao of Ts'in sang to him the Woo-e (She, I. xi. ode VIII. 7), on which he bowed his head nine times to the ground, and remained kneeling on the earth. Soon after an army of Ts'in took the field.

## Fifth year.

五年春王三月辛

亥朔日有食之。

夏歸棠丁蔡。

於越人吳。

六月丙申季孫意

如卒。

秋七月壬子叔孫

不敢卒。

冬晉士鞅帥師圍

鮮虞。

①左傳曰五年春十人殺了朝於楚。夏歸棠丁蔡以周師矜無資。

越入吳吳在楚也。

六月季平子行東野還木至丙申卒於房陽虎將以瑱璠斂仲梁懷弗與曰改步改卜陽虎欲逐之告公山不狃不狃曰彼爲君也了何怨焉既外桓了行東野及費了洩爲貲寧逆勞於郊桓了敬之勞仲梁懷仲梁懷弗敬了洩怒謂陽虎了行之乎。

②中包胥以秦師至秦了浦了虎帥申子自乘以救楚了浦曰台木

知吳道使楚人先與吳人戰而自稷會之人敗大槩了於沂吳人獲選射於柏舉其了帥弁徒以從了此敗吳師於軍祥秋七月了期了浦滅唐九月大槩了歸自立也以與了戰而敗弁楚爲常谿氏吳師

敗楚師了維滋奈師又敗吳師吳師居麇了期將焚之了曰父兄親暴骨焉不能收又焚之不可了期曰國亡矣死者若有知也可以

歆舊祀豈憚焚之焚之而又戰吳師敗又戰於公壻之谿吳師大敗

吳了乃歸以闔閭罷闔閭罷請先遂逃歸吳公諸梁之弟石臧從其

月於吳不待而歸吳公終不止視。

③乙亥陽虎以季桓了及公父文伯而逐仲梁懷冬十月了亥殺公何藐已丑盟桓了於稷門之內決其人誼遂公父歾及余遄皆弁齊。

○楚子入於郢，初闢辛聞吳人之爭宮也曰吾聞之不讓則不和，不和不可以遠征，吳爭於楚，必有亂。有亂則必歸，焉能定楚王之奔隨也？將涉於成臼，盪尹薳涉其格，不與王舟及。寧王欲殺之，子西曰：子常唯思傳怨以敗君，何效焉？王曰：善，使復其。所吾以志前，是王賞闢辛，王孫由于王孫圉鍾建，闢巢申包胥，王孫賈、木木、闢懷子西曰：請舍懷也。王曰：大德滅小怨，道也。申包胥曰：吾爲君也，非爲身也。君既定矣，又何求？且吾尤子旗，其又爲諸？遂迷賞王將嫁季芊，季芊辭曰：所以爲女子遠丈夫也。鍾建負我矣，以妻鍾建，以爲樂尹王之在隨也。子西爲王與服，以保路國於脾洩。聞王所在而後從，王王使由于城，復命于西，問高厚焉。弗知，子西曰：不能如辭，城不知高厚小大，何知？對曰：固辭不能，子使余也。人各有能有不能，王遇盜於雲中，余受其戈，其所猶在袒而示之背，曰：此余所能也。脾洩之事，余亦弗能也。

晉士鞅圍鮮虞，報觀虎之役也。

- V 1 In the [dukes] fifth year, in spring, in the kings third month, on Sin hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed
- 2 In summer, we sent grain to Ts'ae.
- 3 Yu yueh entered Woo
- 4 Ke-sun E-joo died
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin tsze, Shuh sun Puh kan died
- 6 In winter, Sze Yang of Tsan led a force, and laid siege to [the chief town of] Seen yu

Par 1 This eclipse took place, at noon, on Feby 10th, B.C. 504 Kung yang has 正月 instead of 三月 which is an error

[The Chuen introduces here the death of [the king's] son Chao who maintained so long a struggle for the throne — This spring, an officer of the king killed [the king's] son Chao in Ts'oo.]

Par 2 粟 is the general name for glumeaceous grain, now generally applied (See Wü Hsuan Phonetic dict. in voc.) to millet and maize; but the meaning need not be restricted here. Too-she says that Loo did this to encourage Ts'ae in its distress, pitying its want of supplies. Kung and hui supply 諸侯 the States, as the nominative to 歸; but, according to the analogy of other passages, the text can only be spk. king of Lu. Other States may have done the same thing, though no notice is taken of their

action. We can understand how Ts'ae should have been in distress from want of provisions, over run, as it had been, in the previous year by Ts'oo, and taking a prominent part, as it had done, in the operations of Woo against that State.

Par 3. Yu yueh is Yueh, but it is difficult to account for the initial Yu. Too makes it simply an initial sound (發聲). Lf Ch'ang tells us that the people of the State themselves called it Yu yueh and that the States of Ch' called it Yueh; which account would agree with the use of the former style in the text here. Yueh, we may suppose, had sent a notification to Loo of its movement. Other explanations have been offered on which we need not dwell. We must understand 吳 here as the name of the State. Yueh entered the boundaries, not the capital of Woo, taking a transit as Too-she says, of the account of Woo's being in Ts'oo with all his forces.

Par 4 The Chuen says—'In the 6th month, Ke P'ing-tsze went to Tung-yay, and on his return, before he arrived at the capital, on Ping-shun he died in Fang Yang Hoo [the Yang Ho of the Ana., XVIII 1, he was the principal officer of the Ke family) was going to put his body into the coffin, having [still] on the [precious stone] Yu-fan [which he had worn when the duke was absent from the State] Chung leang Hwae (Another minister of the Ke family), however, would not give it for that purpose, saying, "He had ceased to tread on the [ruler's] steps, and another stone should be used" Yang Hoo wished to expel Hwae, and told Kung-shan Puh-new (See on Ana., XVII v) the circumstance, but that officer said, "He was acting in the interest of the ruler Why should you be angry with him?"

'After the burial Hwan-tsze went to Tung-yay When he arrived at Pe Tsze-s'eh (The above Kung-shan Puh-new), who was in charge of that city, met him, with complimentary offerings because of his journey, in the suburbs Hwan-tsze received him with respect Chung-leang Hwae, however, to whom he also presented offerings, showed him no respect, in consequence of which he was angry, and said to Yang Hoo, "You can send him away"

The form of this notice of the death of P'ing-tsze is very troublesome to the critics, and they think that the death of a man who had expelled his ruler, and held the State against him, should not have appeared without some sign of condemnation Some of them say that it exhibits strikingly the weakness of duke Ting!

The Hwan-tsze in the Chuen was the son of P'ing-tsze, and had succeeded him His name was Sze (斯)

Par 5 Shuh-sun Puh-kan was mentioned in the Chuen on I 2 He was succeeded by his son Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew (州仇), better known as Shuh-sun Woo-shuh (武叔) Both he and Hwan-tsze were young and feeble, and the power of the State fell into the hands of Yang Hoo

[We have here three narratives in the Chuen The 1st continues the narrative of the invasion of Ts'oo by Woo with which the last year concludes—'Shin Paou-seu arrived [in Ts'oo] with the army of Ts'in, Tsze-p'oo and Tsze-hoo of that State having command of 500 chariots for its relief Tsze-p'oo, being unacquainted as yet with the ways of Woo, made the troops of Ts'oo engage a body of the Woo-ites, and then joined them himself from Tseih, and a great defeat was thus inflicted on king Foo-k'ae at E The men of Woo, however, captured Wei Yih at Pih-ken, but his son led the fugitives and joined Tsze-se, who defeated an army of Woo at Keun-ts'ang

'In autumn, in the 7th month, Tsze-k'e and Tsze-p'oo extinguished T'ang In the 9th month, Foo-k'ae returned to Woo, and set himself up for king, but, being defeated in a battle with the king, he fled to Ts'oo, where he became the founder of the T'ang-k'e family

'The army of Woo defeated that of Ts'oo at Yung-she, but the army of Ts'in again defeated Woo, whose army occupied Keun Tsze-k'e proposed to burn that city but Tsze-se said, 'The bones of our fathers and elder brothers

are lying exposed there We cannot collect them, and surely they ought not to be burned" Tsze-k'e replied, "The State is [in danger of] perishing If the dead have any knowledge, they will enjoy the old sacrifices Why should they be afraid of being burned?" They did burn the city, and fought another battle, in which Woo was defeated It was defeated again severely in a battle in the valley of Kung-se, after which the viscount of Woo returned to his own State He had as a prisoner Yin Yu-p'e, who asked leave to go before him to Woo, but made his escape on the way, and returned to Ts'oo

'How-tsang, a younger brother of Choo-leang, commandant of Shieh, had followed their mother, [when she was carried a prisoner] to Woo, and [now] he returned without waiting for her. The commandant of Shieh would never look straight at him'

2d, regarding the course of Yang Hoo, tyrannizing over the Ke family—'On Yih-hae, Yang Hoo imprisoned Ke Hwan-tsze and Kung-foo Wan-pih (A cousin of Hwan-tsze), and drove out Chung-l'ang Hwae In winter, in the 10th month on Ting-hae, he killed Kung-ho M'caou On Ke-ch'ow, he imposed a covenant on Hwan-tsze, inside the Tseih gate On K'ang-yin, there were great imprecations, and he drove out Kung-foo Ch'uh and Ts'in Ch'uen, both of whom fled to Ts'e'

3d, a continuation of the affairs of Ts'oo 'The viscount of Ts'oo [re-] entered Ying Before this, when Tow Sin had heard that the Woo-ites were quarrelling about the palaces [of Ts'oo], he said, "I have heard that where there is no spirit of concession there is no harmony, and that, where there is no harmony, a distant enterprize cannot be carried out The people of Woo thus quarrelling in Ts'oo, there is sure to be disorder among themselves, which will compel their return to their own State, how is it possible for them to settle Ts'oo?"

'When the king was fleeing to Suy, he wished to get across the Ch'ing-k'ew [Just then] Me, commandant of Lan, was conveying his children across it, and refused to give the boat to the king, in consequence of which, when tranquillity came again, the king wanted to put him to death Tsze-se, however, said, to him, "It was by thinking of old wrongs that Tsze-chang came to ruin, why should your majesty imitate him?" The king said, "Good!" and he made Me resume his office, intending thereby to keep in mind his own former offences [At the same time], he rewarded Tow Sin the Wang-suns Y'ew-yu and Yu, Chung K'een, Tow Ch'au, Shin Paou-seu, the Wang-sun K'ea, Sung Muh, and Iow Hwae Tsze-se said to him, "Please pass Hwae by," but he replied, "He displayed great virtue in overcoming his [own] small resentment, thus acting rightly"

'Shin Paou-seu said, "I acted for the ruler, and not for myself Since you are now [re-] established what have I to seek? Moreover I blamed Tsze-k'e (See after X xiv 5), and shall I now do as he did?" Accordingly he declined any reward

'The king was going to give his youngest sister in marriage [to some one], but she refused, saying, "A young lady shows what she is by keeping far from all men, but Chung K'een has carried me on his back" She was given to him,

accordingly to wife, and he was made director of Music.

When the king was in Suy, Tso-ao had assumed the royal carriage and robes, in order to keep the people [who were wandering about] on the roads together and had made P'e-ssih his capital, joining the king afterwards when he heard where he was. The king employed Yaw-yu to wall Keun; and when he was reporting the execution of his commission, Tso-ao asked him how high and thick the walls had been made. He did not know and Tso-ao said, "Since you were not able for the work, you should have declined it. After walling a city

if you do not know the height, thickness, and length of the walls, what do you know? Yaw-yu replied, I did refuse the commission on the ground of my incompetency but you sent me to do it. Every man has what he can do, and what he cannot do. When the king met with robbers in [the marsh of] Yun I received the spear in my person. The mark is still here." With this he bared his person, and showed him his back saying "This is what I could do. What you did at P'e-ssih I could not do."

Par 6. Tso-ao says this expedition was undertaken to avenge the affair in which Kwan Hoo was taken (See after III. 4).

### Sixth year

六年春，一十月，癸亥，鄭游速帥師滅許，以討男斯歸。三月，公侵鄭。四月，公卒自侵鄭。五月，季孫斯、仲孫何忌如齊。晉人執宋行人樂祁犁。冬，城中城。今孫仲孫忌帥師圍鄆。

左傳曰：六年春，鄭滅許，因楚敗也。二月，公侵鄭，取匡，爲晉討鄭之伐胥靡也。往不假道於衛及潁，陽虎使季孟自南門入，出自東門，舍於豚澤。衛侯怒，使彌子瑕追之。公叔文子老矣，輦而如公，曰：「尤人而效之，非禮也。」昭公之驪，君將以文之舒鼎成之，昭公定之，鑿鑑，荷可以納之，擇用一焉。公子與二三臣之子，諸侯荷錫之，將以爲之寶。此羣臣之所聞也。今將以小忿棄舊德，無乃不可乎？犬姬之子，唯周公、康叔爲相睦也，而效小人以棄之，不亦誣乎？天將多陽虎之罪，以斃之，君姑待之，若何？乃止。

夏季桓子如晉，獻鄭俘也。陽虎強使孟懿子往報夫人之幣。晉人兼享之。孟孫立於房外，謂范獻子曰：「陽虎若不能居魯，而息肩於晉，所不以爲中軍司馬者，有如先君獻子曰：『寡君有官將使其人』」



鞅何知焉。獻了謂簡了曰：魯人患陽虎矣，孟孫知其釁，以爲必適晉，故強爲之請，以取入焉。

○四月，山丑，吳大子終燮敗楚舟師，獲潘了、小惟了，及人夫七人。楚國大惕，懼亡了期。又以陵師敗於繁陽，令尹了西喜曰：乃今可爲矣。於是乎遷郢於都，而改紀其政，以定楚國。

○周僖翩卒，了朝之徒。因鄭人將以作亂於周，鄭於是乎伐漚滑，皆靡，負黍，狐人，闕外。六月，晉閻沒戍周，日城皆靡。

秋八月，宋樂祁曰：於景公曰：諸侯唯我事晉，今使不往，晉其憾矣。樂祁告其宰陳寅，陳寅曰：必使了往他日，公謂樂祁曰：唯寡人說了之，了必往。陳寅曰：了立後而行，台宰亦不亡，唯君亦以我爲知難而行也。見溺而行，趙簡了逆而飲之酒，於綿上，獻楊楮六，了於簡了，陳寅曰：昌台，了范氏，今了！趙氏又有納焉，以楊楮賀禍，弗可爲也已，然了死，晉國了孫必得志於宋。范獻了，了於晉侯曰：以君命越疆而使，不致使而私飲酒，不敬。君不可不討也。乃執樂祁。

○陽虎又盟於及，桓於周社，盟國人於皐社，謂於其父之衢。

○冬十月，入，了處於姑猶，辟僖翩之亂也。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kwei-hae, Yew Suh of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, extinguished Heu, and carried Sze, baron of Heu, back with him to Ch'ing
- 2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing
- 3 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ch'ing
- 4 In summer, Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke went to Tsin.
- 5 In autumn, the people of Tsin seized Yoh K'e-le, the messenger of Sung.
- 6 In winter, we walled Chung-shing.
- 7 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ke led a force, and laid siege to Yun.

Par 1 Tso-she says that Ch'ing now extinguished Heu through taking advantage of the defeats which Ts'oo had sustained from Woo. Ch'ing had pursued Heu with implacable hatred (See I xi 3), and it might seem that it had now obtained the gratification of its desires, yet we find the State of Heu still existing in the 1st year of duke Gae. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 激 for 速

Par 2 The Chuen says — 'In the 2d month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing and took K'wang, to punish, in behalf of Tsin, the action of Ch'ing in attacking Seu-mei (See below, the 2d narr. after par 4). On his way he did not ask liberty to pass through Wei, and on their return Yang Woo made Ke and Mäng enter by the south gate [of its capital], and pass out by the east, halting [afterwards] at the marsh of T'un. The marquis of Wei was enraged, and was sending Mc Tsze hea to pursue

them. Kung-shuh Wán-tze [at this time] was old, but he had himself wheeled by men to the marquis, and said to him, "To condemn others and to imitate them is contrary to a polity. During the troubles of duke Ch'ao, your lordship was going to take the Shoo tripod of [duke] Wán, [the tortoise-shell of duke] Ch'ing which gave such clear responses, and the mirrored girdle of [duke] Ting and give the choice of any one of them to whoever would restore him. Your own son and the sons of us your ministers you were ready to give as hostages, if any of the States would take pity on him. This is what we have heard; and does it not seem improper that for a small occasion of anger you should now cover over your former kindly feeling and action? Of all the sons of T'ae-tze (King Wán's queen) the duke of Chow and K'ang Shuh were the most friendly; and will it not be acting under a delusion if to imitate [the conduct of] a small man, you throw away [that good relation between Wei and Loo]? Heaven means to multiply the offences of Yang Hoo, in order to destroy him. Suppose that your lordship wait for the present for that issue." The marquis on this desisted from his purpose.

The rulers of Loo had not in person conducted any military expedition since the 18th year of duke Soen, a period of 80 years. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three great clans. These were now very much reduced, and we find duke Ting himself taking the field. Yet he was merely a puppet in the hands of the ministers of those clans, who made use of him to further their own ambitious designs against their chiefs.

Par 4. The Chuen says:— In summer Ke Hwan tze went to Tain, to present the spoils of Ch'ing. Yang Hoo forced Máng-tze to go [at the same time] with offerings in return for those which the marchioness [of Tain] had sent [to Loo]. The people of Tain entertained them both together. Máng-sun, standing outside the apartment said to Fan Hên-tze, "If Yang Hoo cannot remain in Loo, and rests his shoulder against Tain, by the former rulers you must make him marshal of the army of the centre." Hên-tze replied, "If our ruler have that office [vacant], he will employ the proper man [to fill it]. What should I know about it? [Afterwards] he said to Hên-tze "The people of Loo are distressed by Yang Hoo. Máng-sun knows that an occasion will arise, when he thinks Hoo will be obliged to flee the State. He therefore forces himself to make this request for him, to obtain his entrance [into our State]."

[The Chuen gives here two brief narratives:— 1st, about Woo and T'oo. In the 4th month, Chung luy, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Woo, defeated the fleet of T'oo, and captured [the two commanders], Chin, viscount of P'wan, and the viscount of S'ao-wel, along with 7 great officers. T'oo was greatly alarmed, and afraid it would be ruined. [About the same time] Tze-ko was defeated with an army on the land at Fan-yang. The chief minister Tze-se, however, was glad, and said, "Now it can be done," and upon this he removed the capital from Ying to Joh, and changed the regulations of the government, in order [the better] to settle the State.

2d, about troubles in Chow and the share of Ch'ing in them. Tan P'ên of Chow had led

on the adherents of king [King's] son Ch'ao, and endeavoured by the assistance of Ch'ing to raise an insurrection in Chow. Upon this Ch'ing had attacked Fung, Hwah Ben mei, Hoo-shue, Hoo-jin, and K'ueh was. In the 6th month, Yen Msh of Tain went to guard [the territory of] Chow and walled Ben mei.]

Par 5. The Chuen says:— In autumn, in the 8th month, Yoh K'ê of Sung said to duke King "Of all the States only we do service to Tain. If an envoy do not now go there, Tain will be offended." Having told his steward Ch'ín Yin [what he said], that officer observed, "He is sure to send you. After a few days the duke said "I am pleased with what you said; you must go [to Tain]." Ch'ín Yin [on hearing this] said, "Get your successor appointed [a minister] before you set out and our House will not go to ruin. The ruler also will know that we are proceeding with a knowledge of the dangers it involves." Yoh K'ê accordingly introduced [his son] Hwán [to the duke], and took his departure. Ch'ao Kên-tze met him, and entertained him at a drinking feast in Mên-shang, being presented by Yoh K'ê with 60 shields of willow. Ch'ín Yin said, "Formerly we lodged with Fan she, but now you are going to lodge with Ch'ao-shue, and are presenting him with gifts besides. You should not have given those willow shields,—you are purchasing misfortune with them. But though you die in Tain, your descendants will meet with prosperity in Sung."

Fan Hên-tze said to the marquis of Tain, "He crossed the borders of his State charged with the orders of his ruler; but before discharging his commission, he has accepted a private invitation to drink, thus acting disrespectfully both to his own ruler and to you. He should not be left unpunished." Accordingly Yoh K'ê was seized.

Par 6. Chung shing,—see VIII. ix. 18. Loo was not at this time on good terms either with Ch'ing or T'ê, and we may suppose that the walls of Chung-shing were now repaired as a precautionary measure against hostilities.

Par 7. The omission of 何 before 忌 must be regarded as an error of the text. The marquis of T'ê had taken Yun in Ch'ao's 25th year and given it to that prince. The people left it in Ch'ao's 30th year, and the probability is that, when they re-occupied it, they had endeavoured to do so under the protection of T'ê. The scribe in the text would be to recall them to their allegiance to Loo.

[We have here two brief narratives:—

1st, on the progress of Yang Hoo's encroachments in Loo. Yang Hoo imposed another covenant on the duke and the 3 Hwan clans at the altar of Chow and one upon the people at the altar of Poh; the imprecations being spoken in the street of Woo-foo."

2d, on affairs in Chow. In winter in the 12th month, the king by Heaven's grace took up his residence in Koo-yêw that he might escape from the insurrection of Tan P'ên (See the 2d narr. after par 4).]

鞅何知焉。獻子謂簡子曰：魯人忠陽虎矣，孟孫知其賢，以為必適晉，故強為之請，以取入焉。

○四月，己丑，吳大子終燮敗楚舟師，獲潘子之小惟子，及大夫七人。楚國人惕懼亡了期，又以陵師敗於繁陽，令尹子西喜曰：乃今可為矣。於是子遷郢於郢，而改紀其政，以定楚國。

○周信翩率了朝之徒，因鄭人，將以作亂於周。鄭於是乎伐潁，滑，皆靡，負黍，狐人，闕外。六月，晉闇沒成周，日城皆靡。

秋，八月，宋樂祁曰：於景公曰：諸侯唯我事晉，今使不往，晉其憾矣。樂祁告其宰陳寅，陳寅曰：必使了往他日，公謂樂祁曰：唯寡人說了之，了必往。陳寅曰：了後而行，召室亦不亡，唯君亦以我為知難而行也。見溺而行，趙簡了逆，而飲之酒於綿上，獻楊楮六，於簡了，陳寅曰：召室亦不亡，趙氏又有納焉，以楊楮實禍，弗可為也已。然了死，晉國了孫必得志於宋。范獻了，於晉侯曰：以君命越疆而使，不致使而私飲酒，不敬。君不可不討也。乃執樂祁。

○陽虎又盟公及桓於周社，盟國人於岳社，詛於五父之衢。

○冬，十一月，人十處於姑猶，辟詹翩之亂也。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kwei-hae, Yew Suh of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, extinguished Heu, and carried Sze, baron of Heu, back with him to Ch'ing.
- 2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 3 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ch'ing.
- 4 In summer, Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke went to Tsin.
- 5 In autumn, the people of Tsin seized Yoh K'e-le, the messenger of Sung.
- 6 In winter, we walled Chung-shing.
- 7 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ke led a force, and laid siege to Yun.

Par 1 Tso-she says that Ch'ing now extinguished Heu through taking advantage of the defeats which Ts'oo had sustained from Woo. Ch'ing had pursued Heu with implacable hatred (See I xi 3), and it might seem that it had now obtained the gratification of its desires, yet we find the State of Heu still existing in the 1st year of duke Gae. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 激 for 速.

Par 2 The Chuen says — 'In the 2d month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing and took K'wang, to punish, in behalf of Tsin, the action of Ch'ing in attacking Seu-mei (See below, the 2d narr after par 4). On his way he did not ask liberty to pass through Wei, and on their return Yang Woo made Ke and Mang enter by the south gate [of its capital], and pass out by the east, halting [afterwards] at the marsh of T'un. The marquis of Wei was enraged, and was sending Mc Tsze hea to pursue

them Kung-shuh Wan tze [at this time] was old, but he had himself wheeled by men to the marquis, and said to him, "To condemn others and to imitate them is contrary to propriety. During the troubles of duke Ch'ao, your lordship was going to take the Shoo tripod of [duke] Wan, [the tortoise-shell of duke] Ch'ing which gave such clear responses, and the mirrored girdle of [duke] Ting and give the choice of any one of them to whoever would restore him. Your own son and the sons of us your ministers were ready to give as hostages, if any of the States would take pity on him. This is what we have heard; and does it not seem improper that for a small occasion of anger you should now cover over your former kindly feeling and action? Of all the sons of T'ao-tze (King Wan's queen) the dukes of Chow and Kiang Shuh were the most friendly; and will it not be acting under a delusion if to imitate [this conduct of] a small man, you throw away [that good relation between Wei and Loo]? Heaven means to multiply the offences of Yang Hoo, in order to destroy him. Suppose that your lordship wait for the *put* for that issue." The marquis on this desisted from his purpose.

The rulers of Loo had not in *pe son* conducted any military expedition since the 18th year of duke Keuen, a period of 80 years. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three great clans. These were now very much reduced, and we find duke Ting himself tilling the field. Yet he was merely a puppet in the hands of the ministers of those clans, who made use of him to further their own ambitious designs against their chiefs.

Par 4. The Chuen says:—In winter Ke Hwan-tze went to Tsin, to prevent the spoils of Ch'ing Yang Hoo from falling into the hands of [at the same time] with offerings in return for those which the marchioness [of Tsin] had sent [to Loo]. The people of Tsin entertained them both together. Mang-sun, standing outside the apartment, said to Fan Hsien-tze: "If Yang Hoo cannot remain in Loo, and rests his shoulder against Tsin, by the former rulers you must make him marshal of the army of the centre!" Hsien-tze replied, "If our ruler have that office [vacant], he will employ the proper man [to fill it]. What should I know about it?" [Afterwards] he said to Hsien-tze: "The people of Loo are distressed by Yang Hoo. Mang-sun knows that an occasion will arise when he thinks Hoo will be obliged to flee the State. He therefore forces himself to make this request for him, to obtain his entrance [into our State]."

[The Chuen gives here two brief narratives:—1st, about Woo and T'oo. In the 4th month, Chung-luy, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Woo, defeated the fleet of T'oo, and captured [the two commanders], Chin, viscount of P'wan, and the viscount of S'ao-wel, along with 7 great officers. T'oo was greatly alarmed, and afraid it would be ruined. [About the same time] T'oo-k'e was defeated with an army on the land at Fan-yang. The chief minister T'ao-ss, however, was glad and said, "Now it can be done; and upon this he removed the capital from Ying to Joh, and changed the regulations of the government, in order [the better] to settle the State."

2d, about troubles in Chow and the share of Ch'ing in them. Tan P'een of Chow had led

on the adherents of king [King's] son Ch'ao and endeavoured by the assistance of Ch'ing to raise an insurrection in Chow. Upon this Ch'ing had attacked Fung, Hsueh, Sen-mei, Hoo-shueh, Hoo-jin, and Hsueh-wa. In the 6th month, Yen Shih of Tsin went to guard [the territory of] Chow and walled Sen-mei.]

Par 5. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, Yoh K'e of Sung said to duke King: "Of all the States only we do service to Tsin. If an enemy do not now go there, Tsin will be offended." Having told his steward Chin Yin [what he said], that officer said to him: "He is sure to send you. After a few days the duke said, 'I am pleased with what you said; you must go [to Tsin].'" Chin Yin [on hearing this] said, "Get your *vacant* appointed [a minister] before you set out and our house will not go to ruin. The ruler also will know that we are proceeding with a knowledge of the dangers it involves." Yoh K'e accordingly introduced [his son] Hsuan [to the duke], and took his departure. Chao Hsien-tze met him, and entertained him at a drinking feast in Hsien-shang, being presented by Yoh K'e with 60 shields of willow. Chin Yin said, "Formerly we lodged with Fan she, but now you are going to lodge with Chao-shue, and are presenting him with gifts besides. You should not have given those willow shields;—you are purchasing misfortune with them. But though you die in Tsin, your descendants will meet with prosperity in Sung."

Fan Hsien-tze said to the marquis of Tsin, "He crossed the borders of his State charged with the orders of his ruler; but before discharging his commission he has accepted a private invitation to drink, thus acting disrespectfully both to his own ruler and to you. He should not be left unpunished." Accordingly Yoh K'e was seized.

Par 6. Chung-shing see VIII. ix. 18. Loo was not at this time on good terms either with Ch'ing or T'ao, and we may suppose that the walls of Chung-shing were now repaired as a precautionary measure against hostilities.

Par 7. The omission of 何 before 公 must be regarded as an error of the text. The marquis of T'ao had taken Yun in Ch'ao's 25th year and given it to that prince. The people left it in Ch'ao's 30th year; and the probability is that, when they re-occupied it, they had endeavoured to do so under the protection of T'ao. The scribe in the text would be to recall them to their allegiance to Loo.

[We have here two brief narratives:—

1st, on the progress of Yang Hoo's encroachments in Loo. Yang Hoo imposed another covenant on the duke and the 3 Hwan clans at the altar of Chow and one upon the people at the altar of Poh; the suppositions being spoken in the street of Woo-fu."

2d, on affairs in Chow. In winter in the 13th month, the king by Heaven's grace took up his residence in Koo-yü, that he might escape from the insurrection of Tan P'een (See the 2d narr. after par 4x.)]



- 7 Kwoh Hün of Ts'e led a force and invaded our western border  
 8 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain  
 9 It was winter, the tenth month

Par 1. [The Chuen appends two brief notices —1st, concerning events in Chow. This spring, in the 2d month, Tan P'ien of Chow entered into E-keh, and held it in revolt. 2d, of the relations between Loo and Ts'e. The people of Ts'e restored Yun and Yang kwan (to Loo). Yang Hoo took the merit of this, and assumed [the more] the functions of the govt.]

Par 2. [The Chuen continues the narrative of events in Chow.— In the 4th month duke Woo of Shen and duke Hwan of Lōw defeated the lord of Yin at K'ung kuh.

Par 3. Hēn.—see V xiii. 8. This covenant is remarkable as indicating that the dominion of the pa, or leaders of the States, had passed away. The kingdom had in this respect entered to the condition in which it was before the rise of duke Hwan of Ts'e. No one State could maintain pre-eminence over others. One and another now began to meet and covenant together as suited their private convenience, though Ts'e, perhaps, cherished a lingering hope of regaining its former influence. The Chuen says that these princes now required [the marquises of] Wei to attend a meeting.

Par 4, 5. Instead of 少 Kung yang has 少澤 and the Chuen has 瑣. The place is the same as the 瑣澤 in VIII. xii. 2, and was in the east of the pres. dis. of Yuen-shing (元城). dep. Ta-ming Chün lo. It belonged to Ts'in. The Chuen says.— The marquise of Wei wished to revolt from Ts'in, but his great officers objected to such a course. On this he dispatched Pih-kung K'eh to Ts'e, and sent a

private message to the marquise, saying "Seize K'eh, and then make an incursion upon us." The marquise of Ts'e did so, and then the marquise of Wei made a covenant with him in So. The 以 in par 4 must be taken as — 遂 See V xxi. 4 where we have it used in the same way.

Par 7. The object of Ts'e in now invading Loo was, we may suppose, to force it to revolt from Ts'in as Ch'ing and Wei had done. Loo tried to meet the invaders, when, according to the Chuen, Yang Hoo acted as charioteer to Ke Hwan-tze and Kung lēn Ch'oo-foo to Māng E-tze. [Hoo] was about to attack at night the army of Ts'e, which got intelligence of the plot, assumed the appearance of being unprepared, and lay in ambush to await the onset. Ch'oo-foo said, "Hoo, you have not calculated the danger; you shall die." Chen E said to him, "Hoo, you are plunging the two ministers into danger. I will kill you, without waiting for the officers [of justice]." Hoo became afraid, and withdrew so that no defeat was sustained.

Par 8. This is the second instance of the repetition of a sacrifice for rain. The other was in the 25th year of duke Ch'ao.

Par 9. [The Chuen goes on here with the account of things in Chow.— In winter in the 11th month, on Mow woo, the viscounts of Shen and Lōw met the king in the house of K'ing-sho (commandant of Koo-yāw). Ts'ieh Ts'in of Ts'in escorted him, and on Ke-sze he entered the royal city. He lodged [first] in the house of Chang, Head of a ducal clan, and afterwards repaired to announce his arrival in the temple of king Chwang.]

*Eighth year*

八年春，<sup>一</sup>止月，公侵齊。<sup>二</sup>  
 公至自侵齊。<sup>三</sup>  
 三月，公侵齊。<sup>四</sup>  
 一月，公至自侵齊。<sup>五</sup>  
 曹伯露卒。<sup>六</sup>  
 夏，齊國夏帥師伐我西鄙。<sup>七</sup>  
 公會首師于杞。<sup>八</sup>  
 公至自杞。<sup>九</sup>

九章  
秋七月戊辰陳侯柳卒。

十章  
晉士鞅帥師伐鄭遂侵

十一章  
衛。

十二章  
葬曹靖公。

十三章  
九月葬陳懷公。

十四章  
季孫斯仲孫何忌帥師

十五章  
侵衛。

十六章  
冬衛侯鄭伯盟于曲沃。

十七章  
從祀先公。

十八章  
盜竊寶玉人弓。

左傳曰八年春正月公侵齊門於陽州。一皆坐列。顏高之弓六鈞皆取而傳觀之。陽州人出。顏高奪人弱弓。籍丘子鉏擊之。與人俱斃。偃目射了鉏。中頰。顏息射人。中眉。退曰。我無勇。自忘其目也。師退。冉猛僞傷足而先。其兄會乃呼曰。猛也。殿。

○月己丑。單了伐穀城。劉了伐儀栗。辛卯。單了伐簡城。劉了伐孟。以定土宇。

○趙鞅曰。於晉侯曰。諸侯唯宋事晉。好逆其使。猶懼不令。今又執之。是絕諸侯也。將歸樂祁。一鞅曰。午止之。無故而歸之。宋必叛。晉獻了私謂了梁曰。寡君懼不得事宋君。是以止了。了姑使濶代了。了梁以告陳寅。陳寅曰。宋將叛晉。是棄濶也。不如待之。樂祁歸卒於大行。一鞅曰。宋必叛。不如止其尸。以求成焉。乃止諸州。公侵齊。攻廩丘之郛。一入焚衝。或濡馬褐以救之。遂毀之。一入出。師奔陽虎。僞不見。出猛者曰。猛在此。必敗。猛逐之。顧而無繼。僞顛虎曰。盡客氣也。呂越了。將待事而名之。陽州之役。獲焉。名之曰陽州。

夏齊國夏高張伐我四鄙。

晉一鞅趙鞅荀寅救我公會晉師。一北。范獻了執羔。趙簡了中行父了。皆執鴈。魯於是始尚羔。

晉師將盟衛侯於鄆澤。趙盾子曰：羣臣誰敢盟衛君者？涉佗成何曰：我能盟之。衛人請執牛耳。成何曰：衛、吾溫原也，焉得視諸侯將？敢涉佗，援衛侯之手及挽，衛侯怒。王孫賈趨進曰：盟以信禮也，有如衛君其敢不唯禮是事而受此盟也？衛侯欲叛晉而患諸大夫。王孫賈使次於郊。大夫問故，公以晉詁語之。且曰：寡人辱社稷，其改卜嗣寡人從焉。大夫曰：是衛之禍，豈君之過也？公曰：又有患焉。謂寡人必以而子與大夫之子爲質。大夫曰：苟有益也，公子則往。羣臣之子敢不皆負聽視以從將行。王孫賈曰：苟衛國有難，工商未嘗不爲患，使皆行而後可，公以告大夫，乃皆將行之。行有日，公朝國人，使賈問焉曰：若衛叛晉，晉五伐我，病何如矣？皆曰：五伐我，猶可以能戰。賈曰：然則如叛之，病而後賈焉？何遲之有？乃叛晉。晉人請改盟，弗許。秋，晉士鞅會成桓公，侵鄭，圍蟲牢，報伊闕也，遂侵衛。

九月，師侵衛，晉故也。

季棼公鉏極公山不狝，皆不得志於季氏。叔孫輒無寵於叔孫氏。叔仲志不得志於魯，故五人因陽虎陽虎欲去三桓以季棼更季氏以叔孫輒更叔孫氏。己更孟氏冬，十月，順祀先公而祈焉。辛卯，禘於僖公。

壬辰，將享季氏於蒲圃而殺之。戒都車曰：癸巳至，成宰公斂處父告孟孫曰：季氏戒都車，何故？孟孫曰：吾弗聞處父曰：然則亂也，必及於子。先備諸與孟孫以壬辰爲期。陽虎前驅，驅林楚御桓子。虞人以鉞盾夾之。陽越轅將如蒲圃。桓子喑謂林楚曰：而先皆季氏之良也，爾以是繼之。對曰：臣聞命後，陽虎爲政，魯國服焉。違之，徵死死無益於主。桓子曰：何後之有，而能以我適孟氏乎？對曰：不敢愛死，懼不免。主桓子曰：往也。孟氏選圍人之壯者三百人，以爲公期，築室於門外。林楚怒馬及衛而騁，陽越射之不中。築者闔門，有自門間射陽越，殺之。陽虎劫公與武叔以伐孟氏。公斂處父帥成人自上東門入，與陽氏戰於南門之內，弗勝。又戰於棘下，陽氏敗。陽虎說甲如公宮，取寶玉大弓以出，舍於五父之衢，寢而爲食。其徒曰：追其將至。虎曰：魯人聞余出，喜於徵死，何暇追。



爲嗣。鄭陽。陽虎。之。爵。了。懼。桓。許。之。斂。斂。嘻。余。  
政。了。鄭。陽。陽。虎。之。爵。了。懼。桓。許。之。斂。斂。嘻。余。  
叔。歎。以。於。出。氏。舍。之。孫。殺。弗。追。公。公。曰。

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.  
2 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.  
3 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.  
4 In the third month, the duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.  
5 Loo, earl of Ts'aou, died.  
6 In summer, Kwoh Hea of Ts'e led a force, and invaded our western border.  
7 The duke had a meeting with an army of Tsin in Wa.  
8 The duke arrived from Wa.  
9 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Mow-shin, Léw, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
10 Sze Yang of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ch'ing, going on to make one into Wei.  
11 There was the burial of duke Tsing of Ts'aou.  
12 In the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Hwae of Ch'in.  
13 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and made an incursion into Wei.  
14 In winter, the marquis of Wei and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in K'ueh-puh.  
15 We sacrificed to the former dukes according to their proper order.  
16 A robber stole the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.

Parr 1, 2 This incursion would be made to retaliate the invasion of Loo by Kwoh Hea in the previous autumn. The Chuen says — 'The duke made an incursion into Ts'e, and attacked the gate of Yang chow. The soldiers all sat in ranks on the ground, and talked of the bow of Yen Kaou, how it was 180 catties in weight, taking it also and handing it round for all to look at. [In the meantime], the men of Yang-chow came out, and Yen Kaou seized a weak bow from another man, but Tsze-ts'oo of Tseih-k'ew attacked him with a sword, [or spear], and he and another man both fell down, but Yen then shot Tsze-ts'oo in the jaw, and killed him. Yen Seih shot a man in the eyebrow, and retired saying, "I have no valour. I meant to hit his eye." When the army withdrew, Jen Mäng preceded it, pretending to be wounded in his foot. His elder brother Hwuy, [when he saw the troops return without Mäng], cried out, "Mäng must be bringing up the rear!"'

[The Chuen introduces here two narratives — 1st, about affairs in Chow. 'In the 2d month,

on Ke-ch'ow, the viscount of Shen attacked Kuh-shing, and the viscount of Lew attacked E-leih. On Sin-maou, the former attacked Keen-slung, and the latter Yu. The object of these operations was to effect the settlement of the royal House.'

2d, about the affairs of Tsin and Sung. 'Chaou Yang said to the marquis of Tsin, "Of all the States it is only Sung which [heartily] serves Tsin. We should be glad to meet a messenger from it, still apprehensive lest he would not come. But now by seizing and holding its messenger, we are repelling the States from us." It was [then] designed to send Yoh K'e back to Sung, but Sze Yang said, "We have detained him three years, and if we send him back without any ground for doing so, Sung is sure to revolt from us." Hsien-tsze then said privately to Tsze-leang (Yoh K'e), "Our ruler was afraid of not finding an opportunity to serve the ruler of Sung, and therefore detained you. Do you get Hwän [your son] to come and take your place for the present." Tsze-leang told this to Ch'in Yin,

who said, "Sung will revolt from Tsin. It would only be throwing Hwan away. You had better wait here. [In the end], Yoh K'o was returning [to Sung] and died in T'ao-hsing on which Sze Yang said, "Sung is sure to revolt. We had better detain his body as a means of seeking peace with it." The body was accordingly detained in Chow."

Par. 3, 4. Dissatisfied with the little success of his expedition in the 1st month, the duke now made or was compelled by Yang Hoo to make another which was as fruitless. The Chuen says:—"The duke made an incursion into T'ao, and attacked the outer suburbs of Lin-k'ang. The inhabitants set fire to their large war chariots, but some of the men put out the flames with horse-rugs soaked in water and they then broke down [the wall of the suburbs]. The inhabitants came out, and [the rest of] the army hurried forward. Yang Hoo, pretending that he did not see Jen Mang, cried out, "If Mang were here, he would be sure to be defeated! Mang pursued the enemy but looking round, and seeing no others following him, he pretended [to be hit] and threw himself down, when Hoo said, "All behave like victors."

Chen Yueh had a son born at this time, and was waiting the result of these expeditions to give him a name. As some prisoners were taken in the affair at Yang-chow (in the 1st month), he gave the child the name of Yang-chow.

Par. 5. Wang K'ih k'wan thus runs over the history of the two last earls of T'ao:—

When duke Shing (成) had occupied the earldom 5 years, he was murdered by his younger brother Tung (通), who took his place. He again—duke Yin—after 4 years was murdered by his younger brother Loo, who took his place. Loo was succeeded by his son Yang (陽).

Par. 6. Two repeats this par with the addition of Kao Chang as commanding the troops of T'ao, along with Kwai Hsiao. This attack was, of course, in retaliation for the two incursions into T'ao.

Par. 7, 8. Wa was in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Hwai (淮), dep. Wei-hway Ho-nan. The army of Tsin had come to the relief of Loo, but the troops of T'ao had withdrawn before its arrival. The duke, however, felt it his duty to go on to meet its leaders; but as he had not left his capital for that purpose, the 8th par simply says that he came from Wa, and not from the meeting. The Chuen says:—"Sze Yang, Chao Yang and Seun Yin, [came to] relieve us, and the duke went to meet the army of Tsin at Wa. Fan Hsien-tze (See Yang) had a lamb carried with him (As his present of introduction), and Chao Hsien-tze and Chung-hang Wan-tze (Seun Yin) had each of them a goose. From this time Loo valued the lamb [as a present of introduction]."

Par. 10. Kuang-yang has 趙鞅. Instead of 士鞅. The Chuen says:—"The army of Tsin was going to impose a covenant on the rulers of Wei at Chuen-tai and Chao Hsien-tze said, "Which of you, my officers, will venture to make the covenant with the

marquis of Wei?" Sheh T'o and Ching Ho undertook to do it, and the people of Wei asked them to hold the bull's ear. But Ching Ho said, Wei is [only] like our Wan or Yuen. How can [its lord] be regarded as the prince of a State?" When the marquis was about to put his fingers into the [vessel of] blood, Sheh T'o pushed his hand in up to the wrist. The marquis was enraged, and Wang-sun K'ia hurried forward, and said "Covenants should serve to illustrate the rules of society. Even one like our ruler of Wei did not [cause one to do service to Tsin as being] observant of those rules, and was going to receive this covenant!" The marquis wished to revolt from Tsin, but had a difficulty with the great officers. Wang-sun K'ia made him halt in the suburbs and when the great officers asked the reason, the marquis told them the insults of Tsin, and added, "I have disgraced the altars. You must consult the tortoise-shell, and appoint another in my place. I will agree to your selection." The great officers said, "It is the misfortune of Wei, and not any fault of yours." "There is something worse," said the duke. "They told me that I must send my son and the sons of my great officers as hostages [to Tsin]. The officers replied, "If it will be of any benefit, let the prince go, and our sons will follow him carrying halters and ropes on their backs." It was then arranged that the hostages should go; but Wang-sun K'ia said, "If the State of Wei has had any misfortunes, the mechanics and merchants have always shared in them. Let [the sons of] all classes go." The marquis reported this to the great officers, who were willing to send all, and a day was fixed for their setting out. The marquis [in the meantime] gave audience to the people, and made K'ia ask them, saying, "If Wei revolt from Tsin, and Tsin 5 times attack us, how would you bear the distress? They all replied, "Though it should 5 times attack us, we should still be able to fight." "Then," said K'ia, "we had better revolt from it at once. We can give our hostages when we are brought to distress. It will not then be too late." Accordingly Wei revolted from Tsin, and refused, though Tsin requested it, to make another covenant.

In autumn Sze Yang of Tsin joined duke Hwan of Ching (成) in an incursion into Ching when they laid siege to Ching-lau, in retaliation for Ching's [attack of] E-keuch (See the 2d narr. after VI 4). They then went on to an incursion into Wei.

Par. 13. Two says this incursion was made on account of Tsin. That State now called in the help of Loo to wreak its anger on Wei.

Par. 14. 曲橫 is explained as if it were 橫曲, a well known bend or turn of the river P'oh, in the pres. P'oh Chow dep. T'ao-chow Shian-tung. It was in Wei. The object of the visitant between Ching and Wei was, no doubt, to encourage each other in their revolt from Tsin.

Par. 15. To understand this par the reader must refer to the long note on VI 11. 6. The tablets of the dukes Min and He were then made to change places, contrary to the natural order and this would affect the order in which the tablets of the subsequent dukes had been

arranged. This error was now corrected, the tablet of Min was restored to its proper place, and the others placed where they ought always to have been. This is the view of T'ao she, Kung-yang, and K'ui-liang, who make the former dukes to be He and Min Maou, however, argues from XII iii 3, that the shrine-house of He continued at that time to follow that of Hwan; but we cannot be certain that the fire which is there mentioned followed what may be called 'its natural course'. Hoo Gan-kwoh, following some scholar of Shuh, called Fung Shan (蜀人馮山), prefers to understand 先公 of duke Ch'ou, whose tablet, he supposes, had till this time been kept out of the ancestral temple by the influence of the Ke family. But, as the K'ang-he editors observe, if this view, otherwise not unreasonable, were the correct one, the analogy of the Classic would make us expect the name 昭 in the text, rather than the indefinite 先公.

The Chuen says — 'Ke Woo, Kung ts'oo Kesh, and Kung-shan Pui-nw could not get their way with Ke-she. Shuh-sun Cheh did not find favour with Shuh-sun-she, and Shuh-chung Che could not get his way in the State. These five men, in consequence, joined Yang Hoo, who wished to take off [the Heads of] the three Hwan clans, and to give to Ke Woo the place of Ke-she, and to Shuh-sun Cheh that of Shuh-sun-she, while he himself took the place of M'ang-she. In winter, in the 10th month, they offered sacrifice to the former dukes in their natural order, and prayed [for their sanction to their scheme], and on Sun maou, they offered the *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke He.'

According to this narrative, the re-arrangement of the sacrificial order proceeded from Yang Hoo, and as it was made in contemplation of a *coup*, he probably designed to intimate that his object was to put civil matters, as well as religious, 'in a natural order'. The *te* sacrifice in He's temple, where all the tablets were brought together, would be to console He's Spirit, for the previous degradation of his own tablet.

Par 16. The Chuen says — 'On Jin-shun, [Yang Hoo] was going to give an entertainment to Ke-she in the orchard of P'oo, with the intention of killing him there, and gave notice to the war-chariots of the capital to come to him on Kwei-sze. Kung-l'een Ch'oo-foo, commandant of Ch'ing, told M'ang-sun of this, and asked why Ke-she (Yang Hoo must have done it in his name) had given such an order. M'ang-sun said he had not heard of it. "Then," observed Ch'oo-foo, "they are going to raise an insurrection, which will be sure to extend to you. Let us be prepared for it beforehand," and accordingly he arranged with M'ang-sun to be ready to act on Jin-shun.

'[That day], Yang Hoo rode [to the orchard] before the others, and Lin Ts'oo drove Hwan-tsze, with a body of foresters armed with spears and shields on each side of the chariot, while Yang Yueh brought up the rear. As they drew near to the place, Hwan-tsze, in doubt, said to Lin Ts'oo, "Your forefathers were all faithful servants of the Ke family,—is it in this way

that you are following their example?" T'ao she replied, "Your order comes too late. The government is in the hands of Yang Hoo, and the State is submissive to him. To oppose him is to invite death, and my death would be of no advantage to you." Hwan-tsze said, "It is not too late. Can you go with me to M'ang-she's?" "I do not dare to grudge dying," was the reply, "but I am afraid I shall not be able to bring you off." "Go," said Hwan-tze.

'M'ang-she had selected 300 of his grooms, who were all strong men, and had set them to build a house outside his gate for Kung-k'e. Lin Ts'oo made his horses furious, and when he got to the street, galloped them along [to M'ang-she's house]. Yang Yueh sent an arrow after him which missed, and the builders shut the gate, through which some one shot Yang Yueh, and killed him.

'Yang Hoo [now] brought by force the duke and Woo shuh (Shuh-sun she) with him to attack M'ang-she, but Kung-l'een Ch'oo-foo, at the head of the men of Ch'ing, entered the city by the upper east gate, and fought with the adherents of Yang inside the south gate. This battle was unsuccessful, but in another, in Kesh hea, the Yang-ites were defeated. Yang Hoo then threw off his armour, went to the duke's palace, and took from it the precious symbol of jade, and the great bow. With these he came forth and halted in the street of Woo-foo, where he went to sleep, and afterwards had a meal prepared. His followers said, "The pursuers will be upon us," but he replied, "When the people hear that I am gone forth, they will all be rejoicing over [Ke-sun's escape from] the summons to death, and will have no leisure to pursue me." His followers however, said, "Hail get the horses quickly yoked. Kung-l'een Yang (Ch'oo-foo) will be here!" Kung-l'een Yang did ask leave to pursue the fugitives, but M'ang-sun refused it. Yang also wished to kill Hwan-tsze, but M'ang-sun was afraid, and sent Hwan-tsze to his own house.

'Tze-zen (Ke Woo) drank and replaced the cups, all round, before the shrines in the temple of the Ke family, and then went forth. Yang Hoo entered the pass of Hwan yang, and held it in revolt.

From this narrative it appears that by the 'robber' in the text we are to understand Yang Hoo. It was not proper, according to T'ao, that the name or family name of him, who was merely the minister of a clan in the State, should appear in the text. The precious *yuh* and the great bow have, since Law Hui of the Han dynasty, been understood to be 'the *hwany*-stone of the sovereigns of Hea, and the great bow Fan-joh of Fung-foo,' mentioned in the long narrative on IV 4, as having been given by king Ch'ing to the first duke of Loo. The loss of them in such a way was very insulting to Loo, and might be considered ominous of its destruction.

[The Chuen appends here — 'In Ch'ing, Sze Chuen (known as 騶子然, a son of T'ze-hea) succeeded T'ze-t'ao-shuh as chief minister of that State']

## Ninth year

九年春，十一月。夏四月，戊申，鄭伯蠆卒。三得寶玉人弓。四八月，葬鄭獻公。五秋，齊侯衛侯次丁六十七氏。冬，葬哀公。

○左傳曰：九年春，宋公使樂大心盟於晉，且逆樂祁之尸。辭，僞有疾，乃使向巢如晉盟。且逆子梁之尸。子明謂桐門右師出，曰：「吾猶衰絰，而子擊鐘，何也？」右師曰：「喪不在此故也。」既而告人曰：「已衰絰而生子，余何故舍鐘？」子明聞之，怒，言於公曰：「右師將不利。」戴氏不肯適晉，將作亂也。不然，無疾乃逐桐門右師。

○鄭駟歛殺鄧析而用其竹刑。君子謂子然於是不忠，苟有可以加於國家者，棄其邪，可也。靜女之三章，取彤管焉。竿旄何以告之，取其忠也。故用其道，不棄其人。詩云：「蔽芾甘棠，勿剪勿伐。」召伯所茇，思其人，猶愛其樹。況用其道而不恤其人乎？子然無以勸能矣。

夏，陽虎歸寶玉大弓。書曰：「得。」器用也。凡獲器用曰「得」。得用焉曰「獲」。六月，伐陽關。陽虎使焚萊門，師驚犯之而出。奔齊，請師以伐魯。曰：「三加必取之。」齊侯將許之。鮑文子諫曰：「臣嘗爲隸於施氏矣，魯未可取也。上下猶和，衆庶猶睦，能事大國，而無天菑若之何？」取之，陽虎欲勸齊師也。齊師罷，大臣必多死亡。已於是乎，奮其詐謀，夫陽虎有寵於季氏，而將殺季孫，以不利魯國，而求寤焉。親富，不親仁君，焉用之？君富於季氏，而大於魯國，茲陽虎所欲傾覆也。魯免其疾，而君又收之，無乃害乎？齊侯執陽虎，將東之。陽虎顯東乃囚諸西鄙，盡借邑人之車，鑕其軸，麻約而歸之。載蒞靈寢於其中，而逃追而得之，囚於齊。又以蒞靈逃，奔宋，遂奔晉。適趙氏仲尼曰：「趙氏其世有亂乎？」

秋，齊侯伐晉，夷儀敝，無存之。父將室之，辭以與其弟。曰：「此役也，不死，反必娶於

推之。軒與直蓋而先歸之。坐引者以師哭之。親  
者以九家免。乃得其尸。公緣之與之。所  
之在夷儀也。齊侯謂夷儀人曰。得敵無存  
賞。東郭書辭曰。彼賓旅也。乃賞犁彌。齊師  
製。公使視東郭書。曰。乃夫了也。台貺了。公  
犁彌辭曰。有先登者。臣從之。皙幘而衣。狸  
師敗之。齊侯致禱。媚杏於衛。齊侯賞犁彌。  
驕其帥又賤。遇必敗之。不如從齊。乃伐齊。  
衛雖小。其君在焉。不可勝也。齊師克城而  
平。中平人欲伐之。衛褚師圍亡在中平。曰。  
也。衛車當其平。寡人當其平。敵矣。乃過中  
平。衛侯將如力氏。卜過之。龜焦。衛侯曰。可  
猛笑曰。吾從了。如驂之靳。首車下乘在中  
曰。我先登。書斂甲曰。曩者之難。今又難焉。  
者絕而後下。書左。彌先下。書與上。猛息。猛  
登。犁彌從之。曰。了讓而左。我讓而右。使登  
高國。先登。求自門出。死於囂下。東郭書讓

- IX. 1 It was [the duke's] ninth year, the spring, the king's first month  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Mow-shin, Ch'ae, earl of Ch'ing, died  
3 We got [again] the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow  
4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Heen of Ch'ing  
5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Woo-she  
6 The earl of Ts'in died  
7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Gae of Ts'in.

Par 1 [We have here two narratives in the Chuen —1st, relating to affairs in Sung, a sequel to that after the 2d par of last year 'This spring, the duke of Sung wished to send Yoh Ta-sin to make a covenant with Ts'in, and to receive the corpse of Yoh K'e, but he declined the mission on the pretence that he was unwell, and it was entrusted to Heang Ch'au. [In consequence of this], Tsze-ming (Yoh K'e's son, Hwän), ordered the master of the Right (Ta-sin, who is here also called T'ung-mun, 桐門, as a sort of surname from his place of residence) away [when he called upon him] saying, "Why is it that you strike your bells, when I am still wearing deep mourning for my father?" The master replied, "Your mourning could not be affected by that," and afterwards he remarked to some one, "He could beget a child while wearing his deep mourning, why should I not strike my bells?" Tsze-ming heard of this, and was angry so that he said to the duke, "The master of the Right will prove injurious to the clans descended from duke Tae. His refusal to go to Ts'in must have come from a design to

some insubordinate proceedings. It must be so, for he had no sickness." On this they drove the master out of the State.

2d, about the new chief minister of Ch'ing, a sequel to the concluding notice of last year — 'Sze Chuen of Ch'ing put to death T'ang Seih, and proceeded to employ the penal laws inscribed by him on tablets of bamboo. The superior man will say that in this matter Tsze-jen (Chuen) did not act in a good and generous way. If a man has what will be of advantage to the State, any perversity of his may be overlooked. The three stanzas of the Tsing-neu (She, I iii, Ode XVII) had their place assigned them [in the She] because of the "Red-coloured reed" [in the 2d]. The Kan maou (I iv ode VII) with its "What will thou tell him?" had its place from the generous loyalty [which it indicates]. Therefore, when we make use of a man's methods, we do not cast himself away. The ode (I ii ode V) says,

This umbrageous sweet pear tree!  
Chop it not nor hew it down,—  
Under it the Chief of Shaou lodged.

The writer thinking of the man, loved even his tree; how much more should we compassionate the man of whose methods we are making use! Tze-jen took no means to encourage ability.]

Par 2. Kung-yang has 得 for 得.

Par 3. Tse-she gives here a canon about the use of 得 and 獲. We have here, he says, 得, because the things were articles of use, and the taking such articles is described by 得; but when the use of them follows on the getting them, that getting is described by 獲. The meaning is not clear and the canon is unnecessary.

The Chuen says:—Yang Hoo returned the precious symbol of Jade and the great bow. In summer we attacked the Yang pass, but Hoo ordered the Lao gate to be set on fire and while the troops were alarmed, he assailed them, and made his escape. Having fled to Tse, he 得 助 [the assistance of] an army with which to invade Loo, saying that after three attacks that State was sure to be taken. The marquess was about to grant his request, when Pao Wai-tze illustrated, saying, "I was in the army of Shue-she (See the Chuen on VII. xiv. 5. Wai-tze was the Pao Kwoh there, and must now have been more than 80), [and know that] Loo cannot be taken. There is still harmony between its high officers and low and its masses are well-affected. It is able to do 助 Loo to the great State, and has not suffered calamity from Heaven—how should we be able to take it? Yang Hoo wishes to impose hard toll on the army of Tse so that many of our great officers are sure to die under its fatigue, and he will then play out his deceitful plans. He found favour with Ke-she, and then wanted to kill him, that through the disasters of the State he might seek for forbearance with himself. He makes friends of the rich, and not of men of virtue—why should you use him? You are richer than Ke-she, and [Tse] is greater than Loo—it is just you whom Yang Hoo will want to overthrow. Loo has got rid of its plague—is not your lordship doing yourself an injury in receiving him?" [On this], the marquess of Tse seized Hoo, and was going to send him to the east. [He said that] he wished to go there and he was banished to [a city on] the western border. There he borrowed all the chariots of the city cut off their axles, and returned them, bound up with hemp. He then went into a baggage wagon, lay down in it, and made his escape. He was pursued, however taken, and sent to be confined in the capital, but he made his escape from it again in a baggage-wagon, and fled to Sung. From Sung he fled to Tsin, and took refuge with the Head of the Chao family. Chung he said, "Shall not the family of Chao always be troubled with insubordination?"

Par 6. Woo-she was a city of Tsin,—in the west of the pres. dis. of Han-tan (邯鄲), dep. Kwang-ping, Chih-li. The marquesses of Tse and Wei were now engaged in an invasion of Tsin, and the text might have been 齊侯衛侯伐晉. Too s. proves that they shrunk

from publicly announcing in plain term their intention of hostilities against a State which had so long been lord of covenant and therefore sent the modified notification in the text.

The Chuen says:—This autumn, the marquess of Tse attacked [the city] E-e of Tsin. The Woo-tsun's father was about to marry him [at that time] to a lady but he declined the match, a king that she might be given to his younger brother. "If I do not die," said he, "in this expedition, when I return, I shall take a wife from the House of Haon or from that of Kwoh." He mounted the wall [of E-e] before any other but in seeking to get out at the gate he was killed under the eaves. Tung kwoh Shoo then took it on him to ascend before the rest, and was followed by Lo Me who said to him, "Do you stand aside to the left, and I will do the same to the right. When the others have done scaling we can then go down [and open the gates]." On this Shoo took the left, and Me was down before him. [After the city was carried], Shoo was resting by Wang Mang who said to him, "I was the first to get up," on which Shoo fastened his buff-coat and said, "He placed me a little ago in a false position, and you are now doing the same." Mang smiled and said, "I followed you as closely as the outside horse follows the inside."

Tsin had a thousand chariots in Chung now and as the marquess of Wei wished to go to Woo-she he consulted the tortoise-shell about passing that place. The shell was [only] burnt [and gave no indication], on which he said, "It will do. The chariots of Wei can cope with half of them, and I will cope with the other half. We shall be a match for them." Accordingly he passed by Chung-mow and when the men of that place wanted to attack him, Choo-sze Pao of Wei, who was a refugee there, said, "Though Wei is but small, its ruler is there. You will not conquer him. The army of Tse is arrogant through having reduced the city. Its commander also is of mean rank. If you meet it, you are sure to defeat it. Your best plan is to pursue Tse." In accordance with this advice, they attacked the army of Tse and defeated it.

The marquess of Tse gave to Wei [the three cities of] Choh, Wei and Mang. He was going to reward Lo Me, but that officer declined any reward, saying, "There was one who mounted the wall before me, with a white complexion, fine teeth, and wearing a fox's fur. The marquess sent to see Tung-kwoh Shoo, and then said, to him, 'It was you. I will give the reward to you.' Shoo, however said, 'He [and I] were like guests [at the same feast];—declining the reward, which was then given to Lo Me."

When the army of Tse was in E-e the marquess said to the inhabitants, "He who finds the Woo-tsun shall be made chief of 5 houses and exempted from all services. In this way he recovered Woo-tsun a body which was encased with 3 suits of clothes from the marquess. A chariot of rhinoceros hide went before the coffin and a high umbrella, and in this fashion it was sent home before the army. While the trackers knelt, the marquess went by the coffin before the troops, and with his own hand pushed the bier on three turns of the wheels.

## Tenth year

一章 十一年春王三月及齊平。  
二章 夏公會齊侯于夾谷。  
三章 公至自夾谷。  
四章 齊趙鞅帥師圍衛。  
五章 齊人來歸鄆、讎、龜陰田。  
六章 叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
七章 秋叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
八章 宋樂大心出奔曹。  
九章 宋公子地出奔陳。  
十章 冬齊侯、衛侯、鄭游速會于安甫。  
十一章 叔孫州仇如齊。  
十二章 宋公之弟辰暨仲儀、石彘出奔陳。

左傳曰：十一年春，及齊平。夏，公會齊侯於祝丘，實夾谷。孔丘相，犁彌曰：「於齊侯曰：『孔丘知禮而無勇，若使來人以兵，勿魯侯必得心焉。』」齊侯從之。孔丘以公退，曰：「兵之兩君合好，而魯夾之，俘以兵亂之，非齊君所以命諸侯也。魯不謀夏，夾不亂魯，俘不亡盟，兵不偪好，於神為不祥。於德為愆義，於人為失禮。君必不然。」齊侯聞之，遽辟之。將盟，齊人加於載書曰：「齊師出竟，而不以甲中。」自乘從我者，有如此盟。孔丘使茲無遂揖對曰：「而不反我汶陽之田，吾以具命。」者亦如之。齊侯將享公，孔丘謂梁丘據曰：「齊魯之故，台了何不聞焉？中既成矣，而又享之，是勤執

事也。且犧象不出門，嘉樂不野合，饗而既具，是稟禮也。若其不具，用秕稗也。用秕稗君辱，稟禮名惡。子盍圖之，夫享所以昭德也，不昭不如其已也。乃不果享。

晉趙鞅圍衛，報夷儀也。初，衛侯伐邯鄲，午於寒氏，城其西北而守之。宵燭，及晉圍衛，午以徒七十人，門於衛西門，殺人於門中。曰：「請報寒氏之役。」涉佗曰：「夫子則勇矣，然我往，必不敢啟門，亦以徒七十人，旦門焉，步左右皆至而立如植，日中不敢門，乃退反役。」晉人討衛之叛，故曰：「由涉佗，成何於是？」執涉佗以求成於衛，衛人才許晉人，遂殺涉佗，成何奔燕。君子曰：「此之謂棄禮，必不鈞。」詩曰：「人而無禮，何不遄死？」涉佗亦過矣哉。

齊人來歸鄆，謹龜陰之田。

初，叔孫成子欲立武叔，公若藐固諫曰：「不可。」成子立之，而卒公南，使賊射之，不能殺。公南爲馬正，使公若爲郈宰。武叔既定，使郈馬正侯犯殺公若弗能。其圉人曰：「吾以劍過郈，公若必曰：『誰之劍也？』吾稱子以告，必觀之。吾僞固而授之，末則可殺也。」使如之。公若曰：「爾欲吳王我乎？」遂殺公若。侯犯以郈叛，武叔懿子圍郈，弗克。

秋，二子及齊師復圍郈。弗克。叔孫謂郈工師曰：「郈非唯叔孫氏之憂，社稷之患也。將若之何？」對曰：「臣之業在楊水，卒登之，四言矣。」叔孫稽首。曰：「謂侯犯曰：『居齊魯之際，而無事，必不可矣。』盍求事於齊，以臨民，不然將叛。」侯犯從之。齊使至，郈亦與郈人爲之，宣言於郈中曰：「侯犯將以郈易於齊，齊人將遷郈民，衆兇懼，郈亦謂侯犯曰：『衆言異矣。』子不如易於齊，與其死也，猶是郈也，而得紿焉，何必此？」齊人欲以此僞魯，必偕與子地，且盍多舍甲於子之門，以備不虞。」侯犯曰：「諾。」乃多舍甲焉。侯犯請易於齊，齊有司觀郈將至，郈亦使周走，呼曰：「齊師至矣。」郈人大駭。介侯犯之門甲，以圍侯犯。郈亦將射之。侯犯止之曰：「謀免我侯犯，請行。」許之。郈亦先如宿。侯犯賤，每出一門，郈人閉之。及郭門，止之曰：「子以叔孫氏之甲出，有司若昧之，羣臣懼死。」郈亦曰：「叔孫氏之甲有物，吾未敢以出。」犯謂郈亦曰：「子止而與之數。」郈亦止而納魯人侯犯。奔齊，齊人乃致郈。



宋公了地。嬖違富獵，十分其宰，而以  
其力與之。公了地有白馬四，公嬖向魋，  
魋欲之。公取而朱其尾鬣以與之。地怒，  
使其徒扶魋而奪之。魋懼將走，公閉門  
而泣之，目盡腫。丹弟辰曰：「了分宰以與  
猶也，而獨卑魋，亦有頗焉。」了爲君禮，不  
過出竟。君必止了。公了地出奔陳。公弗  
止。武叔聘於齊，齊侯字之曰：「子叔孫，若使  
邱在君之他竟，寡人何知焉。」屬與敝邑，  
際故取助君憂之。對曰：「非寡君之望也，  
所以事君，封疆社稷是以敢以家隸勤  
君之執事，夫不令之臣，人卜之所惡也，  
君豈以爲寡君賜。」  
辰爲之請，弗聽。辰曰：「是我廷台兄也，台  
以國人出，君誰與處？」冬，月弟辰暨仲佗，  
石疆出介陳。

- X 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, we made peace with Ts'e.  
2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Keah-kuh.  
3 The duke came from Keah-kuh.  
4 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Wei.  
5 An officer came from Ts'e and restored [to us] Yun, Hwan, and the lands of Kwei-yin.  
6 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
7 In autumn, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
8 Yoh Ta-sin of Sung fled from that State to Ts'aou.  
9 The Kung-tsze Te of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in.  
10 In winter, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei, and Yew Suh of Ch'ing, had a meeting in Gan-poo.  
11 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew went to Ts'e.  
12 Shin, a younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'o and Shih K'ow, fled from that State to Ch'in.

Par 1 For 8 years now there had been hostilities between Loo and Ts'e, which were happily terminated by this peace. The influence of Confucius was now felt in the councils of Loo, and many of the critics ascribe the peace, with probability, to that. In the omission of 公 before 皮, Le Lëen sees an intimation that the peace was desired by the whole State, but when some other critics would press the 皮, as indicating that the peace was agreed to by Ts'e at the earnest instance of Loo, he demurs to such a view as inconsistent with the calm dignity of the sage.

Par 2 For 火 Kung-yang has 煩. The situation of Keah-kuh is not positively determined, and it has been assigned to three different places. The K'ang-he editors incline to place it in the dis of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep T'ae-gan. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to confirm the peace which had been agreed upon.

The Chuen says — 'In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Chuh-k'e, i.e., Keah-kuh, when K'ung K'ew attended him as director [of the ceremonies]. Le Me had said to the marquis, 'K'ung K'ew is ac-

quainted with ceremonies, but has no courage. If you employ some of the natives of Loo to come with weapons and carry off the marquis of Loo, you will get from him whatever you wish. The marquis of T'ao had arranged accordingly but K'ung K'w withdrew with the duke, saying "Let the soldiers smite those [intruders]. You and the marquis of T'ao are met on terms of friendship, and for those captives from the distant barbarous east to throw the meeting into confusion with their weapons is not the way to get the States to receive his commands. Those distant people have nothing to do with our great land; those wild tribes must not be permitted to create disorder among our flowery States; captives in war should not break in upon a covenant weapons of war should not come near a friendly meeting. As before the Spirits, such a thing is inauspicious; in point of virtue, it is contrary to what is right; as between man and man, it is a failure in propriety—the ruler [of T'ao] must not act thus." When the marquis heard this, he instantly ordered the Loo-ites away.

When they were about to covenant together the people of T'ao added to the words of the covenant these sentences, "Be it to Loo according to [the curses of] this covenant, if when the army of T'ao crosses its own borders, it do not follow us with 300 chariots of war." On this K'ung K'w made T'ao Woo-seen reply with a bow "And so be it also to T'ao, if with out restoring to us the lands of Wan-shang you expect us to obey your orders!"

The marquis of T'ao wanted to give an entertainment to the duke, but K'ung K'w said to L'ang k'w K'ou, "Are you not acquainted with former transactions between T'ao and Loo? The business is finished, and now to have an entertainment besides would only be troubling the officers. Our cups of ceremony moreover do not cross our gates, and our admirable instruments of music are not fit for the wild country. An entertainment at which things were not complete would be a throwing away of the [proper] ceremonies. If things were not complete, it would be like employing chaff and por [instead of the good grain]. Such employment would be disgraceful to our rulers; and to throw away the proper ceremonies would be to bring a bad report [upon our meeting];—why should you not consider the matter? An entertainment answers the purpose of displaying virtue; if that be not displayed, it is better to have no entertainment."

Accordingly the purpose of an entertainment was not carried into effect.

The substance of the above narrative is given by K'uh-k'ang with the embellishment of a feater whom T'ao sent to dance before the tent of the marquis of Loo; but the Hsueh-he editors here reject both the Chuen as derogatory to Confucius and licentious additions of romancists. They have the authority for doing so of Choo He, and other Sung scholars, but the objections are mainly based on the inconsistency of the narrative with what they think T'ao was likely to do in the circumstances, and what they feel sure Confucius would have done. Surely something like what T'ao also tells us did take place at K'eh-k'uh. We may believe that he has given us what was the current tradition about the meeting soon after it was held. Hsueh

Ping-chang says, T'ao-she was well acquainted with the history of Confucius in Loo—he had heard and seen the facts. What other testimony can be needed to support him, as if he were speaking of things strange and beyond the sphere of his own knowledge?

Par 4. This siege was to be revenged on Wei for the taking of E-o in the autumn of last year. The Chuen says:—"Last year when the marquis of Wei had attacked Woo, the commandant of Han-tan, in Han she (王氏), he raised a wall to the north west of that city and guarded it, in consequence of which the inhabitants dispersed in the night. [In consequence of this], Woo now attacked the west gate of the capital of Wei, having 70 footmen with him and killed a man right in the gate, saying,

Allow me to repay you for the affair of Han she. Shieh T'ao said to him, "You are indeed a man of courage; but if I go, they will not dare to open the gate." Accordingly he also attacked the gate next morning, having with him 70 footmen, whom he arranged on the right and left, where they all stood like trees till noon when they retired, the gate not having been opened.

When the expedition returned, the people of Tsin discussed the cause of Wei's revolt, and it was said that it was occasioned by Shieh T'ao and Ch'ing Ho. On this they laid hold on Shieh T'ao, and asked Wei, [in consideration of their doing so], to come to a good understanding with them and when Wei refused to do so, they proceeded to put Shieh T'ao to death, while Ch'ing Ho fled to Yen.

The superior man will say that this was an illustration of the saying that they who cast propriety away shall have a different fate from other men. The ode (She, I. iv ode VIII. 3) says,

"If a man observes not the rules of propriety  
Why does he not quickly die?"

Shieh T'ao did die quickly

Par 5 K'ung and K'uh have 運 instead of

節, and K'uh has 之 between 陰 and 田

This is the sequel to par 2, the result of the meeting at K'eh-k'uh. Yun, Hwan, and Kwei yin constituted what were called the lands of Wan-shang Yun has often occurred. Hwan, —see on II. iii. 6. We might translate 龜陰

田 by the lands on the north of mount Kwei —which mount lies between the dis. of Shu t'ao (新泰) dep. T'ao-gan, and that of Siao

shway (泗水), dep. Yen-chow T'ao, we were told under par 1 of the 7th year restored Yun to Loo; but when Yang Hoo fled to T'ao, he had again delivered it to that State in the 8th year as well as the other places mentioned.

Par 6, 7 How was the principal city of the Shieh-sun family and was at this time bekl in revolt by one of its retainers. In par 7 K'ung yang has 費 instead of 節; but his text must be wrong. Perhaps the two paragraphs following one another identical save in one character made him think the 節 was a mistake; but the thing is clear enough in T'ao-she's narrative.

The Chuen says, "Before this, when Shuh-sun Ch'ing-tsze wanted to appoint Woo shuh his successor, Kung-joh Meaou remonstrated strongly, and urged him not to do so. Ch'ing-tsze, however, made the appointment, and died [soon after]. Kung-nan then employed a ruffian to shoot Meaou, but he did not succeed in killing him. Kung-nan was superintendent of [Shuh-sun's] horses, and sent Kung-joh to be commandant of How.

'When Woo-shuh was established in his position, he employed the superintendent of his horses in How, called How Fan, to kill Kung-joh. He was not able to do so, but one of his grooms said [to Shuh-sun], "I will pass by the court of audience, carrying a sword. Kung-joh will be sure to ask whose it is. I will tell him it is yours, and as he will [want to] look at it, I will pretend to be stupid, and hand it to him with the point turned towards him,—and in this way I can kill him." [Shuh-sun] told the man to do as he proposed, and when Kung-joh was saying, "Do you want to deal with me as the king of Woo was dealt with (See IX ㄨㄣˊ 4)?" the other killed him. [On this], How Fan took possession of How, and held it in revolt. Woo-shuh and E-tsze (Ho-ke) laid siege to it, but could not reduce it.

'In autumn they laid siege to it again, having with them an army of Ts'e, but were again unable to take it. Shuh-sun said to Sze Ch'ih, superintendent of the mechanics of How, "The place is not only an occasion of grief to our own family, but also a source of distress to the whole State, what is to be done?" Ch'ih replied, "My duty is in four words of the last stanza of the Yang-shwuy (She, I x ode III 3. The words are, "I have heard your orders") on which Shuh-sun bowed to him with his head to the ground. [Soon after], Ch'ih said to How Fan, "It will not do for you to dwell here between Ts'e and Loo, and not be serving either of them. Why not ask to be allowed to do service to Ts'e, and so present yourself to the people with its authority? If you do not do so, they will revolt from you."

'How Fan took his advice, and [ere long] a messenger arrived from Ts'e, for whom Sze Ch'ih and some others spread the report through the city, that How Fan was going to exchange How for a city in Ts'e, and that Ts'e would remove to it the people of How. The people were indignant and frightened, on which Ch'ih said to How Fan, "The people talk differently from what they did. You had better make an exchange with Ts'e. That is better than dying here. It will be another How, and you will be at ease there, why must you stick to this city? The people of Ts'e wish to have this, and so be near to [the capital of] Loo,—they will be sure to give you as much territory again. And why not place a large number of buff-coats near your gate, to be prepared for any unexpected movement?" "Very well," said How Fan, and accordingly he placed a number of buffcoats [at his gate]. He [also] asked leave of Ts'e to make an exchange with it of How, and [it was arranged that] a commissioner should come from that State to view the city. Just before his arrival, Ch'ih sent men to run about everywhere crying out, "The army of Ts'e is come." The people were in

great alarm, got between the buff-coats and the gate, and held How Fan in siege. Ch'ih proposed shooting at them, but Fan stopped him, saying, "Try to get me off." He then asked to be allowed to leave the place, which the people granted. Ch'ih preceded him to Suh, and Fan himself went last of all. Whenever he went out at a gate, the people shut it. When he had got to the gate in the suburbs, they stopped him saying, "You are going away with the buff-coats of the Shuh-sun family. If the officers require them from us, we are afraid we shall have to die." Sze Ch'ih said (He must have returned from Suh), "Shuh-sun's buff-coats have their own mark. We do not dare to take them with us." How Fan said to him, "Do you stop, and number them with them." Ch'ih accordingly stayed, and delivered the buff-coats to the men of Loo. How Fan fled to Ts'e, and the people of that State gave the city over to Loo.

Par 8 Kung-yang has 世 for 人. See the 1st narr appended to par 1 of last year, where this par is anticipated.

Parr 9, 12. Here and afterwards, Kung-yang has 池 for 地, as the name of the prince. Both he and Shin were brothers of the duke. After 暨 in par 12 Kung and Kuh introduce a 宋.

The Chuen says — "The Kung-tsze Te of Sung was so much attached to Keu Foo-lieh, that he divided his property into 11 parts, and gave him 5 of them. He had 4 white horses, which the duke's favourite Heang Tuy wanted to get, and the duke gave them to him, having coloured their manes and tails red. Te was enraged, and made his servants beat Tuy, and take the horses from him. Tuy was afraid, and going to run away, when the duke shut his gate, and wept over him, till his eyes were quite swollen.

'Te's own brother Shin, said to him, "You divided your property, and gave [half] to Lieh. That you should make an exception of Tuy, and humiliate him, was an act of partiality. You must show respect to the ruler. If you just cross the borders, he will be sure to send and stop you." [On this] Te fled to Ch'in, without the duke's stopping him, and when Shin interceded for him, the duke would not listen to him. Shin then said, "It was I who deceived my elder brother. If I leave the State taking the people with me, whom will you have to stop with you?" In winter he left and fled to Ch'in, along with Chung T'ao and Shuh K'ow.

Par 10 Kung-yang has simply 安 for 甫. Where Gan-poo was has not been ascer-

tailed. The meeting of the three States shows how disaffection to Tsin continued to grow and the dread of it to become looser.

Par 11 This visit was no doubt to express the acknowledgments of Loo for the surrender to T'ao during the year. The Chun says — Woo-shuh went on a complimentary visit to T'ao, when the marquis entertained him, and said to him, "Sir Shuh sun, if How had been in another part of your ruler's State, I should have

taken no knowledge of it; but as it immediately adjoins my own State, I assisted your ruler in his trouble about it." Woo-shuh replied, "That was not what my ruler expected. His service of your lordship depends on his [command of his] territories, and the [stability of his] altars. How dared I trouble your lordship's officers with my domestics? And a bad subject is an object of indignation to all under heaven;—your lordship should not consider what you did as a special gift to my ruler."

### Eleventh year

如	冬	曹	秋	夏	叛	自	佗	公	有
鄭	及	入	宋	四	陳	入	石	之	年
洧	鄭	蕭	樂	月	蕭	公	彊	弟	春
盟	平	叔	人		以	了	公	辰	宋
	還	還	心			地	仲	及	
			自						
始	冬	向	爲	心	叛	入	縣	公	一
叛	及	離	未	從	秋	于	公	母	年
晉	鄭	故	患	之	樂	蕭	子	弟	泰
也	平	也	寵	大	大	以	地	辰	朱
									左
									傳
									曰
									十

- XI 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'ao, Shih K'ow, and the Kung tze Fe, [returning] from Ch'ing, entered S'aoou, and held it in revolt.
- 2 It was summer, the fourth month
- 3 In autumn, Yoh Ta sin entered S'aoou from Ts'aoou.
- 4 In winter we made peace with Ch'ing, and Shuh Seuen proceeded thither to make a covenant

Par 1, 3. Here we find all who were described as flying from Sung last year returning to it in a way which was, as Tso-she says, very distressing to Sung and all because of the duke's favoritism for Hsiao Tzu. In par 1 a prominence in the return and revolt is given to the Kung tze Shin. S'aoou,—see V xxx. 6. It was then a small attached State of Sung, having been raised to that distinction about the

12th year of Chwang. This State was extinguished by T'ao in the 12th year of Seuen, and S'aoou became again a simple city of Sung.

Par 4 Shuh Seuen was the successor to Shuh Fe, whose death is mentioned in V xxx. 3, as Head of the Shuh family. Tso-she observes that in this peace and covenant Loo took its first public step in revolting from Tsin. It had made an incursion into Ch'ing in the duke's 6th year at the requisition of Tsin.

## Twelfth year.

一章十有二年春，薛伯定卒。  
二章夏，葬薛襄公。  
三章叔孫州仇帥師墮郕。  
四章衛公孟彊帥師伐曹。  
五章季孫斯仲孫何忌帥師墮費。  
六章秋，人雩。  
七章冬，十一月癸亥，公會齊侯盟于黃。  
八章十有二月丙寅朔，日有食之。  
九章公至自黃。  
十章十有二月，公圍成。  
十一章公至自圍成。  
十二章公至自圍成。

左傳曰：十二年夏，衛公孟彊伐曹，克郊，遂滑羅殿，木出，不退於列，其御曰：殿而在列，其爲無勇乎？羅曰：與其素厲，寧爲無勇。  
 仲山爲季氏宰，將墮郕，於是叔孫氏墮郕，季氏將墮費，公山不狃、叔孫輒帥費人以襲魯，公與季孫入於季氏之宮，登武子之臺，費人攻之，弗克，入及公側，仲尼命申句須、樂頤下伐之，費人北，國人追之，敗諸姑蔑，季孫遂墮費，將墮成，公斂處父謂孟孫：「墮成，齊人必至於北門，且成，孟氏之保障也，無成，是無孟氏也。」了僞不知，我將不墮，冬，月，公圍成，弗克。

- XII 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, Ting, earl of Seeh, died
- 2 In summer, there was the burial of duke Seang of Seeh.
- 3 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew led a force, and pulled down the walls of How.
- 4 Kung-mǎng K'ow of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'aou
- 5 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and pulled down the walls of Pe

- 6 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei hae, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Hwang
- 8 In the eleventh month, on Ping yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed
- 9 The duke arrived from Hwang
- 10 In the twelfth month, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing
- 11 The duke arrived from besieging Ching

Part 1, 2 Ting had been earl of Szech for 3 years, and was succeeded by his son Pe (𣎵). Kaou K'ang observes that the death of 3 earls of Szech is recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ew; but in no case is the day or month of their burial given,—through the indifference of the historiographers. Evidently they did not think it worth their while to be particular about so small a State. It is of no use to look for great meanings, as many critics do, in these omissions of dates.

Part 3, 5 墮 is pronounced both to and kwei, the second sound being taken probably from 毀 which has the same meaning. Maou says, 所云墮者謂毀其城壞其郭夷其隄塞使失所險阻而無可憑也 the term thus indicating the entire dismantling of the cities, the overthrow of all their walls and outworks. We could wish that we had more information as to how this movement originated, and how far it was proposed to carry it. How Pe, and Ch'ing were the principal cities of the three is a which had long got all the power of Loo into their hands. Each of the cities was fortified in the wrong manner and could defy any attempts of the marquises against them. Latterly however the chiefs had found these engines of their influence turned against themselves. How Fan had held How in revolt, and defied Shuh-sun. First Nan Kwae and then Kung-sun Puh-n'w had held Pe; and Kung-l'ien Ch'oo-foo was in Ch'ing all but independent of the M'ang-sun or the State. The three chiefs thus found their weapons turned against themselves, and were induced to listen to the exhortations of Confucius, who was at this time minister of Crime, and advocated the dismantling of their cities, as an important step towards restoring the authority of the ruler of the State, and establishing an impartial justice throughout its borders. The sage was seconded by Tzu-loo, or Chung Y'ew one of his most eminent disciples, who was in the employment of the Re family. The Chuen says—Chung

Y'ew was [at this time] steward to Ke-she, and proposed dismantling the three capitals [of the clans]. On this Shuh-sun dismantled How and Ke-sun was going to do the same with Pe. Kung-sun Puh-n'w however and Shuh-sun Cheh led the men of Pe to surprise the capital. The duke with the 3 chiefs entered the palace of Ke-she, and ascended the tower of Woo-t'za. There the men of Pe attacked them unsuccessfully but they penetrated near to the duke's side. [On this], Chung ordered Shin K'au-sun and Yoh K'e to go down and attack them. The men of Pe were defeated and fled, pursued by the people, who defeated them [again] at Koo-m'eh. Their two leaders fled to T'ie, and Pe was dismantled.

Part 4 The Chuen says:—In summer Kung-m'ang K'ow invaded T'aoa, and reduced K'aoa. In his retreat, Hwah Lo had the charge of defending the rear but he did not leave the ranks of the main body until they had crossed [the border of T'aoa]. His charioteer said to him, "Does it not seem as if you were deficient in courage to be keeping in the ranks, when you should be in the rear?" Lo replied, "It is better to [seem to] be without courage than to make a useless display of defence."

Part 7 Kung-yang gives wrongly 晉侯 instead of 齊侯. Hwang,—see II xvii. 1 Too thinks this curious was to confirm the revolt of Loo from Tsin.

Part 8. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of Sept. 15th, B.C. 497

Part 10, 11 The Chuen says:—It was intended to dismantle Ch'ing; but Kung-l'ien Ch'oo-foo said to M'ang-sun, "If you dismantle Ch'ing, the men of Ts'e will [soon] be at the north gate. Ch'ing moreover is the sure defence of the M'ang family. If there be no Ch'ing there will be no M'ang-sha. Do you pretend that you do not know anything about it, and I will not dismantle the place. In winter in the 12th month the duke laid siege to Ch'ing but he could not take it.

Thus the work of reformation was stopped. About this time, too, Confucius was obliged by the intrigues of Ts'e and the falling off from him of Ke-she, to abandon Loo.

## Thirteenth year.

一章 十有三年春齊侯衛侯次  
二章 于垂段。  
三章 夏築蛇淵囿。  
四章 人弑于比蒲。  
五章 衛公孟彊帥師伐曹。  
六章 秋晉趙鞅入于晉陽以叛。  
七章 冬晉荀寅卜吉射人于朝  
八章 歌以叛。  
九章 晉趙鞅歸于晉。  
十章 薛弑其君比。

左傳曰十二年春齊侯衛侯次于垂段實鄆氏使師伐  
 晉將濟河人人皆曰不可邴意茲曰可銳師伐河內傳  
 必數日而後及絳絳不月不能出河則我既濟水矣  
 乃伐河內齊侯皆斂諸大人之軒唯邴意茲乘軒齊侯  
 欲與衛侯乘與之宴而駕乘廣載巾焉使告曰晉師不  
 矣齊侯曰比君之駕也寡人請攝乃介而與之乘驅之  
 或告曰無晉師乃止  
 晉趙鞅謂邴鄆午曰歸我衛貢力白家台舍諸晉陽午  
 許諾歸告其父兄父兄皆曰不可衛是以爲邴鄆而寅  
 諸晉陽絕衛之道也不如侵齊而謀之乃如之而歸之  
 於晉陽趙孟怒召午而囚諸晉陽使其從者說劍而入  
 涉賓不可乃使告邴鄆人曰台私有討於午也了  
 唯所欲立遂殺午趙稷涉賓以邴鄆叛夏六月上軍司  
 馬籍秦圍邯鄲邯鄲午荀寅之甥也荀寅范吉射之姻  
 也而相與睦故不與圍邯鄲將作亂革安上聞之告趙  
 孟曰先備諸趙孟曰晉國有命始禍者死爲後可也安  
 上曰與其害於民寧我獨死而以我說趙孟不可秋七  
 月范氏中行氏伐趙氏之宮趙鞅奔晉陽晉人圍之

范畢夷無寵於范吉射，而欲爲亂於范氏，梁嬰父嬖於知文子，文子欲以爲卿，韓簡平與中行文子相惡，魏襄子亦與范昭子相惡，故五子辭將，逐荀寅，而以梁嬰父代之，逐范吉射，而以范畢夷代之，荀躒言於晉侯曰：「君命大臣，始禍者死。」載書在河，今三臣始禍而獨逐，鞅刑已不鈞矣。請皆逐之。冬十一月，荀躒、韓不信、魏曼多、奉公以伐范氏中行氏，弗克。二子將伐公，齊高彊曰：「三折肱知爲良醫。」唯伐君爲不可。民弗與也。我以伐君在此矣。三家未睦，可戴克也。克之，君將離與若先伐君，是使睦也。弗聽。遂伐公。國人助公，二子敗從而伐之。丁未，荀寅、士吉射奔朝歌。韓魏以趙氏爲請，十二月，辛未，趙鞅入于絳，盟于公宮。○初，衛公叔文子朝，而請享，靈公退見史鮒而告之。史鮒曰：「子必禍矣。子富而君貪罪其及子乎？」文子曰：「然，吾不先告子，是吾罪也。君既許我矣，其若之何？」史鮒曰：「無害，子臣可以免富，而能臣必免於難，上下同之，戊也。驕其亡乎？富而不驕者，鮮吾唯子之見驕而不亡者，未之有也。戊必與焉。及文子卒，衛侯始惡於公叔戌，以其富也。公叔戌又將去夫人之黨，夫人憊之曰：『戊將爲亂。』」

- XIII 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Ch'uy k'ea.  
 2 In summer, we enclosed the park of Shay yuen.  
 3 There was a grand review at P'e p'oo.  
 4 Kung mǎng K'ow of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'au.  
 5 In autumn, Chaou Yang of Tsin entered into Tsin yang, and held it in revolt.  
 6 In winter, Seun Yin and Sze Keih shuh of Tsin entered into Chaou ko and held it in revolt.  
 7 Chaou Yang of Tsin returned to [the capital of] that State.  
 8 S'eh murdered its ruler Pe.

Par 1 K'uh-k'ang has no 衛侯, and Kung yang has 瑕 instead of 蔑 Ch'uy k'ea, or as it was also called K'oh-sho (鄭氏), was in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Ken yay (鉅野), dep. Ts'au-chow. As to the force of 次 see on IX. 5 Too says here, that the two princes were intending to send a force again to Tsin, and halted here themselves, to succour it if necessary. The Chuen say:—The marquises halted at Ch'uy k'ea, or K'eh she, and sent a force to invade Tsin. When it was about to cross the Ho, the great officers all objected to its doing so;

but Ping E tze said, "We can do so. A light armed force can attack the country inside the Ho (in the pres. dep. of Wei-luwy Ho-nan). It will take several days to transmit the news to K'ang, and troops from K'ang cannot be on the Ho in less than 8 months, by which time we shall have crossed the river again." Accordingly they ravaged the country inside the Ho. The marquises of Ts'e called in the convener of all the great officers, and only Ping E-tze was allowed to use his.

The marquises wished to ride in the same carriage with the marquises of Wei; and [to bring this about], he asked him to a f'a t, and caused a large war chariot to be yoked, with buff-coats in it. Then he made word [suddenly] to



brought that the army of Tsin was coming, and said to his guest, "Till your lordship's carriage is yoked, I beg to offer you mine instead." He then put on his armour, and they rode together, driving very fast. [By and by], some one told them that there was no army of Tsin, and they stopped."

Par 2 Shai-yuen was in the south of the pres dis of Fei (肥), dep Tse nan. The summer was not the season for such an undertaking. "We may be sure," says La Lien, "that by this time the master had nothing to do with the government of Loo." Comp XIII xviii 10, X 15.

Par 3 See X xi 5.

Par 4 This attack was made, it is supposed, because Tseou would not join in the revolt against Tsin.

Par 5 Tsin-yang was a city and district of Tsin,—the principal seat of the Chou clan,—in the pres dis of Tse-yuen, dep Tse yuen (太原), Shan-se.

The Chuen says — "Chou Yang of Tsin said to Woo, [the commandant] of Han-tan, "Make over to me the 500 families rendered to you by Wei, and I will set them in Tsin-yang." Woo agreed to do so, but, on his return home, he told the elders of his family about the matter, and they all objected, saying, "It is on account of these families that Han-tan enjoys the favour of Wei. If you place them in Tsin-yang, you will cut off the communication between us and Wei. You had better make an incursion into Tse, and then take counsel about the matter, [as if you sent them away for fear of Tse]." Woo accordingly adopted this plan, and sent the families to Tsin-yang. Chou ming was angry, called Woo to him, and imprisoned him in Tsin-yang, causing his followers to give up their swords before they entered [the city] which, however, Shih Pin refused to do. He then sent word to the men of Han-tan that for some private reasons he had punished Woo, and would appoint any other [of his family] whom they wished in his place. Immediately after, he put Woo to death, but Chou Tseih (Woo's son) and Shih Pin held Han-tan in revolt against him. In summer in the 6th month, Tseih Ts'in, marshal of the 1st army, laid siege to Han-tan. Woo of Han-tan had been a nephew of Seun Yin, and Seun Yin's son had married a daughter of Fan Keih-shih. Thus these chiefs of the Seun and Fan families were friendly together, and therefore they took no part in the siege of Han-tan, and intended to make a rising. Tung Gan-yu heard of their purpose, and told it to Chou-ming saying that he should be prepared for them beforehand. That minister replied, "There is an order of the State that he who commences an insurrection shall die. I will wait for them." "Than that the people should be injured, I," said Gan-yu, "should prefer to die alone. [Make your preparations, and] explain your doing so by [throwing the blame on] me." Chou-ming, however, refused to do so.

"In autumn, in the 7th month, the Fan and the Chung-hang attacked the palace of the Chou, when Yang fled to Tsin-yang, where they came from the capital and besieged him."

The above narrative seems hardly to bear out the statement of the text that "Chou-yang

held Tsin-yang in revolt." Maou says — "Chou-yang fled to Tsin-yang to escape the danger with which he was threatened, and how is it that the text says he held it in revolt? Tsin-yang was a city of Tsin, but Chou-yang looked upon it as his own, and wished to remove people from elsewhere to fill it; thus done he further regarded it as an independent State, and resisted in it the army of Tsin, so that it no longer belonged to Tsin. This might be described as revolt, and from that time the Chou family wanted to demolish Tsin." If the Fan and the Seun were acting against Yang by the orders of the ruler he was certainly in opposition to the government and a rebel, if they were acting on their own authority, or authority extorted from the marquis, a justification of his course might be pleaded. Only one thing is plain, that the rulers of Tsin were all powerful, were now reduced as low as the rulers of Loo.

Par 6 Chou-ko was the old capital of Yin, and at this time belonged to Tsin. It was in the north of the pres dis of Ke (淇), dep Wei-hway, Ho nan. The Chuen says — "Fan K'ou-e did not find favour with Fan Keih-shih, and wished to create an insurrection in the Fan family. Laung Ying-foo was a favourite with Cho Wan-tze (Seun Leih), who wished to have him made a minister. Han K'ien-tze was on bad terms with Chung-hang Wan-tze (Seun Yin), as was Wei S'ang-tze with Fan Chou-tze (Fan Keih-shih). These five took counsel together how they might expel Seun Yin and Fan Keih-shih, and get Laung Ying-foo substituted for the former, and Fan K'ou-e for the latter. Seun Leih said to the marquis, "Your lordship gave a command to your great servants that the first who disturbed the peace should die. The words of it [were sunk] in the Ho. Three officers have now disturbed the peace, and only Yang has been driven out. Punishment is not equally distributed. I beg that all the three may be driven out."

"In winter, in the 11th month, Seun Leih, Han Pih-sin (K'ien-tze) and Wei Man-to (S'ang-tze) carried the marquis with them and attacked without success the Fan and the Chung-hang. The chiefs of these two families prepared to attack the marquis, but K'ou K'ang of Tse (A refugee in Tsin. See the Chuen on X 2) said to them, "I know he is a good physician [who can heal] an arm broken in 3 places, but it is wrong to attack your ruler. The people will not side with you. I am here because I attacked my ruler. The three families (Their opponents — the Che represented by Seun Leih, the Han, and the Wei) are not on good terms among themselves, and may all be overcome. Reduce them, and with whom will the ruler find himself? If you first attack him, you will make them harmonious." They would not listen to him, but attacked the marquis who was aided by the people of the capital. The chiefs were defeated, pursued, and attacked in their turn and on Ling-we, Seun Yin and Sze Keih-shih fled to Chou-ko."

Kung yang has a 反 in the text after 賈. Seun Yin and Sze (or Fan) Keih-shih might properly be described as revolters.

Par 7 The Chuen says — "[The chiefs of] the Han and Wei made intercession for Chou she, and in the 12th month, on Sin-we, Chou

Yang entered K'ang and made a covenant in the marquise's palace.

We are left to form our own judgment on this event. The K'ang editors say that it is recorded by the sage to condemn the marquise of Tsin for failing to punish Chao Yang. Many critics have sought to vindicate the pardon and restoration of Yang on various grounds. The probability is that the marquise could not help herself but was obliged to do as the great chiefs told him. The narratives about Yang bring before us, however, very vividly the six families which now divided the power of Tsin—those of Chao, Han, Wei, Cho, Fan, and Chang-hang. We see also premonitions of the rise of the former three over the latter. A shadow is thrown before of the division of the great State of Tsin into the three States of Chao, Han, and Wei.

Par 8. The mention of Po to Shoh was noticed on the 1st and 2d part of last year. Not one of the Chuen says anything of the circumstances of his death or murder as the text calls it. He was followed by his son E, duke Hwuy (惠公, 夷).

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Wei.—Before this, Kung shuh Wan-tzu of Wei went to court, and begged that duke Ling would accept an entertainment from him. As he was retiring, he saw the historiographer Ts'ew and told him, who said, "You are sure to meet with misfortune. You are rich, and the ruler is covetous. Some offence will be charged against you." "Yes," replied Wan-tzu, "it was my fault that I did not tell you before. But the ruler has promised what is to be done?" "There is no harm," said the historiographer. "Deport yourself as a subject, and you will escape. When a rich man can so deport himself he will escape danger. It is thus with both high and low. But [your son] Shoo is proud, and is like to come to ruin. There are few who are rich without being proud. You are the only exception that I have seen. There has never been a case of a proud man, who did not come to ruin. Shoo is sure to fall into calamity." When Wan-tzu was dead, the marquise of Wei began to hate Kung-shuh Shoo,—because of his riches. Shoo also wished to send away the partitions of the marchioness (The famous Nan Tzu. See Ann. VI. xxvi.), and she accused him of intending to produce an insurrection.]

### Fourteenth year

衛 公 孟 彊 出 介 鄭。	衛 世 了 蒯 聵 出 介 宋。	人 下 使 右 尙 來 歸 脹。	公 卒 自 會。 秋 齊 侯 宋 公 會 于 洮。	吳 了 光 卒。 公 會 齊 侯 衛 侯 于 辛。	十 月 於 越 敗 吳 于 槁 亭。	了 群 歸。 夏 衛 北 宮 結 來 介。	了 結 陳 公 孫 佗 人 帥 師 滅 頓 以 頓。	衛 趙 陽 出 介 宋。 月 辛 巳 楚 公。	有 四 年 春 衛 公 叔 成 來 介。
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宋公之

弟辰自

蕭來奔。

人莖丁

比蒲。

邾子來

會公。

城莒父。

及齊。

左傳曰：十四年春，衛侯逐公叔戌，與其黨，故趙陽介宋，戌來奔。

○梁嬰父，惡莖安丁，謂知文子曰：「不殺安丁，使終爲政於趙氏，趙氏必得晉國，而以具先發難

也，討於趙氏。」文子使告於趙孟，曰：「范中行氏，雖信爲亂，安丁則發之，是安丁與謀亂也。晉國有

命，始禍者死。」丁既伏其罪，安丁敢以告趙孟，患之。安丁曰：「我死而晉國寧，趙氏定，將焉用生人

誰不死？」台死，莫矣。乃縊而死。趙孟尸諸市，而告於知氏，曰：「命戮罪人安丁，既伏其罪，安丁敢以

告。知伯從趙孟盟，而後趙氏定，祀安丁於廟。

頓了，詳欲事晉，晉楚而絕陳好。月，楚滅頓。

夏，衛北宮結來奔。公叔戌之故也。

吳伐越，越了勾踐禦之，陳於樵李。勾踐患吳之整也，使死一冉禽焉，不動。使罪人一行屬劍於

頸，而辭曰：「君有治，臣奸旗鼓，不敏於君之行前，不敢逃刑，敢歸死。」遂自剄也。師屬之目，越了

因而伐之，大敗之。靈姑浮以戈擊闔廬，闔廬傷將指，取其屢，還卒於陴。去樵李七甲。人平使

人立於庭，荀出入，必謂曰：「人平而忘越上之殺而父乎？則對曰：「唯不敢忘。」午乃報越。

晉人圍朝歌，公會齊侯、衛侯於脾上，梁之間，謀救范中行氏。析成鮒，小一桃中，卒狄師以襲晉，

戰於絳中，不克而還。鮒介周，小一桃中，入於朝歌。

秋，齊侯宋公會于洮。范氏故也。

衛侯爲人人南了召宋朝，會于洮。犬了蒯聵獻孟於齊，過宋野，野人歌之曰：「既定爾婁豬，而歸

台艾緞。犬了羞之，謂戲陽速曰：「從我而朝少君，少君見我，我願乃殺之。」速曰：「諾。」乃朝人人，人人

見犬了，犬了願速不進，夫人見其色，啼而走。蒯聵將殺余，公執其了以登臺，犬了介宋，盡

逐其黨，故公孟彊  
出奔鄭，自鄭奔齊  
犬子告人曰：戲陽  
速禍余，戲陽速告  
人曰：犬子則禍余。  
犬子無道，使余殺  
其母，余不許，將戕  
於余，若殺夫人，將  
以余說，余是故許  
而弗爲，以紓余死。  
諺曰：民保於信，吾  
以信義也。

○冬十二月，晉人  
敗范中行氏之師  
於潞，獲籍秦、高彊  
又敗鄭師及范氏  
之師於百泉。

- XIV 1 In the [dukes] fourteenth year, in spring, Kung-shuh Shoo of Wei came a fugitive to Loo
- 2 Chaou Yang of Wei fled from that State to Sung
- 3 In the second month, the Kung tsze K'eh of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun T'o-jin of Ch'in, led a force and extinguished Tun, carrying Tsang, the viscount of Tun, back with them [to Ts'oo]
- 4 In summer, Pih kung K'eh of Wei came a fugitive to Loo
- 5 In the fifth month, Yu yueh defeated Woo at Tsuy le.
- 6 Kwang viscount of Woo, died
- 7 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Ts'e and Wei in K'ên
- 8 The duke arrived from the meeting
- 9 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung had a meeting in T'aou
- 10 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shih Shang to Loo with a present of the flesh of sacrifice.
- 11 Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, fled from that State to Sung
- 12 Kung mǎng K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ch'ing
- 13 Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, came a fugitive to Loo from S'au
- 14 There was a grand review in P'c p'oo
- 15 The viscount of Shoo came and had a meeting with the duke.
- 16 We walled Keu foo and S'au

Part 1 2. We have here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year. The Chuen says here — "This spring, the marquis of Wei drove out Kung-shuh Shoo and his party in consequence of which Chaou Yang fled to Sung, and Shoo came a fugitive to Loo."

Kung and Kah both have, in par. 2, 晉趙陽 for 衛趙陽 mislaid, probably by the 晉趙鞅 in par. 5 and 7 of last year.

[The Chuen appends here a continuation of affairs in Ts'oo.—Liang Ying foo hated Tung Gan-yu, and said to Che Wan-tze (Seun Leth), "If you do not kill Gan-yu, but allow him to continue to direct the affairs of the Chaou family, Chaou-she is sure to get the State of Ts'oo; why not require Chou-she to punish him, on the ground that he was the first to excite our

[recent] troubles?" Wan-tze sent a present to that effect to Chaou-she, saying, "Al though the Fan and the Chung hang did really rise in insurrection, yet it was Gan-yu who provoked them. He was chargeable with the same crime as they. It is a law of Ts'oo that they who commence to disturb the peace should die. Those two chiefs have suffered for their crime; and I venture to submit the case to you." Chou-mang was troubled about the matter, but Gan-yu said, "If by my death the State of Ts'oo get repose, and the Chaou family be established, why should I live? What man must not die? I shall [only] die [too] late." Accordingly he strangled himself. Chou-mang exposed his body in the market place and sent word to Che-she, saying, "You ordered me to put to death the criminal Gan-yu. He has suffered for his crime, and I presume to inform

you of it" Che Pih made a covenant in consequence with Chaou-māng, and then the Chaou family was established, and sacrificed to Gan-yu in its ancestral temple']

Par 3 Tun had long been subservient to Ts'oo, and obedient to its call, but we saw in the 4th year how it transferred its allegiance to Ts'in, and it now suffered for doing so. Ch'in however, was then among the revolters from Ts'oo, and here we find it aiding that State in its vengeance upon Tun. It must have found means to make its peace for the time with its powerful superior. Kung-yang has here —

月 instead of 月, 公了佗人 instead of 公孫佗人, and 糴 for 糶

The Chuen says — 'Tsang, viscount of Tun, wishing to serve Ts'in, had rebelled against Ts'oo, and broken off its friendship with Ch'in. In the 2d month, Ts'oo extinguished Tun.'

Par 4 Tso observes that Pih-kung Keeh now fled to Loo, on account of [the affair of] Kung-shuh Shoo. Nan Tsze was the cause of all the disturbances of Wei. Kao K'ang says, "Duke Ling of Wei gave ear implicitly to what was told him in the harem. It was thus he sent out as fugitives the hereditary servants of the State, and all who favoured them. The State in fact was thus placed by him at the disposal of his harem."

Par 5, 6 Kung-yang has 醉 for 橋. Tsuy-le was in Woo, 45 *le* south of the present city of K'ea-hung (嘉興) dep Kea-hung, Cheh-k'ang. The Chuen says — 'Woo invaded Yueh, and was met by Kow-ts'een, viscount of Yueh. The two armies were drawn up at Tsuy-le, when Kow-tseen, distressed by the order and steadiness of the troops of Woo, sent a body of men resolved to sell their lives, who made two daring attempts to break in upon them, but they did not move from their place. He [then] sent three lines of criminals, who held swords to their throats, and addressed their opponents, saying, "Your ruler and ours are here in the field of battle, and we are servants who have violated [the laws of his] flags and drums. We are here inactive before your ruler's ranks, and do not dare to flee from the punishment [which is our due],—we dare to go home to death." And with this they all cut their throats. The army of Woo was looking at them with fixed eyes, when the viscount of Yueh took the opportunity, and made an attack which was the prelude to a great defeat. Ling Koo-fow struck Hoh-leu with a great lance, and cut off one of his great toes, and carried away one of his shoes. [The viscount of Woo] then retreated and died at Hing, 7 *le* from Tsuy-le. Foo-ch'ae [his son] made a man stand in his court, and say to him, whenever he came out or went in, "Foo-ch'ae, have you forgotten that the king of Yueh killed your father?" to whom he would reply, "Here I am. I dare not forget it." Three years after this he repaid Yueh for the affair.'

Par 7 Kung-yang has 取 for 采. The place was in Wei,—in the present of Seun (潯), dep Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. The object of the meeting was to relieve the siege of Chaou-ko, as the Chuen says — 'The men of Ts'in were besieging Chaou-ko, when the duke had a meet-

ing with the marquises of Ts'e and Wei, between P'e and Shang-leang, to take counsel about relieving the chiefs of the Fan and Chung-hang clans (See par 6 of last year). Foo of Seih-ch'ing and Seaou-wang T'aou-k'eah led a force of Teih to surprise [the capital of] Ts'in, and fought in it, but were unsuccessful and retired. Sze Foo fled to Chow, and Seaou-wang T'aou-keah entered Chaou-ko.'

Par 9 T'aou,—see V viii 1. This meeting, like the one at K'een, was on account of the Fan family, and other revolters in Ts'in. The K'ang-he editors say, 'At this time, Wei had its difficulties with Kung-shuh Shoo, and Sung its difficulties with the Kung-tsze Shin [Duke] King of Ts'e could not settle their disorders for those States, but took counsel with their rulers how they could help the revolted subjects of Ts'in. Wei and Sung, unable themselves to bring their own revolted subjects to order, could do nothing but follow Ts'e,—they were all of them wrong.'

Par. 10 右 is the clan name, and 尙 is the name, from which the critics conclude the envoy must have been simply of the rank of an officer (人子之) 脤 is the name of the flesh used by the king in sacrifice (祭肉),—especially of that offered at the altar of the land. A portion of this was put into the shell of a large bivalve, and sent round to the different princes of the surname Ke.

The bivalve was called 脤, and hence the flesh thus sent got the name of 脤. There has been

no mention of any complimentary visit from the court of Chow to Loo since the 10th year of duke Seuen. How it came to observe this special rule just at this time, it is not worth while to consider, but as Confucius had a short time before this left Loo, because the duke did not observe the rule of sending portions of the sacrificial flesh to his great officers, that circumstance may have led him to give the event of the text a place in the Ch'un Ts'ew.

Par 11 The Chuen says — 'The marquis of Wei, to gratify his wife Nan Tsze, had invited Chaou of Sung (Her brother) to his court. At the meeting at T'aou, Kwae-wae, eldest son of the marquis, had presented [the city of] Yu to Ts'e, and as he was [returning] through the country of Sung, the country-people sang to him,

"Since you have allayed the heat of your sow, Why not send back our old boar?"

The prince was ashamed, and said to Suh of He-yang, "Follow me, when I visit the duchess, and when she sees me, and I look round, do you kill her." Suh agreed to this. The prince accordingly went to the court of the marchioness, who saw him, but though he looked round thrice, Suh did not advance. The marchioness observed his countenance, burst into tears, and ran off, crying, "The prince is going to kill me." The marquis took her by the hand, and went up with her into a tower. [On this] the prince fled to Sung, and all belonging to his party were driven out of the State. It was in consequence of this that Kung-māng K'ow fled to Ch'ing, and from Ch'ing to Ts'e.

The prince said to people that Suh of Hsueyang had been the occasion of his calamity but Suh (on the other hand) told people that the prince had brought calamity on him. "Contrary to all principle" he said, "the prince wanted me to kill his mother, and said that if I did not consent he would kill me. If I had killed the marchlows he would have thrown the blame on me. I agreed to do it therefore, but did not do it, wishing to defer my death. The common saying is that people *justify* themselves by good faith. I hold that the good faith must be in regard to what is righteous."

Par 12. See the preceding narrative.

Par 13. See X. 12 and XL 1. Why Shin alone of all the insurgents in Ssao'u fled from Sung, if indeed it were so, we do not know.

Par 14. See par 3 of last year.

Par 15. It is to be understood that it was to P'ei-p'ao that the viceroy of Choo came. Com-

pare III xxiii. 7 where a visit is paid to duke Chwang at Kuh. Then the ceremonies of a court visit were observed, however and we have 朝 instead of 會.

Par 16. Keu foo and Ssao'u were two cities of Loo, in the pres. Keu Chow dep. E-chow (沂州). Loo walled these two places, in case of hostilities from Tsin, whose superiority it no longer acknowledged.

The character for 在 in the winter it will be observed, has somehow been omitted or lost from the paragraphs of this year.

[The Chuen appendix here:— In winter in the 12th month, the men of Tsin defeated the forces of Fan-she and Chung hang-she at Loo, and captured Teeth Ts'in and Kao K'yang. They also defeated the forces of Ch'ing and of Fan-she at Pih-tu wen.]

*Fifteenth year*

己未	公雨	九月	姒氏卒	渠除	鄭平	夏	颺	有
葬定姒	不克葬	滕子來會葬	卒	邾子來奔喪	達帥師伐宋	十月	食郊牛	五年
冬城漆	戊午	八月	八月	齊侯衛侯次丁	師伐宋	巳亥	郊牛死	春
	日下	辰朔	日有食之	秋七月	齊侯衛侯次丁	滅胡	改卜牛	正月
	是乃克葬	巳	我君定	申	公薨	以胡豹歸		邾子來朝

左傳曰十五年春邾隱公來朝子貢觀焉邾子  
執士高其容仰公受士卑其容俯了貢曰以禮  
觀之君者皆有死亡焉夫禮死生存亡之體  
也將左右周旋進退俯仰於是乎取之朝祀喪  
也於是乎觀之今止月相朝而皆不度心已亡  
矣嘉事不體何以能久高仰驕也卑俯皆也廢  
近亂替近疾君爲卜其先亡乎  
吳之入楚也胡子蓋俘楚邑之近胡者楚既定  
胡了豹又不事楚曰存亡有命事楚何爲多取  
費焉一月楚滅胡  
夏五月壬申公薨仲尼曰賜不立口而中是使  
賜多言者也  
鄭罕達敗宋師於老丘  
齊侯衛侯次于蘧棼謀救宋也  
秋七月丁未婁氏卒不稱大人不赴日不耐也  
葬定公雨不克襄事禮也  
葬定嬀不稱小君不成喪也  
冬城漆書不時告也

- XV 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court visit
- 2 Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died, and another was divined for.
- 3 In the second month, on Sin-ch'ow, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Hoo, and carried P'aou, viscount of Hoo, back with him to Ts'oo.
- 4 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-hae, we offered the border sacrifice
- 5 On Jin-shin, the duke died in the high chamber.
- 6 Han Tah of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Sung.
- 7 The marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at K'eu-ch'oo.
- 8 The viscount of Choo came hurrying to the [ceremonies consequent on the duke's] death.
- 9 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-shin, the lady Sze died.
- 10 In the eighth month, on Käng-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed
- 11 In the ninth month, the viscount of T'äng came to be present at the [duke's] funeral
- 12 On Ting-sze there should have been the interment of our ruler duke Ting; [but] the rain came down, so that it couldnot be carried out. On Mow-woo, in the afternoon, it was done.
- 13 On Sin-sze, there was the burial of Ting Sze
- 14 In winter, we walled Ts'eh.

Par 1. The viscount of Choo had a meeting, we saw last year with the duke, at P'ao-p'ao, and here we find him, at the beginning of this year paying a formal visit at his court and in summer he hurries to it again, as soon as he hears of the duke's death. There must have been great friendship, or some other *cause* reason, to make him thus demean himself.

The Chuen here says:—When duke Yin of Choo appeared at the court of Loo, Tsz-kung (One of Confucius' most famous disciples) witnessed [the ceremony between the two princes]. The viscount bore his symbol of jade [too] high, with his countenance turned upwards; the duke received it [too] low with his countenance bent down. Tsz-kung said, "Looking on [and judging] according to the rules of ceremony the two rulers will [soon] die or go into exile. Those rules are [as] a stem from which grow life or death, preservation or ruin. We draw our conclusion from the manner in which parties move to the right or to the left, advance and recede, look down and look up; and we observe this at court meetings and sacrifices, and occasions of death and war. It is now in the first month that these princes meet at court together and they both violate the proper rules—their minds are gone. On a festival occasion like this, unobservant of such an essential matter how is it possible for them to continue long? The high symbol and upturned look are indicative of pride; the low symbol and look bent down are indicative of negligence. Pride is not far removed from disorder, and negligence is near to sickness. Our ruler is the host, and will probably be the first to die."

Par 2, 4. See VIII. vii. 1. Here we are not told in what part the mice attacked the ox, but the animal died. The sacrifice, notwithstanding was performed, though the 6th month was beyond the equinox, and the ceremony was therefore irregular.

Par 3. Comp. par 3 of last year. Tsz'oo had the same grounds of resentment against Hoo as against Tun. The Chuen says here:—When Hoo visited Tsz'oo (IV 15), the viscount of Hoo had plundered all the cities of Tsz'oo which were near his State, and carried the people off. After Tsz'oo was settled again P'ao, the viscount of Hoo, still refused to do service to it, saying, "Preservation and ruin happen as appointed, why should I incur the numerous expenses connected with serving Tsz'oo? In the 2d month, Tsz'oo extinguished Hoo."

Par 5. Too says that 高寢 is the name of a place, and for Ting to die here was not to die in his proper place. Thus of the eleven marquises of Loo whose deaths have now been chronicled, only three Chiwang, Seven, and Ching—died, as all ought to have done, in the State chamber. Some critics however with whom I am inclined to agree, take 高寢

as synonymous with 辟寢. The critics dwell on the privilege which Ting possessed in the councils of Confucius, which might have raised Loo to more than its ancient eminence among the States of the kingdom. That he did not avail himself long of them was a proof they say, both of his own weakness, and of the averted regards from Loo of Heaven.

The Chuen says:—On the death of the duke Chung-ne said, "It is unfortunate for Tsz'oo (Tsz-kung; see on par 1) that his words have proved correct;—it will make him a still greater talker."

Par 6. The Chuen says that at this time Tsz'oo defeated an army of Sung at Laon k'ow. The Kung-tszes, who fled at first from Sung to Ch'ia (X. 9), subsequently took refuge in Ch'ing. This led to hostilities between the two States, which continued for many years (See XII. xii. 5). Kung yang has 軒 for 罕.

Par 7. Kung has 蕞 for 渠蔭; and the Chuen calls the place 蕞. Nothing is known of it, but that it was in Sung. "The marquises," says Tsz'oo, "halted here to take counsel about succouring Sung, i.e., they consulted about succouring it, but did not do so."

Par 8, 11. Both the things related here were contrary to rule. We have not hitherto met with an instance of the prince of one State hurrying to be present at the preparatory obsequies of the prince of another. The student will mark the difference between the terms 葬 and 會. The funeral took place, according to rule, 5 months after the death; and there was time to go to it without hurrying. Not so with the confining and other preparatory rites which commenced immediately after the decease.

Par 9 13. Kuhl-hang has 弋 for 如. This lady Hse was the mother it is generally supposed, of duke Gae, and a concubine of Ting. She has not, in the former of these paragraphs, the title of 夫人 or wife, nor in the latter the title of 少君 or marchioness, because, though Gae was now marquis, the year had not expired, and he had not the title. This is more likely than, the reason which Tsz'oo gives for the *funeral omission*,—that the lady's death was not communicated to other States, nor was her spirit-tablet placed in its proper place in the temple; and for the latter that her funeral rites were imperfectly attended to.

Par 10. This is the last of the eclipses recorded in the classic, and took place in the forenoon of July 10th, A.D. 404.

Par 12. See on VII. vii. 9 10. Tsz'oo observes here, as there, that to defer the burial, in consequence of the rain, was proper. In the Yih (under the diagram Fung—豐) we find 日中昃 after mid-day is the afternoon.

Kuhl-hang has 稷 for 昃.

Par 14. Tsz'oo, see IX. xxi. 2, where Tsz'oo treacherously passes from Choo to Loo. The fortifying the place now appears to have been in contemplation of hostilities against Choo. Perhaps it was a knowledge of such a design against his State which made the viscount of Choo so assiduous in his attentions to duke Ting alive and dead.



First year.

哀公

元年春王正月公卽

位。

楚子陳侯隨侯許男

圍蔡。

蹇食郊牛改卜牛。

夏四月辛巳郊。

秋齊侯衛侯伐魯。

冬仲孫何忌帥師伐

邾。

左傳曰元午春楚子圍蔡報柏舉也甲而栽廣丈高倍人屯晝夜九日如了西之素蔡人男女以辨使疆於江汝之間而遂蔡於是乎請遷於吳。

○吳王夫差敗越於夫椒報檣李也遂入越越了以甲楯五千保於會稽使大人種因吳人宰嚭以行成吳子將許之伍員曰不可臣聞之樹德莫如滋失疾莫如盡昔有過澆殺斟灌以伐斟鄩滅夏后相后緡方娠逃出自竇歸於有仍生少康焉爲仍牧豕其澆能戒之澆使椒求之逃奔有虞爲之庖止以除其害虞思於是妻之以姚而品諸綸有田一成有衆一旅能布其德而兆其謀以收夏衆撫其官職使改父諱澆使乎杼誘蠃遂滅過戈復禹之績祀夏配人不失舊物今吳不如過而越人於少康或將豐之不亦難乎勾踐能親而務施施不失人親不棄勞與我同壤而世爲仇讐於是乎克而弗取將又存之違人而長寇讐後雖悔之不可食已姬

之衰也，日可俟也，介在蠻夷，而長寇讐，以是求伯，必不行矣。弗聽，退而告人曰：「越十年生聚，而十年教訓，二十年之外，吳其爲沼乎？」三月，越及吳平。吳入越，不讐；吳不告，慶越不告，敗也。

○夏四月，齊侯、衛侯救邯鄲，圍五鹿。

○吳之入楚也，使召陳懷公。懷公朝國人而問焉，曰：「欲與楚者有，欲與吳者有。」左陳人從田，無田從黨，遂滑當公而進，曰：「臣聞國之興也以福，其亡也以禍。今吳未有福，楚未有禍，楚未可藥，吳未可從，而晉盟主也，若以晉辭吳，若何？」公曰：「國勝君亡，非禍而何？」對曰：「國之有是多矣，何必不復？小國猶復，況大國乎？」臣聞國之興也以福，視民如傷，是其福也；其亡也以民爲土芥，是其禍也。楚雖無德，亦不艾殺其民。吳日敝於兵，暴骨如莽，而未見德焉。天其或者正訓楚也，禍之適吳，其何日之有？」陳侯從之。及夫差克越，乃修先君之怨。秋八月，吳侵陳，修舊怨也。

齊侯、衛侯會于乾侯，救范氏也。師及齊師，衛孔圉、鮮虞人伐晉，取棘蒲。

○吳師在陳，楚大夫皆懼，曰：「闔廬惟能用其民，以敗我於柏舉。今聞其嗣又甚焉，將若之何？」子西曰：「二三子恤不相睦，無患吳矣。」昔闔廬食不二味，居不重席，室不崇壇，器不彤鏤，宮室不觀，舟車不飾，衣服財用，擇不取費。在國，天有菑厲，親巡其孤寡；而共其乏困；在軍，熟食者分，而後敢食；其所嘗者，卒乘與焉。勸恤其民，而與之勞逸，是以民不罷勞，死知不曠。吾先大夫子常易之，所以敗我也。今聞夫差次有臺榭陂池焉，宿有妃嬪嬪御焉，一日之行，所欲必成，玩好必從，珍異是聚，觀樂是務，視民如讐，而用之日新，夫先自敗也已，安能敗我？」

○冬十一月，晉趙鞅伐朝歌。

- I 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 The viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ch'iu and Suy and the baron of Heu, laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ue.
- 3 Field mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died and another was divined for

- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-sze, we offered the border sacrifice.
- 5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei invaded Tsin.
- 6 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force and invaded Choo.

TITLE OF THE BOOK — 哀公, 'Duke Gae' Duke Gae was a son of Ting, by the lady Sze, whose death took place about two months after her husband's. His name was Tseang (將). In his 14th year was found the *lin*, with the record of which event Confucius terminated his labours on the Ch'un Ts'ew, but the rule of Gae lasted 27 years, from B.C. 493 to 467. The posthumous title denotes: 'Respectful and benevolent, short-lived' (恭仁短折曰哀).

His first year synchronized with the 26th of King King, the 18th of Ting of Tsin, the 54th of King of Ts'e, the 41st of Ling of Wei, the 25th of Ch'au of Ts'ae, the 7th of Shing (聲) of Ch'ing, the 8th of Yang (陽) of Ts'aou, the 8th of Min (閔) of Ch'in, the 12th of He (僖) of K'e; the 23d of King of Sung, the 7th of Hwuy (惠) of Ts'in, the 22d of Ch'au of Ts'oo, and the 2d of Foo-ch'ae (大卒) of Woo.

Par 1 This par must be taken as showing that all was regular about the succession of duke Gae.

Par 2 We have met with Suy before, but not with 'the marquis of Suy,' as a peer of the kingdom. Too supposes that in consequence of the services of Suy to the viscount of Ts'oo, when he was driven from his capital by Woo (See the Chuen on XI iv 15), he had rewarded it, and called its ruler now to take the field as one of the other princes. We read, in XI vi 1, that Ch'ing extinguished Heu, and carried off the baron as a prisoner. Ts'oo must have constituted another State of Heu, thus boldly exercising a royal prerogative.

The Chuen says — 'This spring, the viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae, to repay that State for the action at Pih-keu (XI iv 14). He raised a mound at the distance of a *le* [from the walls], 10 cubits thick, and twice as many in height, stationing soldiers [inside, till the work was completed], which was accomplished in 9 days, the men working day and night, — according to the previous [calculation] of Tze-se. The people of the city [came out and surrendered], the males in one body and the women in another. [The viscount then] ordered them to settle between the Keang and the Joo, and returned, upon which Ts'ae asked leave from Woo to remove within the limits of that State.'

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo and Yueh — 'Foo-ch'ae, king of Woo, defeated Yueh at Foo-tseon in return for the battle of Tsuy-le (XI xiv 5), and then went on to enter [the capital of] that State. The viscount of Yueh, with 5000 men armed with buff-coats and shields, maintained himself on [the hill of] Kwei-k'e, while he sent his great officer Chung to obtain

peace by means of the services of P'ei, the grand-administrator of Woo. The viscount of Woo was about to grant his request, when Woo Yun said, "Do not do so. I have heard that in planting what will be advantageous to us we should try to make it great, and in removing what will be injurious we should do it entirely. Anciently there was K'iaou of Kwo, who killed [the prince of] Chin-kwan, and then, going on to attack Chin-sin, destroyed Seang, the sovereign of Hea. Seang's queen Min was then pregnant, and made her escape through a hole. She went to her native State of Jing, where she gave birth to Shaou-k'ang. He became chief of the shepherds of Jing, and, afraid of the power of Keaou, he took precautions against him. Keaou employed Tseou to seek for him, on which he fled to Yu and was chief cook to its ruler, that thus he might escape the dangers which threatened him. Sze of Yu gave him his two daughters (Yaous, of the same surname as Shun) in marriage, and the city of Lun, where he had territory to the extent of 10 *le* square, and troops to the number of 500. There he could make his virtue be felt, and commenced to lay his plans, to collect again the people of Hea and revive its [abolished] offices. He employed Joo E to watch Keaou, and Le Ch'oo to delude He, so that [by and by] he extinguished Kwo and Ko, restored the line of Yu, and sacrificed to the sovereigns of Hea with their founder as the correlate of Heaven, recovering all that of old belonged to his family. Now Woo is not equal to Kwo, and [the ruler of] Yueh is greater than Shaou-k'ang. Should you perhaps [by this peace] make him still greater, will it not be to the disadvantage [of Woo]? Kow-ts'een is able to attract men's affection, and lays himself out to bestow favours. In his bounty, he does not fail to reward the proper men, in his kindness, he does not neglect [the smallest] services. His territory is similar to ours, but Woo and Yueh have been enemies for generations. Now you have vanquished it, but instead of taking it to yourself, you are going to preserve it, — this is to oppose the will of Heaven, and to strengthen your enemy. Though you repent of this hereafter, the evil cannot be digested away. The decay of the Ke may be expected to go on from day to day. Lying contiguous to the rude tribes of the south and east, and giving encouragement to our enemies, if in this way you seek to make yourself the leader of the States, the thing can certainly not be done."

'Yun was not listened to,' so he retired, and said to some one, "Give Yueh 10 years for the growth of its people and the collection of its resources, and [other] ten years for the instruction of its people, and in little more than those 20 years, [the capital of] Woo is likely to be made a pool. In the 3d month, Yueh and Woo made peace."

'Woo's entering of Yueh does not appear in the text, because Woo did not announce [to Loo] its success, nor did Yueh announce its defeat.'

Part 3. 4. K'oh-ling has here  $\text{H}$  after 4. he on part = 4 of 1st year and the previous paragraphs of a similar nature. K'oh-ling did too, on this part, at great length on the presumption of Lo, exhibited and condemned in these pages; but his criticism goes on the supposition that the human sacrifice spoken of is that to Heaven in the 1st month. But we have seen reason to think that the text only refers to the sacrifice for a blessing on the souls of his family properly fitting in the 3rd month of Chow but still allowable in the 4th month up to the time of the equinox. Whether this year it was celebrated before or after that date the text does not enable us to say.

[The Chuen again here "narrates" — 1st, about the trouble between T'ao and T'ao in the 1st month, then requires of T'ao and Wei to succumb if a war, and all this to Woo-loh.

"2d, about Woo's approaching T'ao's again in Ch'in. When Woo had entered [the capital of] T'ao [in T'ao's 4th year], [the elegant] went to consult a duke Hsue of Ch'in [to join him], who wanted the people of the State to ask their spirits, and said, "Let those who wish to die with T'ao go to the fight, and those who wish to live with Woo go to the fight." The people took the side of the State near to which their land lay, and those who had no land took the side they were inclined to. Hsue Hsue, however, advised right against the duke and said, "I have heard that States flourish through justice, and perish through calamity. Now Woo has not yet enjoyed prosperity, nor has T'ao suffered calamity. T'ao is not to be rejected, and Woo is not to be followed. There is T'ao, the lord of covenants. Suppose you decline the requisition of Woo on the ground of [your duty to] T'ao." The duke said, "The State [of T'ao] is conquered, and its ruler is a son of heaven. If this be not calamity, what would be?"

Such things have happened to many States" was the reply. "Why may not T'ao recover itself? Small States have done so, and how much more may a great State do so! I have heard that States flourish when they regard their people as if apprehensive of their receiving hurt;—that brings prosperity. States again perish when they treat their people as earth or grass;—that brings calamity. Although T'ao does not show [much] kindness, it does not slay its people, whereas Woo is daily ruined with fighting and the bones of its people lie like weeds on the ground. They practice no kindness from it. Heaven perhaps is teaching T'ao good lessons; but what [future] time need we look for for calamity to visit Woo?"

The duke followed this advice; and [now] when Foo-ch'ao had subdued Yueh he determined to carry out the resentment of his father [against Ch'in]; and in autumn, in the 8th month, Woo made an incursion into Ch'in, reviving and feeding the old animosity.]

Part 5. We have here a continuance of the efforts of the other States, at the instigation of T'ao, to break down the power of T'ao. The Chuen says:—The marquises of T'ao and Wei held a meeting, in Kan-how, to help the chief of the Kan clan. An army of one of T'ao, K'ung Yu of Wei, and a ally of the Feen-yu, invaded T'ao, and took both provinces.

[The Chuen continues its narratives about Woo:—When Woo was in Ch'in, the great officers of T'ao were all afraid, and said, "Hoh-bien was able to conquer his people, and defeated us at P'hi-ku, and now we have heard that his success is still more [wasteful] than before, what is to be done?" T'ao-chen said to them, "You have only to be anxious, gentlemen, about a want of money among yourselves, and need not be troubled about Woo. For Hoh-bien is never particular of his riches, and is not all on a double mat, nor in a lofty structure, but he has no point but caring about his articles of furniture, built no tower about his palace, used no more mounds about his seats and closets, and in his chamber doors and in all his outlay a modest and a simple. When any calamity or pestilence from Heaven visited the State, he went round himself among the orphans and widows, and ministered to their want, and his troops. When he was with his army he did not venture to eat himself until all the soldiers had had their share of what was cooked; and in what he took himself his foot-guard and chariot men all partook with him. Those diligent in duty did he care for his people and share with them in their toils and pleasures; and the consequence was that they did not weary of hard service and in death they knew that [their families] would not be neglected for. Our father great officer T'ao-chang was the reverse of all this, and so it was that Hoh-bien defeated us. But I have heard that Foo-ch'ao, wherever he has to, must have towers, raised pavilions, embankments, and lakes, and where he spends the night, must have ladies, high and low, to serve his purposes. If he take one day's journey, he must have whatever he desires done. His curiosities must follow him; he collects things precious and rare; he seeks after spectacles, and makes his regard his people as enemies; and uses them every day in some new way. Such an one will first defeat himself;—how can he defeat us?"]

Part 6. We have the commencement of the hostilities again to Chou, spoken of under the concluding part of 1st year as in contemplation by Lo.

[The Chuen adds here:—In winter, in the 11th month, Chou Yang of T'ao attacked Chou-ko.]

Second year.

一章 年春王三月，季孫斯、叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師伐邾，取漚東田及沂西田。  
二章 癸巳，叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌及邾子盟于句繹。  
三章 夏四月丙子，衛侯元卒。四章 滕子來朝。  
五章 晉趙鞅帥師納衛世子蒯聵于戚。  
六章 秋八月甲戌，晉趙鞅帥師及鄭罕達帥師戰于鐵，鄭師敗績。  
七章 丁丑，葬衛靈公。  
八章 冬十一月，蔡遷于州來。  
九章 蔡殺其大夫公子驪。

左傳曰：「年春，伐邾，將伐絞，邾人愛其土，故賂以漚沂之田而受盟。」初，衛侯遊於郊，子南僕公曰：「余無了，將立。」公不對。他日又謂之，對曰：「郕不足以辱社稷，君其改圖。」君大人在堂，揖在下。君命祇辱夏，衛靈公卒。夫人曰：「命公了郕爲人了君命也。」對曰：「郕賈於他了，目君沒於台，君若有之，郕必聞之，且亡人之了輒在。」乃立輒。六月乙酉，晉趙鞅納

衛犬子于戚宵迷，陽虎曰：「右河而南，必至焉。」使犬子繞八人，衰絰，僞自衛逆者，告於門，哭而入，遂居之。

秋八月，齊人輸范氏粟，鄭子姚子般送之。士吉射逆之，趙鞅禦之，遇於戚。陽虎曰：「吾車少，以兵車之旃與罕驅兵車，先陳罕驅，自後隨而從之，彼見吾貌，必有懼心，於是乎會之，必大敗之。」從之。卜戰龜焦，樂丁曰：「時曰爰始爰謀，爰契我龜，謀協以故，兆詢可也。」簡子背曰：「范氏中行氏反，易天明，斬艾百姓，欲擅晉國而滅其君，寡君恃鄭而保焉，今鄭爲不道，棄君助臣，二三子順天明從君命，經德義，除飭恥，在此行也。克敵者，上大夫受縣，下大夫受郡，士田十萬，庶人工商遂人，臣隸圉免，志父無罪，君實圖之。若其有罪，絞縊以戮，桐棺三十，不設屬，脩素車，橫馬，無入於兆，下卿之罰也。」甲戌，將戰，鄭無恤御簡子，衛犬子爲右，登鐵上，望見鄭師，衆犬子懼，自投於車下。子良授犬子綏而乘之曰：「婦人也。」簡子巡列曰：「畢萬匹夫也，七戰皆獲，有馬百乘，死於鄆下，羣子勉之，死不在寇，繁羽御趙羅，宋勇爲右，羅無勇，靡之。」吏詰之，御對曰：「疇作而伏，衛犬子禱曰：『曾孫蒯聵敢昭告皇祖文王，列祖康叔，文祖襄公，鄭勝亂從，晉午在難，不能治亂，使缺討之，蒯聵不敢自佚，備持矛焉，敢告無絕筋，無折骨，無面傷，以集大事，無作三祖羞。』大命不敢請，佩玉不敢愛，鄭人擊簡子中肩，斃於車中，獲其纛，旗犬子救之以戈，鄭師北，獲溫大夫趙羅，犬子復伐之，鄭師大敗，獲齊粟千車。趙孟喜曰：「可矣。」傅偃曰：「雖克鄭，猶有知在，憂未艾也。」初，周人與范氏田，公孫尤稅焉，趙氏得而獻之，史黯殺之。趙孟曰：「爲其主也，何罪止而與之田？」及鐵之戰，以徒五百人，宵攻鄭師，取纛旗於子姚之幕下。獻曰：「謂報主德，追鄭師姚般，公孫林殿而射，前列多死。」趙孟曰：「國無小旣戰，簡子曰：『吾伏弢嘔血，鼓音不衰，今日我上。』」犬子曰：「吾救主於車，退敵於下，我右之上也。」郵良曰：「我兩鞠將絕，吾能止之，我御之上也。」駕而乘材，兩鞠皆絕。

吳洩庸如蔡納聘，而稍納師，師畢入，衆知之，蔡侯告大夫，殺公子驪以說，哭而遷墓，冬，蔡遷於州來。

- II 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, Ke-sun Sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew, and Ch'ung-sun Ho-ke, led a force and invaded Choo. They took the lands east of the K'oh, and those west of the E
- 2 On Kwei-sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Ch'ung-sun Ho-ke made a covenant with the viscount of Choo at Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, Yuen, marquis of Wei, died
- 4 The viscount of T'ang came on a court visit to Loo.
- 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and placed Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, in Ts'eh
- 6 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Keah-seuh, Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and fought with a force under Han Tah of Ch'ing at T'eeh, when the army of Ch'ing was shamefully defeated
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.
- 8 In the eleventh month, Ts'ae removed [its capital] to Chow-lae
- 9 Ts'ae put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Sze

Parr 1, 2 The K'oh river,—see on IX xix  
 4 The E,—see on the Shoo III 1 Pt 1 29 In IX xix 4, it is said that Loo took the lands of Choo from the K'oh water. A further portion of its territory lying east from that stream must now have been secured

The Chuen says — 'In spring, we invaded Choo, and were going to attack Kenou. The people of Choo, loving the territory thereabouts, bribed us with the lands about the K'oh and the E, and received a covenant.' The three great families of Loo would seem by this time to have recovered themselves, and duke Gae was a tool in their hands as much as Ch'au had been. While their chiefs were united in the invasion of Choo, only two of them covenanted with the viscount. Perhaps Kuh-leang is right in thinking the reason was that Shuh-sun and Ch'ung-sun obtained the lands which were now ceded, and this may have been the reason that the system of depredation was continued next year. Kow-yih was in Choo,—in the pres dis of Tsow (御), dep Yen-chow

Par 3 The Chuen says, "Before this, [once], when the marquis of Wei was enjoying himself in the suburbs, and Tsze-nan was driving his carriage, he said to him, "I have [now] no son [declared as my successor], I will appoint you." Tsze-nan gave no answer. Another day, the marquis spoke to him to the same effect, when he replied, "I am not sufficient to preside over the altars. Let your lordship think of some other arrangement. There is the marchioness [with you] in the hall, and there are the 3 classes to whom you bow below it—[consult with them]. Your [mere] order to me would only lead to disgrace." In summer the marquis died, and the marchioness said, "Appoint his son Ying (Tsze-nan) to be his successor, this was his order." Ying replied, "My views differ from those of his other sons. He died, moreover, in

my hands. If there had been such an order, I should have heard it. Besides, Cheh, the son of the exile (Kwae-wae, see XI xiv 11) is here." Accordingly Cheh was appointed marquis.

Par 4 With this end the notices of other princes coming to the court of Loo. Wang Kih-k'wan says — 'Duke Gae had newly succeeded to the State, and therefore duke K'ing of T'ang came to pay him this court visit. It was the first paid by a marquis of T'ang to Loo since the visit of duke Ch'ing in the 6th year of Seang, though Ch'ing attended the funeral of S'ang, and K'ing that of Ting. Of all the States which thus visited Loo, during the period of the Ch'un Tsew, the princes of T'ang, K'e, Ts'au, and Choo, did so most frequently. Those of K'e did so 7 times, the last visit being in the 18th year of Ch'ing. Those of Ts'au did so 5 times, the last being in the 21st year of Seang. Those of Little Choo also paid 5 visits, the last being in the 17th year of Ch'au. Those of Choo 7, the last being in the 15th year of Ting. Those of T'ang 5, the first in the 11th year of Yin and the last in this year. The princes of T'ang and Loo were equally marquises, and for the former to be thus constantly found at the gate of the latter showed extreme smallness and weakness.' This is all very well, but according to 'the rules of propriety,' the interchange of court visits between the princes should have been much more frequent. 'The rules of propriety' gave place to 'the way of the world.' Great States gave up those visits altogether, and small ones observed them by constraint not willingly.

Par 5 Ts'eh,—see VI 1 9 The Chuen says,—'In the 6th month, on Yih-yew, Chaou Yang of Tsin placed the eldest [and heir-son of the late marquis of] Wei in Ts'eh [the expedition] lost its way in the night, but Yang Hoo said, "Let us keep on the right of the Ho

and *mu-ch* southwards, and we must come to the place." [Yang] made the prince wear mourning, and 8 men wear clothes and scarfs of sack-cloth, and pretend that they had gone from the capital to meet him; and in this guise they notified their arrival at the gate, which the prince entered weeping. He then kept possession of the city.

We saw XL. v. 11 that Kwae-was fled from Wei to Sung. His father was now dead, and his own son had been appointed marquis. This proved to be a good opportunity to Chaou Yang to take revenge on Wei for its hostility to Tsin, and he would appear to have gone for the prince of Wei to Bang, or have called him from that State; and by the stratagem mentioned in the Chuen, he placed him in possession of an important city in Wei, from which he was able by and by to gain all his inheritance. The critics dwell on the terms and phrases, 納于衛.

納于衛 instead of 納于衛 as full of *jeuquant* meaning; but it seems to me that Confucius simply tells the story, and leaves his readers to form their own judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned in it.

Par G. Kung yang has 軒 for 罕, and for 鐵 both 栗 and 秩. Tsch was the name of a small hill, which lay south from Tschu;—in the present day Chow dep. Ta-ming.

The repetition of 師 in the 2d member of the sentence is peculiar. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, the people of Ts'e were sending grain to the Fan lte, under the convoy of Tze-yaou (Han Tah) and Tze-pun (Hse Hwang) of Ch'ing who were met by Sze Keih-shih. Chaou Yang wanted to intercept the convoy and met it near Tsch. Yang Hoo said to him, "Our chariots are few. Let us take the flags of our war-chariots, and display them in the van, in front of the chariots of Han and Hse. Those officers coming up from behind, and arranging in the same way [their order of battle], will be sure to be alarmed when they see our appearance; and by then commencing the fight, we shall give them a great defeat." Yang adopted this counsel, and consulted the tortoise-shell about [the propriety of] fighting; but the shell was [only] scorched, [and gave no further indication]. Yoh Ting said, "The odo (Sze, III. L odo III. S) says,

There he began with consulting his followers;

There he scorched the tortoise-shell.

Our counsels are the same (As they were before, when we determined to re-instate the prince of Wei); we may take the intimation which we then received as our answer now.

K'een-tze (Chaou Yang) then made the following solemn declaration. "Fan-she and Chung-hang-she have transgressed the clear will of Heaven, slaughtering our people, and wishing to get into their own hands the State of Tsin, and to extinguish its ruler. Our ruler felt himself safe in his reliance on Ch'ing but now Ch'ing, contrary to all right, has abandoned our ruler and is assisting his rebellious subjects. You, gentlemen, are acting in accordance with the clear will of Heaven, and in obedience to your ruler's commands. It is for you, in this

engagement, to vindicate the supremacy of virtue and righteousness, and to take away *mu-ch* and shame. Those who distinguish themselves in the victory shall receive—a great officer of the superior grade, a *lieu*, and one of the inferior or a *leu*; an officer, 10 myriads of money; a common man (*I e.*, a farmer), a merchant, or a merchant the privilege of becoming an officer; servants, such as sweepers and *g*, exemption [from their menial toils]. Should I (Ch'efoo was a name of Yang) come out free of guilt, let our ruler consider my case. If I be chargeable with guilt, let me die by the cord. Let my body be put into a single coffin of cypress wood, [only] 8 inches thick; let the coffin be conveyed in a plain carriage by undressed horses; let it not be put into a grave. Let me [thus] be punished as a minister of the lowest degree."

On K'eh sent, they prepared for the fight. Yaw Woo-suh drove h'een tze, and the prince of Wei was spearman on the right. Having driven to the top of Tsch, when they looked at the army of Ch'ing and saw how numerous it was, the prince was afraid, and threw himself down under the chariot. Tze-l'ang (Woo-suh the Wang L'ang of Mencius, III. Pt II L 4) handed him the strap, and helped him up again, saying "You are a woman. K'een-tze went round the rank, saying. Pesh Wan (The ancestor of the Wei clan in Tsin. See the Chuen, at the end of IV. 1) was [originally but] a common man; but he made captures in 7 battles, till he possessed 100 teams, and he died at last [in the proper place] under his window. Do you all do your best. Your death need not come from this enemy."

Fan Yu was driving Chaou Lo, and Sung Yung was spearman on the right. Lo's courage all departed, so that the others tied him to his seat; and when an officer inquired the reason, the charioteer said, "It was because he was seized with an ague-fit, and fell down." The prince of Wei prayed, saying "I, Kwae-wao, your distant descendant, venture to announce to you King Wan, my great ancestor to you K'ang shuh my distinguished ancestor and to you duke S'ang my accomplished ancestor—S'ing of Ch'ing is aiding with the rebellious, whom Woo of Tsin, in the midst of difficulties, is not able to deal with and bring to order. He has now sent Yang to punish them, and I not daring to indulge in sloth, am here with my spear in my hand. I presume to announce this to you, and pray that my sinews may not be injured, my bones not broken, and my face not wounded, but that I may succeed in this great engagement, and you my ancestors may not be disgraced. I do not presume to ask for the great appointment; I do not grudge the precious stones at my grille."

A man of Ch'ing struck K'een tze with a spear in the shoulder so that he fell down in the chariot, and his flag Fung k'e was taken. The prince, however, came to his succor with his spear and the army of Ch'ing was worsted; but it captured Chaou Lo, the commandant of Wan. The prince again attacked it, and it was entirely defeated, and a thousand carriages, containing the grain of Ts'e, were taken. Chaou niang, delighted, said, "This will do," but Foo Sow said, "Although we have defeated Ch'ing, the Che clan are still in force, and our troubles are not over."



'Before this, the Kung-sun Mang had collected the rents of the lands given by the people of Chow to Fan-she, when he was taken by some of the Chaou clan, and presented [to Chaou Keen] The officers asked leave to put him to death, but Chaou-mäng said, "It was for his lord He has no crime" So he stopped the officers, and gave Mang [back the rents of] the lands After this battle of T'eoh, Mang, with 500 footmen, attacked the army of Ch'ing at night, and took the flag, Fung-k'e, from beside the tent of Tsze-yaou, which he then presented [to Keen-tsze] saying, "This is in requital of your kindness"

'In the pursuit of the army of Ch'ing, Yaou, Pan, and the Kung-sun Lin, guarded the rear, and killed with their arrows many in the front ranks of the pursuers, so that Chaou-mäng said, "The State [of Ch'ing] should not be called small"

'When all was over, K'een-tsze said, "When I fell upon the quiver, I brought up blood, but still the sound of the drum did not diminish My merit is at the top of this day's work" The prince [of Wei] said, "I saved you in the chariot, and made the enemies who were pressing about it retire I stand at the top of the spearmen" Y'ew Leang said, "My two breast-leathers were nearly broken, but I managed to prevent [the catastrophe] I am at the top of the charioteers" They yoked the chariot, and drove it over a [small] piece of wood, when the leathers both broke'

Par 7 It was thus the 7th month after his death before the interment of duke Ling took place The movements of Kwae-wae had, probably, occasioned the delay

Par 8, 9 Chow-lae,—see VIII vii 7 and X xii 12 In the latter passage it is said that 'Woo extinguished Chow-lae' It would now therefore be a city of Woo We saw on I 2, that Ts'ae had requested that it might be allowed to remove within the limits of Woo It would appear to have changed its purpose and wished to remain where Ts'oo had placed it, but Woo was not to be balked, and accomplished the removal in the way which the Chuen narrates—'S'eeh Yung of Woo went to Ts'ae with the offerings of a complimentary visit, and at the same time accompanied by a small force When his soldiers were all entered, and the people all knew it, the marquis of Ts'ae communicated with his great officers and put to death the Kung-tsze Sze, throwing the blame [of their having hesitated to remove] on him He then wept at the tombs [of his ancestors], and carried their contents with him on his removal to Chow-lae'

Chow-lae was the 3d capital of Ts'ae When king Woo invested his brother Too with Ts'ae the capital was 上蔡 in the dis still so called, dep Joo-ning Too rebelled, and was put to death, but king Ch'ing restored Ts'ae to his son, and by and by the capital was removed to 新蔡 also in dis of Joo-ning The third removal was now to Chow-lae, which is often called 卜蔡

*Third year.*

邾	叔	冬	蔡	秋	陽	少	丘	師	年
九章	九章	八章	七章	六章	四章	三章	三章	二章	一章
孫州仇仲孫何忌帥師圍	十月癸卯蔡伯卒	人放其大夫公孫獵丁吳	七月丙子季孫斯卒	宋樂髡帥師伐曹	孫斯叔孫州仇帥師城啟	月辛卯桓宮僖宮災	圍戚夏四月甲午地震	春齊國夏衛石曼姑帥	

左傳曰：三年春，齊、衛圍成，求援於中山。

夏五月，辛卯，司鐸火，火踰宮，桓僖災，救火者皆曰：顧府南宮敬叔至，命周人出御，魯侯於宮曰：戊戌而不在，死。子服景伯至，命宰人出禮，魯侯以待命，命不共，有常刑。校人乘馬，巾車脂轄，百官備府庫，慎守，官人肅給，濟駕帷幕，櫛攸從之。蒙耳公屋，自大廟始，外內以援，助所不給，有不用命，則有常刑。無救，公父文伯至，命校人駕乘車，季桓子至，御公立於象魏之外，命救火者，傷人則止，財可爲也。命藏象魏曰：舊章不可亡也。富父槐至曰：無備而官辦者，猶拾遺也。於是乎去表之桑，道還，公官孔子在陳，聞火曰：其桓僖乎？

○劉氏：范氏世爲婚姻，甚弘，弘事劉文公，故周與范氏。趙綰以爲討，六月，癸卯，周人殺襄弘。

秋，季孫有疾，命正當曰：無死，南孺子之子，男也，則以告而立之，女也，則肥也可。季孫卒，康子即位，既葬，康子在朝，南氏生男，正當戰以如朝，告曰：夫子有遺言，命其罔臣曰：南氏生男，則以告於君與大夫而立之，今生矣，男也，敢告。遂奔衛，康子詰退，公使共劉視之，則或殺之矣，乃討之，召正當，正當不反。

○冬十月，晉趙鞅圍朝歌，師於其南，荀寅伐其郛，使其徒自北門入，已犯師而出，癸丑，奔邯鄲。十一月，趙綰殺士皐夷，惡范氏也。

- III 1 In the [dukes] third year, in spring, Kwoh Hia of Ts'ao and Shuh Man koo of Wei led a force, and laid siege to Ts'eh
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'uei woo, there was an earthquake.
- 3 In the fifth month, on Sin maou, the temples of [dukes] Hwan and He were burned
- 4 Ke-sun Sze and Shuh-sun Chow k'ew led a force, and wall ed K'e-yang
- 5 Yoh K'wan of Sung led a force, and invaded Ts'aou
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping taze, Ke-sun Sze died
- 7 The people of Ts'ao banished their great officer Kung-sun L'eh to Woo
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei maou, the earl of Ts'in died
- 9 Shuh-sun Chow k'ew and Chung sun Ho ke led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Choo

Par 1 The Chuen says — 'In spring, Ts'e and Wei laid siege to Ts'eih, and sought help from Chung-shan (The people of Seen-yu)' Ts'e had its grudge against Ts'eih, because Kwae-wae, who now held that place, had been a principal instrument of the defeat of the troops of Ch'ing, and of the capture of the grain which Ts'e was trying to send to Chaou-ko. Wei, however, was principally concerned for the reduction of Ts'eih, because, while his father had a footing in the State, the new marquis Chieh could not consider his position secure. Down to the present day, critics take different sides on the question of the right to the State of Wei, — whether it belonged to Kwae-wae, against the wish of his father, or to Chieh, Kwae-wae's son in opposition to him. See a partial decision of Confucius on the point, *Ann VII xiv*.

Par 2 See VI ix 11, *et al*

Par 3 It is not easy to account for the temples of Hwan and He being still continued. The ancestral temples of the States were restricted to 5 smaller temples, or shrine-houses, and the tablets of Hwan and He ought long ere this to have been removed to the special building appropriated to displaced tablets, and their places occupied by those of more recent marquises. Between Hwan and Gae there had been 9 rulers in Loo, and between He and him 6. Some critics think Loo maintained 7 shrine-houses, as the royal House did, but even this would not account for the temple of Hwan. It is easy to see why the great families should have preserved the temple of Hwan, or rather built another specially for him, as it was to him that they all traced their lineage. However it was, the existence of these temples was irregular, and now they were destroyed by fire, and according to Tso-she and the K'ea Yu (家語), even Confucius saw in the event the judgment of Heaven.

The Chuen says — 'In the 5th month, on Sin-maou, a fire broke out in the [small palace of] Sze-toh. It then passed over the duke's palace, and burnt the temples of Hwan and He.

'The people who tried to put out the fire all cried out, "Look to the treasury." When Nan-kung King-shuh arrived, he ordered the officer in charge of the Chow [documents] to carry out the books which were read to the marquis, and to wait with them in the palace, saying to them, "See that you have all in your charge. If you are not there, you shall die." When Tsze-fuh Ming-pih came, he ordered an officer belonging to the Board of the chief minister to bring out the books of ceremony and to wait [further] orders, reminding him that if he did not obey the order, he was liable to the regular punishment. [He also ordered] the superintendent of the horses to have them arranged in teams, and the superintendent of the carriages to have the wheels all greased, the officers of the various departments to be all there, a careful guard to be maintained over the treasury and repositories, the subordinate officers gravely to contribute their service, curtains and tents to be soaked, and placed wherever the smoke was issuing, the palace and contiguous houses to be [also] covered with them, beginning at the grand temple, outside and inside, in due order, help to be given where it was needed, and all disobedience to suffer the regular penalties without forgiveness.

When Kung-foo Ming-pih arrived, he ordered the superintendent of the horses to have the carriages all yoked, and when Ke Hwan-tsze arrived, he drove the duke to the outside of the towers at the front gate, where the boards with the statutes on them were hung up. He gave orders to those who were trying to put out the fire, that, as soon as any of them were injured, they should stop, and let the things take their chance. He ordered [also] the boards with the statutes to be laid up, saying, "The old statutes must not be lost." When Foo-foo Hwae arrived, he said, "For the officers to try to deal with the fire, without making preparations [against its progress], is like trying to gather up water that has been spilt." On this they removed all the straw outside the fire, and cleared a way all round the palace.

'Confucius was then in Ch'in, and when he heard of the fire, he said, "It destroyed, I apprehend, the temples of Hwan and He."

Par 4 K'e-yang (Kung has 開 for 啟) was 15 *li* to the north of the present city of E-chow. It had been the capital city of the old State of Yu (禹), which was taken in Choo in the 18th year of Ch'au. Choo was now obliged to yield it to Loo, and as it was near to Pe, it was probably appropriated by Ke-she. The fortifying it would be to provide against attempts to regain it by Choo, which might be expected to be assisted by Tsin.

Par 5 Yoh Ta-sin had fled from Sung to Ts'au (XI x 8), and this may have been the ground for the present attack, which was followed by others still more serious.

[The Chuen appends here — 'There had been intermarriages for generations between the families of Lew [in Chow] and Fan [in Tsin], and Chang Hwäng had been in the service of duke Wän of Lëw. In consequence of this, Chow took the side of the Fan [in the struggles in Tsin]. Chaou Yang made this the subject of remonstrance, and in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, the people of Chow put Chang Hwäng to death']

Par 6 The Chuen says — 'In autumn, Ke-sun was ill, and gave orders to Ching-chang saying, "You must not die. If Nan Joo-tsze's child prove a boy, then inform the duke, and appoint him my successor. If it prove a girl, then you may appoint Fei." He died, and K'ang-tsze (Fei) took his place, but after the burial, [once] when K'ang-tsze was in the court, Nan-she gave birth to a boy, which Ching-chang carried to the court, where he said, "My master left a charge with me, his groom, that if Nan-she gave birth to a boy, I should inform his lordship and the great officers of it, and appoint him his successor. Now she has given birth to a boy, and I venture to give the information." On this, he fled to Wei. K'ang-tsze asked leave to retire from his position, and the duke sent Kung Lew to see the child, but some one had put it to death. He caused the murderer to be punished, and then called Ching-chang [from Wei], but he would not return.'

Par 7 This Kung-sun Leeh would be a partizan of Kung-tsze Sze, mentioned in the last par of last year.

Par 8 Loo seems to have been bent on the entire subjugation of Choo.

[The Chuen turns here to the siege of Chaou ko:— In winter, in the 10th month, Chaou Yang of Tsin laid siege to Chaou ko and lay in force on the south of it. Keun Yin attacked the outer suburbs, and made the troops [which were coming to his aid] enter the city by the north

gate while he himself burst through the enemy and got away. On Kwei-chow he fled to Han tan. In the 11th month Chaou Yang put to death bze Kaou-e such was his hatred of the Han clan.]

## Fourth year

四年春，<sup>一</sup>月，<sup>二</sup>庚戌，盜殺蔡侯申。<sup>三</sup>蔡公孫辰出奔吳。<sup>四</sup>葬秦患公。<sup>五</sup>宋人執小邾子。<sup>六</sup>夏，蔡殺其大夫公孫姓，公孫霍。<sup>七</sup>晉人執戎蠻子赤，歸之楚。<sup>八</sup>城西郭，<sup>九</sup>六月，<sup>十</sup>辛丑，<sup>十一</sup>旱，<sup>十二</sup>社災。<sup>十三</sup>秋，<sup>十四</sup>八月，<sup>十五</sup>甲寅，<sup>十六</sup>滕子結卒。<sup>十七</sup>冬，<sup>十八</sup>十月，<sup>十九</sup>有月，<sup>二十</sup>葬蔡昭公。<sup>二十一</sup>葬滕頃公。

左傳曰：四年春，蔡昭侯將如吳，諸大夫恐其又遷也，承公孫翩逐而射之，入於家人而卒。以兩矢門之，眾莫敢進。文之錯後至，曰：如驕而進多，而殺二人，錯執弓而先，翩射之中肘，錯遂殺之。故遂公孫辰而殺公孫姓，公孫時。夏，楚人既克夷虎，乃謀北方。左司馬販中，公孫伐葉，公諸梁致蔡於負函，致方城之外。於綸，關曰：吳將斥江入郢，將奔命焉。爲一昔之期，襲梁及蕲，單浮餘圍。蠻氏蠻氏潰，蠻子赤奔晉陰地。司馬起豐析與狄戎以臨上，雒左師軍於兔和。右師軍於倉野，使謂陰地之命大夫士蔑曰：晉楚有盟，好惡同之。若將不廢寡君之願也，不然，將通於少習，以聽命士蔑。諸趙孟，趙孟曰：晉國未寧，安能惡於楚？必速與之。士蔑乃致九州之戎，將裂田以與蠻子，而城之。且將爲之卜，蠻

人。鮒、虞、納、荀、寅、於、柏、時、陰、人、孟、壺、口、會、首、取、邢、任、欒、郤、逆、之、遂、陷、臨、國、夏、伐、臨、一、月、弦、施、逆、寅、奔、鮮、虞、趙、稷、奔、卜、月、趙、鞅、圍、邯、鄲、降、荀、月、氏、庚、午、圍、五、鹿、九、弦、施、衛、甯、跪、收、范、秋、七、月、齊、陳、乞、歸、潰、民、而、盡、俘、以、歸、呂、立、宗、焉、以、誘、其、師、於、戶、司、馬、致、其、五、大、以、男、楚、了、聽、卜、遂、執、之、與

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Käng-seuh, a ruffian killed Shin, marquis of Ts'ae.
- 2 Kung-sun Shin of Ts'ae fled from that State to Woo.
- 3 There was the burial of duke Ilwuy of Ts'in.
- 4 An officer of Sung seized the viscount of Little Choo
- 5 In summer, Ts'ae put to death its great officers, Kung-sun Säng and Kung-sun Hoh
- 6 An officer of Tsin seized Ch'ih, viscount of the Man Jung, and sent him to Ts'oo
- 7 We walled our outer suburbs on the west
- 8 In the sixth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the altar of Poh was burned
- 9 In autumn, in the eighth month, Keeh, viscount of T'äng, died.
- 10 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'aou of Ts'ae.
- 11 There was the burial of duke K'ing of T'äng.

Parr 1, 2, 5 In par 1 Kung-yang has 月 for 月 Kung and Kuh-leang have 弑 for 殺, which is probably the more correct reading

In VII xvii 2, we are told that 'Shin (申), marquis of Ts'ae,' died, so that here is one of his descendants called by the same name, which is 'contrary to rule' Twan Yuh-tsae says that the 'Historical Records' gave 申 instead of 申, but there is no 申 in the edition of that Work in my possession

The Chuen says — 'This spring, the marquis of Ts'ae was about to go to Woo, and all the great officers tried to prevent him from going, fearing there would be another removal of the capital Kung-sun P'een pursued, and shot him, so that he entered into a house [on the way] and died [P'een] then took his station in the door of it, with two arrows on his string, and no one would venture to go forward to it Wän Che-k'ae, however, came up afterwards, and said, "Let us advance like a wall, at the most, he can kill but two men" He then advanced with his bow in his hand P'een discharged an

arrow at him, which hit him in the wrist, but immediately after K'ae killed him In consequence of this event, K'ae expelled Kung-sun Shin, and put to death the two Kung suns, Säng and Yu (I q Hoh in par 5)

On 殺, see on IX. v 8

Par 3 The Chuen does not say anything on this event Le Lëen discerns in it an indication of the ambition of the duke of Sung, who, now that there was no acknowledged leader among the princes, had fallen to imitate the doings of his predecessor Seang The idea of many critics, that the duke is condemned here by being called 人, is inadmissible, but how that term ought to be translated, by 'officer,' 'body of men,' or 'the people,' could only be determined by our knowing the circumstances in which the seizure took place

Par 6 The Man Jung, — see X xvi 2 Here, as there, Kung-yang has 曼 for 蠻 The act of Tsin in this matter is held to have been disgraceful to it The right of asylum for refugees seems to have been accorded by the States to one another, and one which had played such a part as Tsin ought to have maintained it with peculiar jealousy

The Chuen says:—In summer a body of men from Ts'oo, having reduced the E-hoo, began to turn its attention to the regions farther north. P'ian, the marshal of the Left, Shou yu commandant of Shih, and Choo-hiang commandant of Sheh, collected [the people of] Ts'ae, [who remained in that quarter], and placed them in Hoo-hien and did the same for the people outside the barrier wall in Tsang kwan. [They then] said that Woo was going to come up the Kiang to enter Ying and that they must hurry away as they had been commanded. On this, on the very day after they took by surprise L'ang and Hoh, [cities of the Man Jung]

Shen Fou yu laid siege to [the chief town of] the Man, the people of which dispersed, while Ch'ih, the viscount, fled to Yin ta in Tsai. The marshal raised the people of Fung and Seih, along with [certain tribes of] the Teih and Jung and proceeded towards Shang loh. The master of the Left encamped near [the hill of] T'oo-ho, and the master of the Right near Ts'ang yay. [The marshal then] sent a message to Sze M'eh the great officer [of Tsai] appointed over [the district of] Yin-te, saying

Tsai and Ts'oo have a covenant, engaging them to share in their likings and dislikes. If you will not neglect to observe it, that is the desire of my ruler. If you determine otherwise, I will communicate with you by Shao-ueth to hear your command. Sze M'eh requested instructions from Chao-ming, who said, Tsai is not yet in the enjoyment of tranquillity; we dare not make a rupture with Ts'oo. You must quickly give up the refugee to it.

On this, Sze M'eh then called together the Jung of K'ew-chow and proposed that they should set aside some lands for the viscount of the Man, and settle him there in a city. He also proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about the city; and while the viscount was waiting for the result, M'eh seized him and his five great officers, and delivered them to the army of Ts'oo

at San hoo. The marshal [also pretended that he] would assign him a city and set up his ancestral temple, in order that he might delude the remnant of his people; and then he carried them all back as captives with him to Ts'oo.

Par 7 This would be in apprehension of an attack on the west from Tsai.

Par 8. For 尊 Kung-yang has 蒲 By the altar to the Spirit of the land of Poh we are to understand an altar of Yin. That dynasty had its capital in Poh, and on its extinction king Woo ordered the different States to rear altars called altars of Poh, to serve as a warning to their princes to guard against the calamity of losing their States. These are understood to have been placed outside the gate leading to the ancestral temple, so that the princes should not fail to take notice of them. They were covered however and enclosed, and sacrifices were not offered at them. Their association in this way simply served the purpose of admonition, but it exposed them to the calamity recorded in the text.

Par 9 K'eh had been viscount of Tsang 23 years, and was succeeded by his son Yu woo (虞毋), duko Yin (隱).

Par 10, 11. The burial of the marquess of Ts'ao had been delayed;—probably by the troubles in the State. [The Chuen continues here the narrative of events in Tsai.—In autumn, in the 7th month, Ch'ih K'eh and H'een She of Ts'ae, and Ning Kwei of Wei, proceeded to the relief of Fan-ah; and on Kang woo they laid siege to Woo-luh. In the 8th month, Chao Yang laid siege to Han-tan, which surrendered in winter in the 11th month when Seun Yin fled to the H'een yu, and Chao Tsieh to Lin. In the 12th month, H'een She met the latter in that place, and throw down its walls. [At the same time] Kw'eh H'ea invaded Tsai, and took Hing Jin, Lwan, H'ao, Yih-che Yin Jin, Yu, and Hoo-kow, was joined by the H'een yu, and placed Seun Yin in H'ih Jin.]

*Fifth year*

公。閏<sup>六</sup>冬<sup>五</sup>齊侯杵臼卒。秋<sup>四</sup>九月癸酉伐衛。晉<sup>三</sup>趙鞅帥師。夏<sup>二</sup>齊侯伐宋。五<sup>一</sup>年春城毗。

左傳曰：五年春，晉圍柏人，荀寅、士吉射奔齊。初，范氏之臣王生惡張柳朔，二諸昭了，使爲柏人。昭了曰：夫非而讐乎？對曰：私讐不及公，好不廢過，惡不尤善，義之經也。臣敢違之。及范氏出，張柳朔謂其了，爾從上，勉之。我將止死，士生授我矣。吾不可以僭之。遂死於柏人。夏，趙鞅伐衛，范氏之故也。遂圍中牟。齊燕姬生子，不成而死，諸了露姒之了茶，嬖諸人大恐，其爲犬了也。二於公曰：君之齒長矣，未有犬了，若之何？公曰：了，聞於憂虞，則有疾疾，亦姑謀樂，何憂於無君？公疾，使國患子高昭了，立茶，寘羣公了於萊。秋，齊景公卒，冬十月，公了嘉，公子駒，公了黔奔衛。公子鉏，公子陽生來奔。萊人歌之曰：景公死乎？不與耶？一軍之事乎？不與謀，師乎？師乎？何黨之乎？

○鄭駟：秦富而侈，嬖大夫也，而常陳卿之車服於其庭。鄭人惡而殺之了。思曰：詩曰：不解於位，民之攸斁，不守其位，而能久者，鮮矣。商頌曰：不僭不濫，不敢怠皇，命以多福。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, we walled P'e  
 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung  
 3 Chaou Yang of Tsin, at the head of a force, invaded Wei  
 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-yew, Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Ts'e, died  
 5 In winter, Shuh Seu'en went to Ts'e  
 6 In the intercalary month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'e.

Par 1 It is not known where P'e exactly was. It would be in the west of Loo, and now be walled, as a preparation against an attack from Tsin. Kung has 比 and 花 instead of 毗.

Par 2 We saw last year how Sung was now trying to vindicate its claim to a foremost place among the States. We may suppose that this excited the jealousy of Ts'e, and led to the attack here mentioned.

Par 3 The Chuen says — 'This spring, Tsin laid siege to Pih-jin (See the Chuen at the end of last year), on which Seu Yin and Sze Keih-shih fled to Ts'e. Before this, Wang Säng, an officer of Fan-she, hated another called Chang Lew-soh, but he spoke of him to Ch'aou-tsze (Sze Keih-shih), and got him appointed commandant of Pih-jin. Ch'aou-tsze said, "Is not he your enemy?" Sang replied, "Private enmities should not interfere with public [duty]. In your likings not to overlook faults, and in your hatreds not to disallow what is good, is the course of righteousness. I dare not act contrary to it." When Fan-she left [Pih-jin],

Chang Lew-soh said to his son, "Do you follow your lord, and do your utmost for him. I will remain here and die. Wang Säng has laid that upon me. I must not fail in it." He died accordingly in Pih-jin. In summer, Chaou Yang invaded Wei, because of [the assistance it had afforded to] Fan-she, and laid siege to Chung-mow.'

Par 4 For 杵 Kung-yang has 處 Ch'oo-k'ew had been marquis of Ts'e for 50 years, but for his character see the Ana XVI. vii. He had enjoyed the counsels of his distinguished minister Gan-tsze, and of Confucius, but though he was a scourge to Tsin, he could not arrest the decay of his own House. Immediately after his death, his son was murdered, and the State thrown into confusion, and in less than ten years the House of Keang was superseded by that of Chin.

The Chuen says — 'Yen Ke [wife of the marquis of Ts'e], had a son, who died before he was grown up. Of his sons [by his concubines] his favourite was T'oo, whose mother was Yuh

See The great officers were all afraid lest T'oo should be appointed the duke's successor and spoke to him on the subject, saying "Your lordship is old; and how is it that it has not been declared which of your sons is to succeed you?" The duke however said "If you are free at present from anxieties [about the State] you have [the risk] of illness [to think about]. Try to get what pleasure you can in the mean time. Why should you be concerned about having no ruler?"

When the duke was ill, he made Kwoh Hwuy tze and Kaou Ch'au tze appoint T'oo, and place all his other sons in Lao. In autumn he died; and in winter in the 10th month, his sons, H'ea, H'eu and K'een, fled to Wei, while T'ao and Yang sang came to Loo. The people of Lao sang about the young princes,

"Duke King is dead!  
Ye stood not by his grave.  
To Tzu's armies  
No counsel e'er you gave.  
The crowd of you!  
What country will you save?"

Par 5. This visit would be one of condolence and to attend the funeral of the marquis.

Par 6. We may assume that this intercalary month was a double 11th, which would give the burial in the 5th month after the death — according to rule. Two schemes of the calendar of the Ch'iu T'w place the intercalary month of this year the one after the 10th month, and

the other after the 11th but I do not see any ground for admitting either of them. The fact of the burial is against them both. At present the intercalary months are left out of calculation in all matters connected with the duties to the dead; but it may not have been so in those times. K'uh l'ang thought it was, and therefore finds in the par a condemnation of the irregularity. K'ung yang took the other view. Each has crowds of followers; and the K'ang he editors give the views of both, unable to decide between them.

[The Chuen turns here to an affair in Ch'ing: — Sze Te'in of Ch'ing was rich and extravagant. Though [only] a great officer of the lowest grade he had always the chariot and robes of a minister displayed in his courtyard, so that the people of Ch'ing disliked him, and put him to death. Tze-sze (The son of Tze-ch'au) said "The ode (She III. ode 1 4) says,

They will not be idle in their offices,  
So that the people will have rest in them

They are few that can continue long who do not observe the conditions of their place. In the Temple-odes of Shang (She IV. ode 1 2) it is said

He erred not in rewarding and punishing  
And dared not to be idle;  
And so he made his happiness grandly secure."

### Sixth year

宋 <sup>十</sup>	冬 <sup>九</sup>	齊 <sup>八</sup>	齊 <sup>七</sup>	秋 <sup>六</sup>	叔 <sup>五</sup>	夏 <sup>四</sup>	吳 <sup>三</sup>	晉 <sup>二</sup>	六年 <sup>一</sup>
間	仲	陳	陽	七	還	齊	伐	趙	春
巢	孫	乞	生	月	會	國	陳	鞅	城
帥	何	弒	入	庚	吳	夏		帥	邾
師	忌	具	丁	寅	丁	及		師	瑕
伐	帥	君	齊	楚	桓	高		伐	
曹	伐	祭		了		張		鮮	
	邾			軫		來		虞	
				午		介			



左傳曰：六年春，晉伐鮮虞。治范氏之亂也。

吳伐陳，復修舊怨也。楚子曰：吾先君與陳有盟，不可以不救。乃救陳，師於城父。

齊陳乞僞事高國者，每朝必駢乘焉。所從必曰：諸大夫曰：彼皆偃蹇，將棄子之命，皆曰：高國得君，必偪我，盍大

諸固將謀子，子早圖之。圖之莫如盡滅之，需事之下也。及朝，則曰：彼虎狼也，見我在子之側，殺我無日矣。請就

之位，又謂諸大夫曰：子者禍矣，恃得君而欲謀。了曰：國之多難，貴寵之山，盡去之而後君定。既成謀矣，

盡及其未作也，先諸作而後悔，亦無及也。大夫從之。夏六月戊辰，陳乞鮑牧及諸大夫以甲入於公宮，昭了聞

之與惠子乘如公戰於莊，敗國人，追之國，夏奔莒，遂及高張、晏圉、弦施來奔。

秋七月，楚子在城父，將救陳。卜戰不吉，卜退不吉，卜曰：然則死也。再敗楚師，不如死。棄盟逃讐，亦不如死。死

也，其死讐乎？命公子申爲士，不可，則命公了結，亦不可，則命公了啟。五辭而後許，將戰，了有疾。庚寅，昭了攻人

冥卒於城父。子聞退曰：君士舍其了而讓羣臣，敢忘君乎？從君之命，順也。立君之子，亦順也。順不可失也。與

子西了期，謀潛師閉塗，逆越女之了章，立之而後還。是歲也，有雲如衆小鳥，火日以飛。日，楚了使問諸周人

史，周史曰：其當十身乎？若禳之，可移於令尹。司馬曰：除腹心之疾，而寘諸股肱，何益？不穀不有人過，人具

天諸有罪受罰，又焉移之？遂弗禳。初，昭了有疾，卜曰：河爲祟。弗祭，人大請祭諸郊。卜曰：代命祀，祭不越望。

江漢睢漳，楚之望也。禍福之至，不是過也。不穀雖不德，河非所獲罪也。遂弗祭。孔了曰：楚昭了知人，道矣。其不

失國也，宜哉。夏書曰：惟彼陶唐，帥彼天常，有此冀方。今失其行，亂其紀綱，乃滅而亡。又曰：允出茲在茲，山以率

常可矣。

八月，齊郕意茲來奔。

陳僖了使召公了陽斗。陽生駕而見南郭且子，曰：嘗獻馬於季孫，不入於卜乘，故又獻此，請與子乘之。出萊門

而告之故，闕止知之，先待諸外公子曰：事未可知。反與壬也處戒之，遂行，逮夜，至於齊，國人知之，倍子使子士之母養之，與饋者皆入。冬十月丁卯，立之將盟，鮑子醉而往，其臣差車鮑黠曰：此誰之命也？陣子曰：受命於鮑子，遂醒鮑子曰：子之命也。鮑子曰：汝忘君之爲孺子牛而折其齒乎？而得之也。悼公稽首曰：吾子，奉義而行者也，若我可不必亡一大夫，若我不可，不必亡一公子，義則進，否則退，敢不唯子是從，廢典無以亂，則所願也。鮑子曰：誰非君之子，乃受盟，使胡姬以安孺子如願，去齊姬殺王甲，拘江脫，囚王豹於句賈之丘，公使朱毛告於陳子曰：微子則不及此，然君異於器，不可以二，器二不置，君二多難，敢布諸大夫，倍子不對而立，曰：君舉不信羣臣乎？以齊國之困，困又有疑，少君不可以訪，是以求長君，庶方能容羣臣乎？不然，夫孺子何罪，毛復命公悔之，毛曰：君大防於陣子，而圖其小，可也。使毛遷孺子於貽，不至殺諸野幕之下，葬諸爰冒淳。

- VI 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, we walled Choo-hëa.  
 2 Chaou Yang of Tain, at the head of a force, invaded Sëen yu.  
 3 Woo invaded Ch'in  
 4 In summer, Kwoh Hëa and Kaou Chang of Ts'e came fugitives to Loo  
 5 Shuh Seuen had a meeting with Woo at Cha.  
 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on K'ung yin, Chin, viscount of Ts'oo, died  
 7 Yang säng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State  
 8 Ch'in K'üih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo  
 9 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke, at the head of a force, invaded Choo  
 10 Hëang Ch'au of Sung, at the head of a force, invaded Ts'au

Par 1. For 瑕 Kung yang has 蔑 The city was 10 li to the south of the pre. Tse-ning Chow dep. Yen-chow. It properly belonged to Choo, but Loo had either taken it before or now did so, and proceeded to settle the appropriation by walling it. Perhaps we ought to call the place— Hëa of Choo.

Par 2. We have seen that once and gain the people of Sëen yu had helped the Fan and other insubordinate clans of Tain. The time to punish them for this, as Tso-ah says, was now come.

Par 3. The Chuen says:—Woo [now] invaded Ch'in, again reviving the old animosity

(See the Chuen after I. 8). The viscount of Ts'oo said, "My father had a covenant with Ch'in; I must by all means now go to its help." Accordingly he *jaue* led to the help of Ch'in, and encamped with his army at Shing foo.

Par 4. The Chuen says:—Ch'in K'üih of Ts'e pretended to do service to [the ministers] Kaou and Kwoh; and whenever they went to court, he would go in the same carriage with one of them, and, as they went along, speak about all the great officers saying "They are all very arrogant and will cast from them your orders. They all say Kaou and Kwoh have got [the favour] of the [new] ruler and are sure to be *ja* using upon us. Why should we

not remove them out of the way?' They are sure to be plotting against you. You should take measures against them beforehand, and if you take such measures, the best plan will be to destroy them entirely. Delay is the worst of all methods." When they got to the court, he would say, "They are so many tigers and wolves. When they see me by your side, they will kill me any day. Allow me to go where they are standing." He would then say on the other hand to the great officers, "Those two ministers are [meditating] evil. They trust in having the ruler [in their hands], and wish to plot against you. They say, 'The many troubles of the State arise from the [number of] those who have high rank and favour. Let us do away with all of them, and then the ruler will be settled in his position.' They have decided on their plan. Why not take the initiative with them? If you wait till they move, regrets will be of no use." The great officers were persuaded by him, and in summer, in the 6th month, on Mow-shun, Ch'in K'eih and Paou Muh, with all the great officers, burst into the duke's palace with [a body of] men-at-arms. Ch'ou-tsze (Kaou Chang) heard of their movement and got into a carriage with Hwuy-tsze (Kwoh Hea), to go to the duke. They were defeated in a fight at Chwang, and pursued by the people of the capital. Kwoh Hea fled to Keu, and [soon after], along with Kaou Chang, Gan Yu (Son of Gan Ping-tsze), and H'een She, he came a fugitive to Loo.

Par 5 Cha,—see IX x 1. The Chuen says nothing on the reasons of this proceeding. Maou observes that some say it was in obedience to a requisition from Woo,—which is likely as the viscount or king of Woo was now pushing forward to the leading place among the States.

Par 6. Continuing the narrative under par 3, the Chuen says—'In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo was in Shing-foo, intending to succour Ch'in. He consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable response. He consulted about retreating, and got the same. He then said, "Well then I will die. It is better to die than to incur a second defeat of the army of Ts'oo. It is also better to die, than to throw away our covenant with Ch'in, and evade the enemy. It is [only] dying in either case, and I will die at the hands of the enemy." He named the Kung-tsze Shin (Tsze-se) to be king, but he declined. Next he named the Kung-tsze Keel (Tsze-k'e), but he also declined. Finally he named the Kung-tsze K'e (Tsze-leu), who declined the dignity five times but then accepted it.

'When they were about to fight, the king fell ill, but on K'ang-shun he attacked Ta-nung. He [then] died in Shing-foo, after which Tsze-leu retreated, saying, "Our ruler and king passed over his son in favour of his subjects. I did not dare to forget [my duty to] the ruler, and to obey his command was proper. But to appoint his son in his place is likewise natural and proper. Both things are proper, and neither of them must be neglected." He then took counsel with Tsze-se and Tsze-k'e, kept [the king's death] concealed from the army, shut up all communication abroad, sent for Chang, [the king's son] by a daughter of Yueh, appointed him king, and afterwards returned [with the army to the capital].

'This year, there had been a cloud, like a multitude of red birds, flying round the sun, which continued for 3 days. The viscount of Ts'oo sent to ask the grand-historiographer of Chow about it, who said that it portended evil to the king's person, and that if he offered a deprecatory sacrifice to it, the evil might be removed so as to fall on the chief minister or one of the marshals. The king, however, said, "Of what use would it be to take a disease threatening the heart and lay it upon the limbs? If I had not committed great errors, would Heaven shorten my life? I must receive the penalty of my transgressions, why should I try to move it over to another?" So he did not offer the sacrifice. Before this, king Ch'ou had been ill, and an answer was obtained from the tortoise-shell that his illness was occasioned by the [Spirit of the] Ho. Notwithstanding, he did not sacrifice to it, and when his great officers begged him to sacrifice to it at the border [altar], he said, "According to the sacrifices commanded by the 3 dynasties, a State cannot sacrifice to any but the hills and streams within its borders. The K'ang, the Han, the Ts'eu, and the Chang are the rivers to which Ts'oo ought to sacrifice. Calamity or prosperity is not to be accounted for by error in this respect. Although I am deficient in virtue, I have not offended against the Ho." Accordingly he would not sacrifice to it.' Confucius said, "King Ch'ou of Ts'oo knew the great path of duty. It was right that he should not lose his State! In one of the Books of H'ea (Shoo, III iii 7) it is said,

'There was the prince of T'ou and T'ang,  
Who observed the rules of Heaven,  
And possessed this country of K'e.  
Now we have fallen from his ways,  
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws—

The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

It is said in another place (Shoo, II ii 10), 'Where sincerity proceeds from, there is the result.' When a man observes of himself the regular [statutes of Heaven], [his worth] is to be acknowledged."

[There is here a short notice, relating to Ts'e—In the 8th month, Ping E-tsze came a fugitive to Loo.]

Par 7, 8 For 祭 Kung-yang has 舍. The Chuen says—'Ch'in He-tsze (K'eih) had sent to call the Kung-tsze Yang-s'ang (See the flight of Yang-s'ang, and other princes of Ts'e to Loo in the narrative under par 4 of last year) to Ts'e. Yang-s'ang yoked his chariot, and went to see [his brother] Tseu-yu (The Kung-tsze Ts'oo) in the south suburbs, when he said, "I presented some horses to Ke-sun, but they were not fit to enter his best team. I therefore wish to present these, and beg you to ride with me, and try them." When they had gone out at the Lae gate, he told the other all about the call he had received. [Meanwhile, his servant] K'an Che knew it, and was waiting for him outside. "But," said the prince to him, "how the thing will turn out cannot yet be known. Do you go back, and dwell with [my son] Jin." He then cautioned him, and went his way. He arrived at [the capital of] Ts'e at night, but the people were aware of it.

He-tze made [his concubine], the mother of Tze-ze keep him [for some time] but [by and by] he got him in [to the palace] along with those who were taking the fox skin. In winter in the fifth month, on Ting maou, he raised him to the marquise and was about to impose a covenant [on the great officers]. Laou tze had gone [to the palace] drunk, but one of his officers, who had charge of his chariot, Laou Tsen said, "By whose orders is this?" "I received the order from Paou tze," replied Ch'in-tze and [turning to that minister], he said falsely to him that it was by his order. "Have you forgotten," said Laou tze "how when our [late] ruler was playing ox [to T'ou], the child [fell down and] broke his teeth? And now you are rebelling against him." Duke Taou (Yang king) bowed to him with his head to the ground and said, "You are one who does what is right. If you are one of me not a single great officer shall go into exile. If you do not approve of me let not a single son of the late ruler go into exile. Where right is let us advance; where it is not, let us recede. I dare not but follow you, and you only in everything. Let the displacing or the new appointment be made without disorder; this is what I desire." Laou tze said, "Which of you is not a son of our [late] ruler? and with this he took the covenant.

[After this, duke Taou] sent Hou Ke [a concubine of duke King] with the child Gan (T'ou) to Lee; sent away Yuh Sze (T'ou's mother); put to death Wang K'eh; put K'ang Yueh under restraint and imprisoned Wang Paou at the hill of K'ou-tow. He then sent Chou Maou to say to Ch'in tze "But for you

I should not have attained to this position. But a ruler is not an article of furniture. There cannot be two rulers. Two articles of furniture are a safeguard against war, but two rulers give rise to many difficulties. I venture to represent this to you." He tze [at first] gave no reply but then he wept and said "Must our rulers all have no trust in their officers? Because the State of T'ze was in distress [through famine], and that distress gave rise to other anxieties and no counsel could be taken with a ruler who was so young I therefore sought for one who was grown up, hoping that he would exercise forbearance with his officers. If he cannot do so, with what offence is that child chargeable?" Maou returned with this answer which made the duke repent [that he had sent the new age]. Maou, however said to him, "Your lordship can ask Ch'in tze about great matters but small matters you can determine yourself." The duke then sent him to remove the child to T'ze; but before their arrival at that place Maou put him to death in a tent in the country and buried him at Shou-maou tun.

Hung yang gives a different account of the way in which Ch'in tze brought about the elevation of Yang king to the marquise and relates a story about his being suddenly presented from a clerk to the great officers whom Ch'in tze had called together to a sacrificial feast. This account, being more dramatic is followed, as we might expect, in the History of the Various States Ch. lxxxii.

Par 9. This was a sequel to the wailing of Chou-hua mentioned in par 1.

Par 10. See on III v

*Seventh year*

七年春，宋阜瑗帥師侵曹。冬，邲，弘帥師救曹。來，宋人圍曹。秋，公伐邲，八月己酉，入邲，以邲了益。夏，公會吳，丁酉，鄆。衛，晉，魏，曼多帥師侵鄆。

左傳曰：七年，春，宋師侵鄭，鄭叛晉，故也。晉師侵衛，衛不服也。

夏，公會吳、丁、鄫。吳來徵白，宰服景伯對曰：「先王不之有也。吳人曰：『宋自宰我，魯不可以後宋。』且魯宰人，大過十，吳十，白宰不亦可乎？」景伯曰：「晉范鞅貪而棄禮，以人國懼敝邑，故敝邑十一宰之。君若以禮命於諸侯，則有數矣。若亦棄禮，則有淫者矣。周之王也，制禮上物，不過十，以爲人之數也。今棄周禮，而曰：『必自宰，亦唯執事。』吳人弗聽。景伯曰：『吳將亡矣。棄人而背本，不與必求疾於我，乃與之。』大宰嚭召季康子，康子使了貢辭，人宰嚭曰：『國君道長，而大人不出門，此何禮也？』對曰：『豈以爲禮？畏大國也。大國不以禮命於諸侯，苟不以禮，豈可量也？寡君既其命焉，其老豈敢棄其國？』大宰端委以治周禮，仲雍嗣之，斷髮文身，裸以爲飾，豈禮也哉？有山然也。反自鄫，以吳爲無能爲也。」

季康子欲伐邾，乃饗大人以謀之。了服景伯曰：「小所以事人，信也。大所以保小，仁也。背人國不信，伐小國不仁，民保於城，城保於德，失德者危，將焉保？」孟孫曰：「了以爲何如？」忠賢而逆之。對曰：「禹合諸侯於塗山，執玉帛者萬國，今其存者無數，一焉唯大不字小，小不事人也。知必危，何故不？」魯德如邾，而以衆加之，可乎？不樂而出。秋，伐邾，及范門，猶聞鐘聲。人夫諫，不聽，卒成了，請告於吳，不許。曰：「魯擊柝聞於邾，吳千甲，不月不卒，何及於我？且國內豈不足？成了以茅叛，師遂入邾，處其公宮，衆師書掠，邾衆保於繹，師宵掠，以邾了益來獻於魯社，以諸貨瑕，貨瑕故有繹。邾茅氏鴻以束帛乘車，自請救於吳，曰：『魯弱晉而遠吳，憑恃其衆，而背君之盟，脆君之執事，以陵我小國，邾非敢自愛也，懼君威之不立，君威之不立，小國之憂也。』若夏盟於鄆，衍秋而背之，成求而不違，四方諸侯，其何以事君？且魯賦八百乘，君之貳也。邾賦六百乘，君之私也。以私奉貳，唯君圖之。吳子從之。」



'When [the duke] returned from Ts'ang, it was considered that Woo could do nothing [great]'

Par 4 Here is the consummation of Loo's hostility to Choo. The Chuen says — 'Ke k'ang-tszewished to attack Choo, and gave an entertainment to the great officers, to take counsel about it. Tsze-fuh King-pih said, "It is by good faith that a small State serves a great one, and benevolence is seen in a great State's protecting a small one. If we violate [our covenant with] a great State, it will be a want of good faith, and if we attack a small State, it will be a want of benevolence. The people are protected by the walls of the cities, and the walls of the cities are preserved by virtue, but if we lose those virtues, our walls will totter,—how will it be possible to preserve them?" M'ang sun said, "What do you say, gentlemen, to these things? How can we go against [the words of] a man of such wisdom?" [The great officers] replied, "When Yu assembled the States on mount T'oo, there were 10,000 States whose princes bore their symbols of jade and offerings of silk. Of those there are not many tens which now remain,—through the great States not cherishing the small, and the small States not serving the great. If we know this expedition must be perilous to us, why should we not say so?" [M'ang-sun rejoined], "The virtue of Loo is the same as that of Choo, and is it proper that we should fall upon it with our [superior] numbers?" They were [all] displeased, and left the feast.

'In autumn, we invaded Choo, and when we had got as far as its Fan gate, [the viscount] was still listening to the sound of his bells. His great officers remonstrated with him, but he would not hearken to them. Ch'ing-tszew of Maou begged leave to carry information of their circumstances to Woo, but he would not grant it, saying, "The noise of the watchmen's rattles in Loo is heard in Choo, whereas Woo is 2,000 *le* off, and cannot come [to our relief] in less than 3 months. Of what avail can it be to us? and have we not sufficient resources in our State?" On this Ch'ing-tszew revolted with Maou, and our army then entered [the capital of] Choo, and occupied the viscount's palace. The troops all plundered during the day, and then the people took refuge on [mount] Yih. The troops [also] plundered during the night, and then returned, bringing Yih the viscount with them. He was presented before the altar of Poh, and imprisoned in Foo-h'ea, in consequence of which there is [in that neighbourhood] a [mount] Yih.

'E-hung (Ch'ing-tszew) of Maou went himself to ask assistance from Woo, carrying with him as offerings two ox-hides and a bundle of silks. "Loo," said he, "considering the weakness of Tsin and the distance of Woo, is confident in its own numbers, violates its covenant with your lordship, treats with contempt your officers, and so tyrannizes over our small State. Choo does not presume [to send to you] out of regard for itself, but it is afraid lest your lordship's majesty should not be maintained. The not maintaining of that is the subject of our small State's anxiety. If [Loo] may in the summer covenant with you in Ts'ang-yen, and in the autumn violate its engagements, if it accomplish what it seeks,

and no resistance [be offered to it]—how can the States of the four quarters be expected to serve your lordship? Moreover, the levies of Loo amount to 800 chariots,—the same as your own, while those of Choo are [only] 600, [as if it were] the private possession of your lordship. To give your private possession to a State which is your equal is a matter worth your lordship's consideration." The viscount of Woo was prevailed on by these representations.

The student will observe in this paragraph how the bringing a prisoner to Loo is described by 以來, while in many other paragraphs the carrying a prisoner to another State is described by 以歸.

Par 5, 6 Com par 1 The Chuen says — 'A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'au. Hwan Tsze-tszew of Ch'ing said, "If the people of Sung get Ts'au into their possession, it will be a bad thing for Ch'ing, we must on all accounts go and help Ts'au." Accordingly, in winter, an army of Ch'ing, to relieve Ts'au, made an incursion into Sung.

'Before this, a man of Ts'au dreamt that a number of gentlemen were standing in the temple [adjoining the] altar of the land, and consulting about the ruin of the State, and that [among them was] Shuh of Ts'au, Chin-toh (The first earl of Ts'au, a brother of King Woo), who begged them to wait till Kung-sun K'ang appeared,—and to this they agreed. In the morning, the man sought through the city for a person of this name, but there was no such individual. He warned his son, however, saying, "When I am dead, if you hear of the government's being in the hands of a Kung-sun K'ang, you must then leave the State."

'When Yang became earl of Ts'au, he was fond of hunting and bird-shooting. In the borders of the State there was a man [called] Kung-sun K'ang, who was [also] fond of bird-shooting, and having caught a white goose, presented it [to the earl], talking also with him all about hunting and bird-shooting. The earl was pleased with him, and went on to ask him about affairs of government. His answers afforded him great pleasure, and the man became a favourite, was made minister of Works, and the conduct of the government committed to him, on which the son of the dreamer took his departure. K'ang spoke to the earl all about his becoming leader of the States, and the earl followed his advice, revolting from Tsin, and breaking the peace with Sung. The people of Sung invaded the State, and Tsin gave it no help, so they built 5 cities in the borders of the capital,—Shoo-k'ew, Yih-k'ew, Ta-shing, Chung, and Yu.'

Eighth year

八年春，十一月，宋公入曹，以曹伯陽歸。吳伐我。夏，齊人取讙及闔。歸邾子益，邾邾。秋七月。冬，有月，癸亥，杞伯過卒。齊人歸讙及闔。

左傳曰：八年春，宋公伐曹，將還，褚師子肥賤，曹人賂之，不行。師待之，公聞之，怒，命反之。遂滅曹，執曹伯及司城強以歸，殺之。

吳爲邾故，將伐魯，問於叔孫輒。叔孫輒對曰：魯有名而無情，伐之必得志焉。退而告公，公山不狃曰：非禮也。君子違不適，魯國未臣而有伐之，奔命焉死之可也。所託也，則隱且夫人之行也不以所惡廢鄉。今子以小惡而欲覆宗國，不亦難乎？若使子率子必辭王，將使我子張病之王，問於子洸，對曰：魯雖無與立，必有與斃。諸侯將救之，未可以得志焉。晉與齊楚軼之，是四讐也。夫魯，齊晉之胥，脅亡齒寒，君所知也不救，何爲？三月，吳伐我，子洸率故道險從武城，初武城人或有因於吳，竟田焉，拘節人之區，督者曰：何故使吾水滋？及吳師至，拘者道之以伐武城，克之。王犯嘗爲之宰，滑盂子羽之父好焉，國人懼，懿子謂景伯若之，何對曰：吳師來斯與之戰，何申焉？且召之而至，又何求焉？吳師克東陽而進，舍於五梧，明日舍於蠶室，公賓庚公甲叔子與戰於夷，獲叔子與析朱鉏，獻於王。王曰：此同車，必使能國，未可望也。明日舍於庚宗，遂次於泗上，微虎欲宵攻王舍，私屬徒七百人，三踊於幕庭，卒三百人有若與焉。及稷門之內，或謂季孫曰：不足，以害吳而多殺國士，不如已也。乃止之。吳子聞之一夕三遷，吳人行成，將盟。景伯曰：楚人圍宋，易子而食，析骸而爨，猶無城下之盟，我行成將盟，景伯曰：楚人圍宋，易子而食，析骸而爨，猶無城下之盟，我



人及虧而有城下之盟，是棄國也。吳輕而遠，不能久。  
 將歸矣，請少待之。弗從。景伯負載造於萊門，乃請釋  
 了服何於吳？吳人許之。以上了姑曹當之而後止。吳  
 人盟而還。  
 齊悼公之來也，季康子以其妹妻之，即位而逆之。季  
 鮑侯通焉，女其情，弗敢與也。齊侯怒。夏五月，齊鮑  
 牧帥師伐我，取謹及闡。  
 或譖胡姬於齊侯，曰：「安孺子之黨也。」六月，齊侯殺  
 胡姬。  
 齊侯使如吳請師，將以伐我，乃歸邾子邾子又無道，  
 吳了使犬辛了餘討之，因諸樓臺，椿之以棘，使諸人  
 大本大了卑以為政。  
 秋，及齊平。九月，臧賓如如齊蒞盟，齊閭丘明來蒞  
 盟，目逆乎姬以歸。嬖  
 鮑牧又謂季康子曰：「使女有馬下乘乎？公了慙之，  
 公謂鮑了，或譖了了姑居於路以察之，若有之，則分  
 室以行，若無之，則反了之所出門，使以分之，行。  
 个道，使以乘及潞，墜之以入，遂殺之。  
 冬十二月，齊人歸謹及闡。季姬嬖故也。

- VIII 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Sung entered [the capital of] Ts'aou, and carried Yang, earl of Ts'aou, back with him to Sung.
- 2 Woo invaded us
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'e took Hwan and Chen
- 4 We sent back Yih, viscount of Choo, to his State
- 5 It was autumn, the seventh month
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kwo, earl of K'e, died.
- 7 The people of Ts'e returned Hwan and Chen

Par 1 The Chuen says — 'This spring, the duke of Sung attacked [the capital of] Ts'aou, and was withdrawing, while Tsze-fei, superintendent of the market-place, was bringing up the rear. Him the people of Ts'aou reviled so much that he halted. The [rest of the] army was waiting for him, and when the duke heard of the circumstance, he was angry, and ordered the troops to return to the attack. He then extinguished Ts'aou, laid hold of the earl and K'ëang the minister of Works, carried them back with him to Sung, and put them to death.'

The Chuen thus says expressly that Sung extinguished Ts'aou, with which the notice in the text would agree well enough, though it does not necessarily follow from what the text says that the House of Ts'aou was now extinguished. And in the time of Mencius we seem to find the State of Ts'aou still existing, — see

VI Pt II ii Perhaps, as some suppose, Sung now constituted it an "attached State" of its own, under the presidency of some other family.

Par 2 This is a sequel to the narrative under par 4 of last year. The Chuen says — 'Woo, being about to invade Loo in the interest of Choo, asked Shuh-sun Cheh (A refugee from Loo. See on XI xii 5, where it is said that Cheh and Kung-san Puh-new fled to Ts'e. They afterwards went to Woo) [about the enterprise]. Cheh replied, "Loo has the name [of being a great State], but not the reality. If you invade it, you are sure to get your will." When he retired [from his interview with the viscount], he told this to Kung-san Puh-new, who said, "You [spoke] improperly. When a superior man leaves his own State, he does not go to one that is as enemy with it. If he have not taken office in

that State and it be invading his native one, he may hurry away to do it service and die for it. Moreover a man is supposed not to forego his [attachment to his] village because of his [private] animosities; and is it not a hard case that you, on account of a small animosity should wish to overturn the State of your ancestors? If they [wish] you to lead the way for them, you must refuse and the king will then employ me." Tze-chang (Shuh-sun Chieh) was distressed about the matter.

The king then asked Tze-seeh (Kung-shan Puh ué) in the same way and he replied, "Al though Loo [seems to] have none to labour for its elevation, there are those who will be prepared to die for it. The other States will come to its relief and you cannot yet get your will with it. Tsin, Tse' and Ts'ao will help it and you will have 4 enemies to contend with. Lo is as it were the lips of Tse' and T'in. If the lips are destroyed, the teeth get cold—as your lordship knows. What should they do but come to its help?"

In the 3d month, Woo invaded us, Tze-seeh acting as guide to it and purposely leading [its army] by the most difficult path, past Woo-shing. But before this, some men of that city had been taking the opportunity to hunt on the borders of Woo, and had caught rudely a man of Tsang whom they found steeping rushes, blaming him for making their water dirty. When his army [of Woo] now arrived [in the neighbouring] the man who had been caught showed it the way to attack the city, so that it reduced it. Wang Fan (a refugee from Woo) was the commandant of Woo-shing, a friend of Tan t'ao Tze-yu's (The Tan t'ao t'ieh-nung of Ana. VI. xli) father and the people of the State were afraid of him, [thinking he might have delivered the city to Woo].

E-tze (Mang-sun Ho-ke) said to King ph "What is to be done?" and was answered, "When the army of Woo arrives, we must at once fight with it. Why be troubled about that? It is here, no, co, at our own call—what more would you seek for? The army of Woo [next] reduced Tang yang, from which advancing it halted at Woo-woo. Its stage next day was to Tsan-shih. Kung pin K'ang and Kung k'ieh shuh tze fought with it at E, when Shuh-tze and both Choo-t'ao were taken. When they were presented to the king he said, "These were in the same chariot, and must have been employed as being men of ability. I cannot yet expect to gain such a State. Next day the army advanced to K'ang tsung and halted at Sze-shang. There we Hoo wanted to attack the encampment at night, and privately collected 700 footmen whom he employed by making them take 8 jumps in the court before his tent, till their number was reduced to 300, among whom was Yé Joh (One of Confucius' disciples). When they had arrived inside the Teeth gate, some one said to Ke-sun, "They are not now to harm Woo, and we shall lose many officers by the attempt. It had better not be made." The minister accordingly stopped them; but when the viscount of Woo heard of the project, he removed his position thence in one night.

Woo [now] offered to make peace, and a covenant was about to be made. King ph said, "When the army of Ts'ao besieged [the capital of] Sung (In the 5th year of duke Benen), the people exchanged their children and ate them and gave the bones for fuel; and still they

would not submit to a covenant at the foot of their walls. For us, who have sustained no [great] loss, to do so, is to cast our State away. Woo is all for dispatch and is far from home. Its army cannot remain long and will soon be returning. Let us wait a little." This advice was not taken, and King ph carried on his back the tablets [of the covenant] to the Teeth gate. [Loo] then asked that Tze-fuh Ho (King ph) might not be required to go to Woo as its hostage, and this being agreed to, that the king's son, Koo-t'ao, might be [left in Loo] on the other side. [The proposal of hostages] was then abandoned. The people of Woo made the covenant, and withdrew.

Par 4. Hwan,—see II III. 6, 7 et al for 140

hero and below Kung-yang has 141 The city was like to the north-east of the pres. dia. city of Ning yang dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—When duke Tsao (Yang-shup) came (a fugitive to Loo) (In Gao's 5th year), he K'ang tze gave him his younger sister in marriage; and when he succeeded to the State he sent for her; but [by that time] Ke Fang how had had an intrigue with her. The lady told the truth and [K'ang tze] did not dare to send her [by the messenger], which enraged the marquis of Ts'ao and in summer in the 5th month, Ts'ao Shuh led a force, and invaded us, taking Hwan and Chen.

[The Chuen appends here some other matters about Ts'ao:—Some one slandered Hoo Ke (K'ao the Chuen on VI. 7 8), saying that she belonged to the party of the child Gan; and in the 6th month, the marquis of Ts'ao put her to death.]

Par 5. Loo here restores the viscount of Choo through fear of Woo and Ts'ao,—not to the advantage, as we shall see of that prince. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Ts'ao sent a messenger to Woo, begging [the assistance of] an army as he was intending to invade us. On this we restored the viscount of Choo, who, however now conducted himself in an improper manner [to Woo]. The viscount of that State, therefore, sent the grand administrator Tze-yu, to punish him. He was imprisoned in a room in a high tower which was fenced round with thorns; and Tze-yu then made all the great officers support the viscount's eldest son Kih in the administration of the State.

Par 6. [There are two brief narratives introduced here, both more or less relating to Tse.

1st. In autumn, we made peace with Ts'ao and Tsang pin-joo went to Ts'ao to make the covenant, while Leu K'w ming came to Loo for the same purpose on the part of Ts'ao. At the same time he received Ke Ke (Ke K'ang tze's sister), and carried her back with him. She became a favourite with the marquis.

2d. Paou Shuh went on to say to each of the marquis's brothers, "Shall I make you masters of a thousand chariots?" They complained of him and the duke said to him, "Some one has slandered you. Do you go for a time and reside in [the city of] Loo, till I examine into the matter. If the thing be true, you shall forfeit one half your property and can go to another State; and if it be not true, I will restore you to your place." As he was going out at the gate, the duke made him take only a third of his usual retinue. When he had got

half way, this was reduced to two chariots  
When he got to Loo, he was obliged to enter it  
in confinement, and shortly after the duke put  
him to death']

Par 7 Tso-she says that the return of these  
places to Loo was a consequence of the favour  
with which the daughter of K'ang-tsze was  
regarded by the marquis of Ts'e

*Ninth year.*

九年春王葬杞  
二月公薨  
三月宋皇瑗帥師取鄭師  
夏楚人伐陳陳即吳故也  
秋吳城邾溝通江淮  
冬十月公伐鄭

○左傳曰九年春齊侯使公子綽辭師於吳吳子曰昔歲寡人聞命今又弔之不知所從將進受命於君鄭武子賸之嬖許瑕水邑無以與之請外取許之故圍宋雍丘宋皇瑗圍鄭師旬日遷舍壘合鄭師哭姚救之人敗月甲戌宋取鄭師雍丘使有能者無死以邾張與鄭維歸  
夏楚人伐陳陳即吳故也  
宋公伐鄭  
○秋吳城邾溝通江淮  
○首趙鞅卜救鄭遇水適火占諸史趙史墨史龜史龜曰是謂沈陽可以興兵利以伐姜不利於商伐齊則可敵宋不占史墨曰盈水名也了水位也名位敵不可下也炎帝爲火師姜姓其後也水勝火伐姜則可史趙曰是謂如川之滿不可游也鄭方有罪不可救也救鄭則不占不知其他陽虎以周易筮之遇余之需曰宋方吉不可與也微了啟帝乙之元了也宋鄭甥舅也社祿也君帝乙之元了歸妹而有子祿我安得吉焉乃止  
○冬吳了使來儆師伐齊

- IX- 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke He of K'e  
2 Hwang Yuen of Sung led a force and captured an army of Ch'ing at Yung-k'ew  
3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.  
4 In autumn, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing.  
5 It was winter, the tenth month

Par 1 The interment of duke He thus took place in the 3d month after his death. There must have been some reason for the haste.

[The Chuen gives here a narrative preparatory to Woo's attack of T's next year:— This spring the marquis of T's sent Kung-niung Ch'ih to decline the services of the army [of which he had requested the aid] from Woo. The viscount of Woo said, "Let year I received your 30000 and now you reverse them I do not know which to follow. I will advance and receive my orders [direct] from your ruler."]

Par 2 Yang k'ew was in Sung—in the princ. dis. of K'uei (杞), dep. K'uei-fung. The Chuen says:— Iseu Iseu, a favourite of Wootze Ying (Han Tah), asked for a city; and there being none to give him, he asked leave to take one from another State. This was granted, and he laid siege in consequence to Yang k'ew of Sung. [There] Hwang Yuen of Sung besieged the army of Ch'ing every day moving forward his lines, till the intrenchments of the two armies touched. That of Ch'ing wept [in distress]. Tze-yao (Han-tah), who attempted to relieve it, received a great defeat; and in the 3d month, on K'uei seah, Sung took it at Yang k'ew. Hwang Yuen directed that the men of ability [among the prisoners] should not be put to death, and took K'uei Chang and Ch'ing Lo back with him.

Maou calls in question this narrative of the Chuen, which certainly does not seem to carry on it the stamp of veridicality. He thinks the historical facts may simply have been that Han Tah now made an expedition into Sung in retaliation for that related in VII. 1 and received a severe defeat at Yang k'ew. The

取 in the text would seem to imply the capture of his army. See Tso's canon about the meaning of 取 in such a case on II. 21. 2:— 取

而敗之曰取某師. Such a defeat is compared in the explanation of Tso's canon to the taking a flock of birds in a net;—as if 取 were to be read for 取 in the 3d tone.

Par 3. Tso says the reason of this invasion was because Ch'in had gone over to Woo. Tsoo had certainly done its utmost to relieve Ch'in, when that State was attacked by Woo in the duke's 6th year; but as the death of king Ch'ao had rendered a retreat necessary Woo had remained master of the field, and Ch'in had, no doubt, been obliged to submit to its terms. To punish it for this would seem to be hard treatment.

Par 4. Not content with the capture of its army Sung now carries the war into Ch'ing.

[The Chuen introduces here two notices. The 1st is brief but important, in connexion with the labours of subsequent dynasties to effect a communication by water between the K'ang and the northern regions. It would require a dissertation to discuss it fully. This autumn, Woo walled Han (The present Yangchow), and thence formed by a channel a communication between the K'ang and the Hwai.]

"I relating how Tsin gave up the possession of relieving Ch'ing. Ch'ao Yang consulted the tortoise-shell about relieving Ch'ing and got the indication of fire meeting with water. He asked an explanation of it from the historiographers Chiam, Miih, and Kwel. Kwel said, "This is called quenching the Yang (Light, or fire). [On the strength of this] you may commence hostilities—with advantage against K'ang (T'ao), but not against Tze-shang (Sung). You may [on this] attack T'ao; but if you oppose Sung the result will be unlucky." Miih said, Ying (盈) said to be the surname

of Ch'ao Yang) is a name of water. Tze (子 the surname of Sung) is in the position of water. To put the name and the position in antagonism is not to be attempted. The emperor Yen (Shin-nung) had his fire-master from whom the House of K'ang is descended. Water overcomes fire. According to this you may attack the K'ang." Chiam said, "We may say of this that we have indicated the full channel of a stream, which cannot be swum through. Ch'ing is now an offender [against Tsin], and ought not to be relieved. If you go to assist Ch'ing the result will be unlucky. This is all that I know."

Yang Hoo consulted the reeds on the principles of the Yih of Chow about the subject, and found the diagram T'ao (泰, ☰ over ☷), which then became the diagram Hui (否, ☷ over ☰). "Here," said he, "luck is with Sung. We must not engage [in conflict] with it. K'uei the viscount of Wei (The first duke of Sung), was the eldest son of Tze-yih; there have been intermarriages between Sung and Ch'ing. The happiness [in the legend of the changed line] denotes dignity. If the eldest son of Tze-yih by the marriage of his sister has good fortune and dignity how can we have good fortune [in an expedition against Sung]? [The purpose of helping Ch'ing] was accordingly abandoned."

[Then I a brief notice here connected with Woo's determination to attack T'ao:— In winter the viscount of Woo sent a message requiring our army to be in readiness to invade T'ao.]

Tenth year

夏陽戌，一伐公會邾。宋牛齊月，齊會。人卒侯戊，吳益。年，春。

伐鄭。<sup>五章</sup> 趙鞅帥師侵齊。<sup>六章</sup> 五月，公至自伐齊。<sup>七章</sup> 葬齊悼公。<sup>八章</sup> 衛公孟彊自齊歸。<sup>九章</sup> 丁衛。<sup>十章</sup> 薛伯夷卒。<sup>十一章</sup> 秋，葬薛惠公。<sup>十二章</sup> 冬，楚公子結帥師伐陳，吳救陳。

左傳曰：十年春，邾隱公來介。齊甥也，故遂介齊。公會吳了，邾了，邾了，伐齊南鄙。師於鄆，齊人弑悼公，赴於師。吳了，日哭於軍門之外。徐承帥舟師，將自海入齊，齊人敗之。吳師乃還。夏，趙鞅帥師伐齊，人大請卜之。趙孟曰：「台卜於此，起兵，事不再令，卜不襲吉，行也。」於是乎取稔，及轅，毀高唐之郭，侵及賴而還。○秋，吳了使來復，儆師。冬，楚了期伐陳，吳延州來季了救陳，謂了期曰：「君不務德，而力爭諸侯，以何罪焉？我請退，以爲了名，務德而安民。」乃還。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Yih, viscount of Choo, came a fugitive to Loo.  
 2 The duke joined Woo in invading Ts'e  
 3 In the third month, on Mow-seuh, Yang-säng, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
 4 In summer, a body of men from Sung invaded Ch'ing.  
 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'e  
 6 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
 7 There was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'e  
 8 Kung-mäng K'ow of Wei returned from Ts'e to Wei.  
 9 E, earl of Seeh, died.  
 10 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Seeh.  
 11 In winter, the Kung-tsze Keeh of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in, when Woo went to the relief of Ch'in.

Par 1 The Chuen says — 'This spring, duke Yin of Choo came a fugitive, to Loo. Being the son of a daughter of [the House of] Ts'e, he went on to flee to that State.' Yih must have escaped from the tower in which he was confined by order of Woo (See on VIII 4). His taking refuge in Loo showed, says K'au K'ang, how

shameless he was. Maou thinks that he did it to excite again the enmity of Woo against Loo, but perhaps it was the only step he could take in order to get to Ts'e.

Parr 2, 3, 6. The Chuen says — 'The duke joined the viscounts of Woo, Choo (This must be the son of Yih. See VIII 4), and T'an, and

invaded the south border of T'ê. Their army was encamped at Seih, when the people of T'ê murdered duke Taou, and sent word to it [of his death], on which the viscount of Woo wept for 3 days outside the gate of the camp. [At the same time] Sou Shing was conducting a fleet along the coast intending with it to enter T'ê, but it was defeated by the men of T'ê, and on this the army of Woo withdrew. There seems no good reason to question the account of the death of the marquis of T'ê given by Tao-she. Too supposes that the 4,000 from T'ê stated that he died from illness; and the text therefore follows that official announcement. This also may have been the case—comp. IX. vii. 10 and the Chuen upon it. Woo Ch'ing, however, and others deny the account in the Chuen, thinking it very unlikely that a great State like T'ê would suddenly murder its prince to avert the danger of an invasion with which it was well able to cope. They forget that that invasion was just the thing that the Ch'in family would lay hold of to further their designs against the House of K'ang.

Par 4. See on par 4 of last year.

Par 5. The Chuen says:—The great officers begged him to consult the tortoise-shell about this expedition, but Chao-ming said, "I did do so, and thereon am putting the troops in motion (See the narr after par 4 of last year). Things must not be twice referred to the tortoise-shell; when you get a fortunate answer the divination must not be repeated." On this they set forth, and he took Lo and Yuen threw down the walls of the suburbs of K'ao t'ang made an incursion as far as Lao, and returned. This account of the Chuen is praised by 晉趙鞅帥師伐齊, the words of the text, excepting that

we have 伐 instead of 伐. Upon this many of the critics say that Yang did thus really make an open attack on T'ê, invading it, but in the text the invasion is reduced to an incursion; and in this misrepresentation of the fact they find the sage's commendation of Ts'in for taking advantage of the death of the marquis of T'ê to invade his State! This is surely a strange method of exalting the character of Confucius.

Par 8. K'ow in the 14th year of duke Ting (XI. xiv. 12) fled to Ch'ing a partizan of Kwae-wae, and from Ch'ing he had gone on to T'ê. Perhaps he had deserted the party of Kwae-wae, and was now restored by T'ê to Wei. We find him, in the 15th year when Kwae-wae regains the State flying again to T'ê.

Par 9 10. For 夷 Kung-yang has 寅 [The Chuen appends a brief note here to the effect that this autumn the viscount of Woo sent another message to Loo to have its army ready for the field]

Par 11 The Chuen says—In winter Tze-k'ê of T'ao invaded Ch'in (See on par 3 of last year). he-tze of Yen and Chow lao (Supposed to be Ke-chah, the youngest son of Shou mung of Woo who died in the 14th year of K'ang. See the Chuen after IX. xiv. 1 et al. Chah could not now be less than 90 years old) went to relieve Ch'in, and said to Tze-k'ê, "Our two rulers do not endeavour to display virtue but are striving by force for the supremacy of the States. Of what offence have the people been guilty? Allow me to retire; it will be to the credit of your name, as endeavouring to show a virtuous kindness and seeking the tranquillity of the people." On this [both parties] withdrew [from Ch'in].

### Eleventh year

衛世叔齊出奔宋。冬，有月，外滕隱公。秋，七月，辛酉，滕子虞川。齊國書。戰，丁巳，陵，齊師敗績，獲甲戌，齊國書帥師及吳。九月，公會吳伐齊。夏，陳轅頗出奔鄭。師伐我。有年，春，齊國書帥。

左傳曰：「十一年春，齊爲郕故，國書高無不帥師伐我，及清。子孫謂其寧用求曰：『齊師在清，必魯故也。』若之何？求曰：『了了，了從公禦諸寬。』季孫曰：『不能求。』居封疆之間。季孫告了，了不可求。曰：『若不可，則君無出。』了帥師，背城而戰，不屬者，非魯人也。魯之羣宰，衆於齊之兵車，宰敵車，優矣。了何患焉？了之不欲戰也，官政在季氏，當了之身，齊人伐魯，而不能戰，了之恥也。人不列於諸侯矣。季孫使從於朝，俟於黨氏之溝。武叔呼而問戰焉，對曰：『君了有遠慮，小人何知？』懿了強問之，對曰：『小人慮材而量，力而具者也。』武叔曰：『是謂我不成丈夫也。』退而蒐乘。孟孺了洩帥右師，顏羽御，邴洩爲右，冉求帥左師，管周父御，樊遲爲右。季孫曰：『須也弱，有了就，就用命焉。』季氏之甲七千，冉有以武城人自爲，曰：『徒卒老幼守宮，次於雩門之外。』十日，右師從之。公叔務人見保者而泣，曰：『事充政重，上不能謀，下不能死，何以治民？』台既之矣，敢不勉乎？師及齊師戰於郊，齊師自稷曲，師不踰溝，樊遲曰：『非不能也，不信了也。』請刻而踰之。如之衆從之，師入齊軍，右師介，齊人從之。陳瓘陳莊，涉泗，孟之側後入，以爲殿，抽矢策其馬，曰：『馬不進也。』林不狽之伍曰：『走乎？』不狽曰：『誰不如？』然則止乎？不狽曰：『惡賢，徐步而死。』師獲甲首八十一，齊人不能師，宵諜曰：『齊人遁。』冉有請從之。季孫弗許。孟孺了詔人曰：『我不如顏羽，而賢於邴洩，了必銳敏，我不欲戰，而能默，洩曰：『驅之。』公爲與其嬖僮，汁錡乘皆死，皆殯。孔了曰：『能執干戈以衛社稷，可無殤也。』冉有用矛於齊師，故能入其軍，孔了曰：『義也。』夏，陳轅頗出奔鄭。初，轅頗爲司徒，賦封田以嫁公女，有餘，以爲口人器。國人逐之，故出。道渴，其族轅咺進稻醴，梁糗臠脯焉。喜曰：『何其給也。』對曰：『器成而具，口何不諫？』對曰：『懼先行。』爲郊戰故，公會吳了伐齊。五月，克博，千甲至於贏。中軍從，一皆門巢將上軍，了姑曹將下軍，展如將右軍。齊國書將中軍，高無不將上軍，宗樓將下軍。陳僖了謂其弟書爾死，我必得志。宗了陽與閭丘明相厲也。桑掩胥御國了，公孫夏曰：『了必死。』將戰，公孫夏命其徒歌虞殯，陳了行命其徒具舍，公孫揮命其徒曰：『人尋約，吳

癸短東郭書曰三戰必死於此三矣使問弦多以琴曰吾不復見子矣既得曰此行也吾聞鼓而已不聞金矣甲戌戰于艾陵展如敗高子國子敗晉門畢王卒助之大敗齊師獲國書公孫夏閭丘明陳書東郭書革車八百乘甲首三千以獻於公將戰吳子呼叔孫曰而事何也對曰從司馬王賜之甲劍鉞曰奉爾君事敬無廢命叔孫未能對衛賜進曰州仇秦甲從君而拜公使大史固歸國子之元與之新篋與之以玄纁加組帶焉其書於其上曰天若不識不更何以使下國

○吳將伐齊越子率其眾以朝焉王及列士皆有饋賂吳人皆喜唯子胥曰是祭吳也夫諫曰越在我心腹之疾也壤地同而有欲於我夫其柔服求濟其欲也不如早從事焉得志於齊猶獲石田也無所用之越才爲沼吳其民矣使醫除疾而曰必遺類焉者未之有也盤庚之誥曰其有顛越不共則劓殄無遺育無俾易種於茲邑是商所以興也今君易之將以求大不亦難乎弗聽使於齊屬其子於鮑氏爲王孫氏反役王聞之便賜之屬鏹以死將死曰樹吾墓槨槨可材也吳其亡乎三年其始弱矣盈必毀天之道也

○秋季孫命修守備曰小勝大禍也齊至無日矣

冬衛犬叔疾出奔宋初疾娶於宋子朝其婦嬖子朝出孔文子使疾出其妻而娶之疾使侍人誘其初妻之婦寘於犂而爲之一宮如二妻文子怒欲攻之仲尼止之遂奪其妻或淫於外州外州人奪之軒以獻是二者故出衛人立遣使室孔結疾臣向魋納美珠焉與之城鉏宋公求珠魋不與由是得罪及桓氏出城鉏人攻犬叔疾衛莊公復之使處巢死焉殯於邱葬於少禘初管悼公子慙亡在衛使其女僕而田犬叔懿子止而飲之酒遂聘之生悼子悼子卽位故夏戊爲大夫悼子亡衛人前夏戊孔文子之將攻犬叔也訪於仲尼仲尼曰胡簋之事則管學之矣甲兵之事未之聞也是命怨而行曰島則擇木木豈能擇鳥文子遽止之曰圍豈敢度其私訪衛國之難也將止魯人以幣召之乃歸





The army of the Right, however, took to flight, and was pursued by the men of T'ao. Ch'in Kwan and Ch'in Chwang crossed the River [in the pursuit]. Many Ch'ien-shih was the last to enter [the city], and when it was thought that he was defending the rear he took an arrow and whipt up his horses, saying, "They would not advance (See Ana VI xlii)." The file in which Lin P'ui-shih was proposed to fly, but he said, "For whom are we not a match?" "Then," said the others, "shall we stay?" He answered "That would not be an act of much worth." They then moved slowly away and all died.

The army [of the Left] captured 80 of the men-at-arms, and the men of T'ao could not keep their order. A spy brought word at night that their army was retreating, and Jen Yeh-thien asked leave to pursue it, but Kung-sun would not permit him. The younger Ming said to some one, "I was not equal to Yen Yu, but I was better than Ping K'eh. T'ao-yu was full of spirit and earnestness. I did not want to fight but I could be silent. K'eh said, Give the reins to the horses, [and flee]."

Kung-wel (Duke Ch'ao's son), and his favourite youth Wang Li, both died, and were both put into coffins. Confucius said [of the youth] "As he could hold spear and shield in the defence of our altars, he may be buried without abatement of ceremonies because of his youth."

Jen Yeh used the spear against the army of T'ao, and so was able to penetrate it. Confucius said, "That was righteous [courage]."

According to the above narrative this must have been a very scrambling fight. Yet a battle there was, and we may be surprised that the text does not say so. The advantage also was upon the whole with Loo, but neither for some reason, did the sage think it proper to state this. Twenty-one invasions of Loo are recorded in the Classic, but only here and in Par 3 of the 8th year is it explicitly said that So-and-so invaded us. In the other passages the border of Loo on which the invasion was made is specified. The reason of the peculiar phraseology may be that in both cases the enemy approached the capital itself, and attacked the very heart of the State.

Par 2. For 輶 Kung yang has 袁 The Chuen says:—Before this, Yuen P'ao, being minister of Instruction, levied a tax on the lands of the State, to supply the [expenses of] marrying one of the duke's daughters; and there being more than was necessary he used the residue to make some large articles for himself in consequence of which the people drove him out of the State. Being thirsty on the way one of his clan, Yuen Hsien, set before him rice, sweet spirits, parched grain and slices of dried spiced meat. Delighted, he asked him how he had such a supply and Hsien replied that he had provided them when the articles were completed. Why did you not remunerate him me? said P'ao. "I was afraid that, [if I did], I should have to go first," was the reply.

Par 3. The Chuen says:—In consequence of the battle of the suburbs, the duke joined the viscount of Woo in invading T'ao. In the 5th month, they reduced Poh; and on Jiu-shih,

arrived at Ying. The army of the centre followed the king; Sen mun Ch'ao (I.e., Ch'ao of the Sen gate) commanded the 1st army; and the king's son, Koo-t'ao, the 2d while [on the part of Loo], Chien Joo commanded the army of the Right. On the side of T'ao, Kwoh Shoo commanded the army of the centre; Kaou Woot'pei, the 1st army; and Tsung Low the 3d.

Ch'in Ho-tse said to his younger brother Shoo, You die and I shall [then] get my will." Tsung Tse-yang (Low) and L'ow k'ew Ming stimulated each other [to fight to the death]. Sang Yen-seu drove Kwoh Tse (Kwoh Shoo), and the Kung-sun H'ea said to them, "You must both [be prepared to] die." When they were about to engage, Kung-sun H'ea ordered his men to sing the funeral song, and Ch'in Tse-hing ordered his to be provided with the gems for the mouth (Used in burying). Kung-sun H'way ordered each of his men to carry a string 8 cubits long because the men of Woo wore their hair short. Tung Kwoh-shoo said, "In 3 battles a man is sure to die. This will be my third. He then sent his late to Hsien To with a message that he would not see him again. Ch'in Shoo said, "In this engagement I will bear the drum only (The signal for advance); I will not bear the gong (The signal for retreat)."

On K'eh-seuh, the battle was fought at E-ling. Chien Joo defeated Kaou tse kwoh tse defeated Sen mun Ch'ao, but the king then went to Ch'ao's help, and the army of T'ao received a great defeat. Kwoh Shoo, Kung-sun H'ea, L'ow k'ew Ming, Ch'in Shoo, and Tung kwoh Shoo, were all taken along with 800 chariots of war and 8000 men-at-arms and these were all presented to the duke.

Just as they were about to engage, the viscount of Woo called Woo-shuh to him, and asked him what duty he had to do. He replied "Whatever the marshal orders." The viscount then gave him a buff-coat, a sword, and a long spear saying "Discharge your duty to your ruler. Be brave, and do not neglect his commands. Shuh-sun was not able to reply; but T'ao of Wei (Tse-kung) advanced to him, and said, "Chow k'ew take up the buff-coat, follow the viscount, and make your acknowledgments to him."

The duke made the grand-historiographer Koo send back the head of Kwoh tse [to T'ao]. It was placed in a new casket, laid upon some folds of dark silk, with strings upon it. On the casket was written, "If Heaven had not known that he was not sincere, how should he have been sent to our inferior State?"

[The Chuen appends here a narrative to show the danger that was threatening Woo amidst its apparent success:—When Woo was about to attack T'ao, the viscount of Yueh came with a large retinue to its court, and the king and all the officers about the court received gifts and bribes. The people of Woo were all delighted, but Tse-seu was afraid, and said to himself that this was feeding Woo [for the shambles]. He then remonstrated saying "While Yueh exists, we have a disease in our vitals. Its land and ours are of the same character and it has designs against us. By its mildness and submission it is trying to further those designs. Our best plan is first to take measures against it. You may get your will (if

Ts'e, but that is like getting a stony field, which can be of no use. If [the capital of] Yuch be not reduced to a lake, Woo will perish. There never was such a thing as employing a doctor to cure a disease, and telling him to leave some of it. In the Announcement of Pwan-k'ang it is said (Shoo, IV vii Pt ii 16), 'If there be those who are precipitously or carelessly disobedient to my orders, I will cut off their noses or exterminate them, and leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this city.' It was in this way that Shang rose to prosperity. You are now pursuing a different method, but will you not find it difficult to gain the greatness thereby for which you seek?"

'The viscount would not listen to him, and sent him on a mission to Ts'e. There he entrusted his son to the care of the Head of the Paou family, and changed his surname to Wang-sun. When the king heard of this, on his return from his expedition [against Ts'e], he caused the sword Chuli-leu to be given him to kill himself with. When he was about to die, he said, "Plant lēa trees by my grave. The lēa furnishes wood [for coffins]. Woo is likely [soon] to perish. In 3 years it will begin to be weak. When anything has reached its fulness, it is sure to go on to be overthrown. This is the way of Heaven."'

Par 5 [The Chuen introduces a brief notice here — 'This autumn, Ke-sun gave orders to put all the defences of the State in good repair, saying, "When a small State vanquishes a great one, it is a calamity. Ts'e will be here any day."']

Par 7 The Chuen says — 'In winter T'ae-shuh Tsih (She-shuh Ts'e) of Wei fled from that State to Sung. Before this, Tsih had married a daughter of Tsze-chaou of Sung, but one of her cousins [who had followed her to the harem] was his favourite. But when Tsze-chaou left the State (Probably in Gae's 2d year), K'ung Wān-tsze made Tsih put away his wife, and marry a daughter of his own. Tsih, however, made one of his attendants induce the cousin of Tsih's former wife to come to him, and placed her in Le, where he built a palace for her, so that he had, as it were, two wives. Wān-tsze was angry, and wanted to attack him, but Confucius stopped him from doing this. However, he took his wife away. Tsih having an intrigue with some lady in Wae-chow, the people of that place took away from him his carriage by force, and presented it [to the marquis]. Disgraced by these two things he left the State. In Wei, they appointed [his brother] E in his place, and made him take K'ung K'eih (Wān-tsze's daughter) as his wife.

'Tsih became [in Sung] an officer of Heang Tuy, and presented him with a beautiful pearl,

on which the [city of] Shing-ts'oo was given to him. The duke of Sung asked for the pearl, and Tuy, refusing to give it to him, was held to be an offender, and when he was obliged to leave the State, the people of Shing-ts'oo attacked T'ae-shuh Tsih. [After this], however, duke Chwang recalled him to Wei, and assigned him a residence in Ch'aou, where he died. He was confined at Yun, and buried at Shaou-te.

'At an earlier period, when Yin, son of duke Taou of Tsai, became a refugee in Wei, he made his daughter drive his chariot when he went to hunt. T'ae-shuh K-tsze detained them to drink with him, and asked the lady in marriage. The fruit of their union was Taou-tze (Tsih). When he succeeded to his father (As minister), Hēa Mow (Probably a son of Yin) was made a great officer, and when he fled from the State, the people of Wei deprived Mow of his city.

'When K'ung Wān-tsze was intending to attack T'ae-shuh, he consulted Chung-ne, who said to him, "I have learned all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not heard about buff-coats and weapons (Comp Ana XV 1)," and on retiring, he ordered his carriage to be yoked, and prepared for his departure from the State, saying, "The bird chooses its tree, the tree does not choose the bird." Wān-tsze hurriedly endeavoured to detain him, saying, "How should I dare to be considering my private concerns? I was consulting you with reference to the troubles of the State." He was about to stay, when messengers from Loo arrived with offerings to invite him there, and he returned [to his native State].'

[There is here appended a note about a project of Ke-sun's for a re-arrangement of the taxation of Loo — 'Ke-sun wanted to lay a tax upon the lands, and sent Jen Yēw to ask Chung-ne about the subject, who replied that he did not know about it. This was his answer thrice given to inquiries pressed upon him. At last [Ke-sun sent] to say, "You are an old officer of the State. I am now waiting for your opinion to act, — how is it that you will not give expression to it?" Chung-ne gave no reply, but he said privately to Jen Yēw, "The conduct of a superior man is governed by the rules of propriety. In his benefactions, he prefers to be liberal, in affairs [of government], he seeks to observe the right Mean, in his taxation, he tries to be light. According to this, the contribution required by the l'ēw ordinance (See on VIII 1 4) is sufficient. If [Ke-sun] be not governed by the rules of propriety, but by a covetous daring and insatiableness, though he enact this taxation of the lands, it will still not be enough. If you and Ke-sun wish to act according to the laws, there are the statutes of the duke of Chow still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?" His advice was not listened to.']

## Twelfth year

一有年春用

田賦。

夏十月甲辰子

卒。

公會吳于橐皋。

秋公會衛侯宋

皐瑗于鄆。

宋向巢帥師伐

鄭。

冬一有月螽。

左傳曰十二年春王正月用田賦

夏五月昭夫人孟子卒昭公娶於吳故不書姓死不赴故不稱夫人不反哭故不書葬小君孔子與甲適季氏季氏不絕放經而拜

公會吳于橐皋吳子使犬宰歸請尋盟公不欲使子貢對曰盟所以周信也故心以制之玉帛以奉之言以結之明神以要之寡君以爲苟有盟焉弗可改也已若猶可改日盟何益今吾子曰必尋盟若可尋也可可寒也乃不尋盟

吳徵會於衛初衛人殺吳行人且姚而懼謀於行人子羽子羽曰吳方無道舞乃辱吾君不如止也子木曰吳方無道國無道必乘疾於人吳雖無道猶足以患衛往也長木之斃無不禦也國狗之瑣無不噬也而況大國乎秋衛侯會吳于鄆公及衛侯宋皐瑗盟而卒辭吳盟吳人藩衛侯之舍子服景伯謂子貢曰夫諸侯之會事既畢矣侯伯致禮地主歸餼以相辭也今吳不行禮於衛而藩其君舍以耀之子盍見犬宰乃請東歸以行語及衛故犬宰語曰寡君願事衛君衛君之來也緩寡君懼故將止之子貢曰衛君之來必謀於其衆其衆或欲或否是以緩來其欲來者子之黨也其不欲來者子之讐也若執衛君是墮黨而崇讐也夫墮子者得其志矣且合諸侯而執衛君誰敢不懼墮黨崇讐而懼諸侯或者難以霸乎犬宰歸詭乃舍衛侯衛侯歸效夷言子之尙幼曰君必不免其死於夷乎執焉

而又說其言從之  
固矣。宋鄭之有隙地  
焉。曰彌作頃丘。卜  
暢。邑戈錫了。產與  
宋人爲成。曰勿有  
是。及宋平。元之族  
自蕭奔鄭。鄭人爲  
之城。邑戈錫九月。  
宋向巢伐鄭。取錫。  
殺元公之孫。遂圍  
品。品。內。中。月。鄭罕達  
救。品。內。中。月。鄭罕達  
冬。一。月。螽。季孫  
問諸仲尼。仲尼曰。  
丘聞之。火伏而後  
蟄者。里。今火猶西  
流。司歷過也。

- XII 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, he imposed a tax upon the lands  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Keah-shin, Mäng Tsze died  
3 The duke had a meeting with Woo in T'oh-kaou.  
4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Wei and Hwang Yuen of Sung in Yun  
5 Heang Ch'aou of Sung led a force, and invaded Ch'ing  
6 In winter, in the twelfth month, there were locusts

Par 1 It were to be wished that Tso-she had given us the particulars of this enactment, and the paragraph has been and is a *locus verus* to the critics. Kuh-leang seems to think it was the exaction of a second tithe of the produce of the lands, but we have seen that that was required by duke Seuen in his 15th year (See on VII xv 8), and from the Ana XII ix, we learn that at this time the regular revenue of the government consisted of two tenths of the produce, of which Gae complained as being insufficient. Too thinks the new law was an alteration of the K'ew and buff coat ordinance of duke Ch'ing (See on VIII 1 4), and he is probably correct, but whether it required 2 horses and 6 oxen instead of 1 horse and 3 oxen, as he thinks, we cannot tell. Indeed our information about Ch'ing's ordinance is far from being certain and exact. The distinction however, between 稅 and 賦 should here be pressed, the former denoting the general contribution of the produce of the land, and the latter the contribution for military purposes. The land was now burdened in some way with some contribution to the military levies of the State. The student may consult the 國語, Pt II. ii. Art 18, where there is another version of the narrative at the end of last year, but it does not throw light on the nature of the ordinance in the text.

Par 2 This Mäng Tsze had been the wife of duke Ch'aou, and should be mentioned as Mäng Ke, and not Mäng Tsze as if she had belonged to the House of Sung. From the Ana VII xxx., it appears that Ch'aou had himself called her 'Mäng Tsze,' to conceal the offence which he had committed against the

rules of propriety in marrying a lady of the same surname as himself. The historiographers and Confucius conceal the offence in the same way in the text. There is no record of her burial, because then it would have been necessary to give the surname, and the lie would have been more conspicuous than it is here, or it may be, as Tso-she seems to intimate, that Ke K'ang-tsze carried out his father's hostility to duke Ch'aou, and prevented the regular ceremonies from being observed at Mäng Ke's burial.

The Chuen says — 'In the 5th month, Mäng Tsze, wife of duke Ch'aou, died. He had married a daughter of Woo, and therefore her [proper] surname is not given. Notice of her death was not sent to the various States, and therefore she is not called his "wife"'. The ceremony of weeping on returning from her burial was not observed, and therefore the burial of her as the duchess is not recorded. Confucius was present at the ceremony of condolence, and [then] went to Ke-she's. Ke-she did not wear a mourning cap, on which Confucius put off his head-band, and so they bowed to each other.'

Par 3 T'oh-kaou was a city of Woo, — 60 *le* northwest from the present city of Ch'aou (巢), dep. Leu-chow (廬州), Gan-hwuy. The Chuen says — 'At this meeting, the viscount of Woo sent his grand-administrator P'ei to request that the covenant (Between Woo and Loo, see on VIII 2) might be renewed. The duke did not wish this, and sent Tsze-kung to reply, saying, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. Therefore its conditions are first determined according to the mind of the parties,

gems and offerings of silk are presented with it (to the Spirits); it is summarily expressed in words, and an appeal is made to the spirits to bind it. Our ruler considers that if a covenant be once made it cannot be changed. If it can be changed, of what advantage would a covenant every day be? You now say that the covenant must be made hot again but if it can be made hot, it may also be made cold. Accordingly the covenant was not renewed.

[Throughout the Chuen, the renewal of a covenant is commonly expressed by 齊盟]

This usage of 齊 is explained by 溫 to warm. The above narrative illustrates the significance of the term.]

Par 4 Yun was in Woo,—in the east of the present dia. of Joo-kaon, T'ang Chow (通州), Kiang soo.

The Chuen says:—Woo summoned Wei to attend a meeting; but before it the people of Wei had put to death Tseu Yaou, a messenger of Woo, and they were now afraid. Consulting about the matter with Tze-yu, a messenger of their own, he said, "Woo is now pursuing an unprincipled course, and is sure to disgrace our ruler. The best plan will be for him not to go." Tze-muh, however, said, "Woo indeed is now pursuing an unprincipled course but a State which does so is sure to vent its hatred on others. Although Woo have no principle it is still able to distress Wei. Let our ruler go. When a tall tree falls it strikes all within its range; when there is a mad dog in the city he bites every body [whom he meets]; how much more will a great State [like Woo, do violent things]!"

In autumn, the marquises of Wei had a meeting with Woo in Yun. The duke made a covenant [privately] with the marquises of Wei and Hwang Yuen; and in the end, they declined a covenant with Woo. The men of Woo having enclosed the encampment of the marquises of Wei, Tze-fuh K'ing said to Tze-kung "The princes have met and their business is completed. The presiding prince has discharged his ceremonies, and the lord of the ground has contributed his animals;—they have performed their compliances to one another. But now Woo is not behaving with ceremony to Wei, and has enclosed the encampment of its ruler putting him in difficulties. Why should you not go and see the grand administrator about it?" [Tze-kung] accordingly asked for a packet of embroidered silks, and went to see the grand administrator Pei, making the conversation turn to the affairs of Wei. Pei said, "My ruler wished to do service to the ruler of Wei, but the latter came to the meeting late. My ruler is afraid, and therefore intends to detain him." Tze-kung said, "The ruler of Wei must have taken counsel about coming to the meeting with all his [officers]. Some of them would wish him to come, and others would object; and in this way his arrival was late. Those who wished him to come would be your partisans, and those who wished him not to come would be your enemies. If you seize the ruler of Wei, you will be overthrowing your partisans and exalting your enemies; and [those] whom you would overthrow you will get their will. Moreover if, having assembled the States, you seize

the ruler of Wei, what prince is there but will be frightened? Let me suggest that Woo will find it difficult to get the presidency of the States by overthrowing its partisans, exalting its enemies and frightening the princes. The grand-administrator was pleased and the marquise of Wei was in consequence let go. When he returned to Wei he initiated the speech of the rude people of the east (I.e. of Woo). Tze-chi (The Hung sun Me-mow or Wan tze; (公孫彌牟 文子), who was still quite young said "The ruler will not escape (an evil fate). He is likely to die among those eastern people. Though they seized him he is pleased with their speech—he must be firmly bent on following them."

Par 5. The Chuen says—Between Sung and Ch'ing there was a tract of neutral ground [containing 6 hamlets], called Mo-tsoh, K'ing-k'ew Yuh-ch'ang Yen, Ko, and Yang concerning which Tze-ch'an and the people of Sung had made an agreement, that neither of them should have it. When the families descended from [dukes] P'ing and Yuen of Sung fled from K'ao to Ch'ing (In the 11th year of T'ing), the people of Ch'ing walled for them Yen, ho, and Yang [now]. In the 6th month, H'ang Ch'ao of Sung attacked Ch'ing took Yang where he killed the grandson of duke Yuen, and then laid siege to Yen. In the 14th month, Han Tai of Ch'ing proceeded to relieve Yen, and on P'ing shih, he had the army of Sung surrounded in a State of siege.

Maow is very doubtful of the accuracy of this narrative.

Par 6. 公孫彌牟 asked Chung-ue about this phenomenon, who replied, "I have heard that when the Hsiao star no more appears, those insects are not to be found. But now the Hsiao star still appears descending to the west. The officers of the calendar must have made a mistake."

Starting from this saying of Confucius, Too Yu makes it out that there had been an omission to insert an intercalary month this year which would carry the 11th month back to the 9th month of H'ka, when the Hsiao star ceased to appear; but there really could be no intercalation this year. Both the sage and Too themselves fell into error. The K'ang-ho editors say Tso-sho gives here the words of Confucius, and Too-sho considers that an intercalation was omitted. But at this time, within the space of two years, Too thrice sent notice to the other States of locusts, so that the plague of them must have been very great. In consequence of this many scholars have called in question Too's opinion, and we have prom. —d both their views and his.

Thirteenth year.

一、<sup>一</sup>十有三年春，鄭罕達帥師，取  
宋師丁母。<sup>二</sup>夏，司男成卒。  
三、<sup>三</sup>公會晉侯及吳子、黃池。  
四、<sup>四</sup>楚公子申帥師伐陳。  
五、<sup>五</sup>於越人吳。<sup>六</sup>秋，公至自會。  
七、<sup>七</sup>晉魏曼多帥師侵衛。  
八、<sup>八</sup>葬許元公。<sup>九</sup>九月，螽。  
十、<sup>十</sup>冬，十有二月，有星孛于東方。  
十一、<sup>十一</sup>盜殺陳夏徵舒。  
十二、<sup>十二</sup>十有二月，螽。

左傳曰：十三年春，宋向魋救其師，鄭了賡使徇，以得桓魋者有賞，魋也逃歸，遂取宋師丁母，獲成謹，郕延以六邑為廬。  
夏公會單平公，首定公，吳大宰黃池。  
六月丙子，越了伐吳，為：隧，無餘，謳陽，自南方先及郊，吳大宰了地，孫彌庸詩於姚，自泓上觀之，彌庸見姑蔑之旗，曰：台父之旗也，不可以見讐而弗殺也，大宰了戰而不克，將亡國，訥待之，彌庸不可，屬徒力，了地助之，乙酉，戰，彌庸獲疇無餘，地獲謳陽，越了上，了地守，丙戌，復戰，人敗吳師，獲大宰了友，孫彌庸詩於姚，丁亥，入吳，吳人召敗於，一，忘其聞也，自到七人於幕下。  
○秋七月辛丑，盟吳，首先吳人，於周寧，我為長，首人曰：於姬姓，我為伯，趙鞅呼司馬寅曰：日旰，矢大車未成，臣之罪也，建鼓整列，臣死之，長幼必可知也，對曰：訥姑視之，反曰：肉食者無罪，今吳一有罪，國勝乎，大宰了死乎，日大德輕，不忍久請，少待之，乃先首人，吳人將以公見晉侯，了服景伯。

對使者曰：王合諸侯，則伯帥侯牧以見於王。伯合諸侯，則侯帥子男以見於伯。自王以下，副聘玉帛不同，故敵邑之職貢於吳有豐於晉，無不及焉。以爲伯也。今諸侯會而君將以寡君見晉君，則晉成爲伯矣。敵邑將敗職貢，魯賦於吳八百乘，若爲子男，則將半鄉以屬於吳，而如邾以事晉，且執事以伯召諸侯，而以侯終之，何利之有焉？吳人乃止。既而悔之，將囚景伯曰：何也？立後於魯矣。將以二乘與六人從，迎速唯命，遂囚以還及戶，關謂犬宰曰：魯將以十月上辛有事於上帝先王，季辛而畢。何世有職焉？自襄以來，未之改也。若不會，視宗將曰：吳實然，且謂魯不共，而執其賤者七人，何損焉？犬宰輒言於王曰：無損於魯，而祇爲名，不如歸之。乃歸景伯。吳申叔儀乞糧於公孫有山氏曰：佩玉綦兮，余無所繫之。旨酒一盛兮，余與褐之父睨之。對曰：梁則無矣，麋則有之。若登首山以呼曰：庚癸乎，則諸王欲伐，未殺其丈夫，而囚其婦人，犬宰輒曰：可勝也，而弗能居也。乃歸冬，吳及越平。

- XIII. 1 In the [dukes] thirteenth year, Han Tsh of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, captured the army of Sung at Yen
- 2 In summer, Ch'ing, baron of Heu, died
- 3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'ie
- 4 The Kung tze Shun of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in
- 5 Yu yüeh entered [the capital of] Woo
- 6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting at Hwang-ch'ie.
- 7 Wei Mun to of Tsin, at the head of a force, made an incursion into Wei.
- 8 There was the burial of duke Yuen of Heu
- 9 In the ninth month, there were locusts.
- 10 In winter, in the eleventh month, a comet was seen in the east.
- 11 A ruffian killed Hsên Gow foo of Ch'in
- 12 In the twelfth month, there were locusts

Par 1 The Chuen continues here the narrative under par 5 of last year from which it appears that Han Tsh had led his force. In the previous and on. It may be therefore that the 帥帥 in many paragraphs should be translated had led, and not simply led a force. — This spring Hsäng Tui of Sung endeavoured to relieve the army [which was held in

along before Yen], but Tsz-ying (Han Tsh) of Ch'ing issued a proclamation, offering a reward to him who should take Hsien Tui; and Tui upon this withdrew and returned to Sung. [Han Tsh] then captured the army of Sung at Yen, and took [its two leaders] Ch'ing Hsien and Kuei Yen. [It was agreed] that the six hamlets should be neutral ground. It would appear that Hsäng Ch'ao must have left the



force, after laying siege to Yen the preceding autumn. If he had been now with it, his capture would have been specially mentioned.

Par 2, 8 See on XI vi 1 This baron Ch'ing or duke Yuen must have been re-instated by Ts'oo. Kung-yang has 成 for 成.

Par 3 We might translate 黃池 by 'near the pool of Hwang'. The place was in Wei,—in the southwest of the pres. dis. of Fung-k'ew (封丘), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says —'In summer, the duke had a meeting with duke Ping of Shien, duke Ping of Tsin, and Foo-ch'ae of Woo, at Hwang-ch'ae'. There was thus a royal commissioner present at the meeting, and this may be the reason why we have Foo-ch'ae mentioned as 'the viscount of Woo'. Too says, 'Foo-ch'ae wished to take the leadership of the States of the kingdom, and honour the son of Heaven, he therefore laid aside his usurped title [of king], and called himself "viscount" in sending his notices and orders to the various States, and it was thus that the historiographers received and wrote the title'. See further on the narrative appended to par 5.

Par 4 Under the last par. of the 10th year, it seemed to be agreed upon by Ts'oo and Woo that Ch'in should be left alone. Ts'oo however, now takes advantage of Woo's being engaged in the north to attack Ch'in.

Par 5 Here Yueh repays, and more than repays, Woo for its defeat at Foo-tseou,—see the narrative after the 2d par. of the 1st year. The Chuen says —'In the 6th month, on Ping-tse, the viscount of Yueh invaded Woo by two ways. Ch'ow Woo-yu and Gow Yang, coming [on land] from the south, arrived at the suburbs of the capital first, and were observed by Yew, the heir-son of Woo, the king's son Te, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Show Yu-yaon from [a height near] the Hung Me-yung, seeing the flag of [the men of] Koo-meeh, said, 'There's my father's flag. I must not see those enemies [who slew him], and not slay them.' The heir-son said, "If we fight and do not gain the victory, we shall cause the ruin of the State. Please let us wait." Me-yung however, would not do so and collected his followers, amounting to 5,000 men. The king's son Te assisted him, and on Yih-yew they fought a battle when Me-yung captured Ch'ow Woo-yu, and Te captured Gow Yang. The viscount of Yueh, however arrived soon after. Te then remained in the city to defend it but another battle was fought on Ping-seuh, when the viscount inflicted a great defeat on the army of Woo, and captured the heir-son Yew, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Show Yu-yaon. On Ping-hae, he entered the capital. The people of Woo sent information of their defeat to the king, who so disliked the intelligence, that he himself cut the throats of 7 men about his tent (To prevent their spreading the news).

[The Chuen now gives the sequel of par 3 — 'In autumn, in the 7th month, on Sin-ch'ow, a covenant was made, when Woo and Tsin disputed about the precedence. They said on the side of Woo, "In relation to the House of Chow, we are the eldest branch (As being descended from T'ae-pih, see Ana VIII 1)'. On the side of Tsin they said, 'We have the

presidency of all the K'es." Chaou Yang called the marshal Yin to him, and said, "The day is declining, and this great matter is not yet settled, it is the fault of us two. Set up the drums, and put the ranks in order. We will die in the struggle, and the right and the wrong (*lit.*, the old and the young) shall be clearly known." The marshal begged Yang to let him go in the meantime and see the viscount. When he returned, he said, "Those who eat flesh should have no black [under their eyes]. But now the king of Woo has such blackness. Has his capital been conquered? Or has his eldest son died? Moreover, the nature of those eastern tribes is light, they cannot hold out long. Let us wait a little for their decision." Accordingly [Woo] gave precedence to Tsin.

'The people of Woo wanted to go with the duke and present him to the marquis of Tsin, but Ts'ze-fuh King-pih replied to their messenger, "When the king assembles the States, the leading prince conducts the other princes and pastors to present them to him. When a leading prince assembles the States then the [pastor-] marquis leads the viscounts and barons and presents them to him. From the king down, the symbols of jade and offerings of silk at the court and complimentary visits to other States are different. Hence the contributions of our poor States to Woo are larger [now] than to Tsin, embracing everything, because we consider [the lord of Woo] to be the leading prince. The States are now assembled, and your ruler wishes to present ours to the ruler of Tsin, whose position as the ruling prince will thus be settled. Our State must change its contributions. The levies with which Loo follows Woo are 800 chariots. If our ruler be reduced to the rank of a viscount or baron, then he will follow Woo with half the levies of Choo, and do service to Tsin with [an amount equal to] the whole levies of Choo. Moreover, your officers called the States to this meeting by the authority of the leading prince, if you end it by taking the position of a marquisate, what advantage have you?" The people of Woo on this desisted from their purpose, but afterwards they repented that they had done so, and were going to imprison King-pih, who said, "I have appointed my successor in Loo. I will follow you with two chariots and six men. Let it be sooner or later according as you command." They were then returning with him as a prisoner, but when they got to Hoo-yew, he said to the grand-administrator, "Loo has a sacrifice on the first *Sin*-day of the 10th month to God and the ancient kings, which is finished on the last *Sin*-day, and at which I have duties to perform, hereditary in my family. There has been no change in them since the time of [duke] S'ang. If I am not present, the priests and temple-keeper will say [to the Spirits] that Woo is the cause of my absence. Suppose, moreover, that Loo has behaved disrespectfully, what loss does it sustain in your holding seven individuals who are of small rank in it?" The grand-administrator represented to the king that their prisoners were no loss to Loo, and only gave themselves a [bad] name, so that they had better send them back, and they accordingly sent King-pih back.'

'Shun Shuh-e (Of Woo) begged some food from Kung-sun Yew-shan (Of Loo), saying,

"Stones for my girdle I have all complete,  
But no girdle to which I can tie them;  
And a vessel of spirits clear and sweet,  
But with this half-clad man I but eye them."

Yü-shan replied, "I have no [good] millet, but I have some coarse. If you get up mount Shou and cry out, *K'ang K'wei!* then I will do what you ask."

The king wanted to attack Sung, and to put its males to death, and take its women prisoners. The grand-administrator P'ei, said, "You may vanquish [Sung] but you cannot occupy it." Accordingly they returned to Woo.

The Chuen says that at this meeting and covenant the precedence was given to Tsin, and so the text would seem to say 一公會晉侯及吳子 Kung yang, however says that

Woo presided over the meeting (主會), and in the chapter about Woo, in the 國語 or Narratives of the States (Bk. VII art. 7), it is expressly said that the duke of Woo took the precedence at the covenant (吳公先歆晉侯亞之), to which Tsin was obliged to consent by a demonstration of an intention to proceed to hostilities on the part of Woo, Tsin glossing over its humiliation by getting the viscount to give up for the time his assumed title of king.

The K'ang-ho editors say on the subject. Former scholars have taken different sides on this question, some agreeing with Tso-sho, and others with the Narratives of Woo. If we consider the case of the covenant of Wang how when Tsin was still in the possession of its strength, it yet conceded the precedence to Tsin it appears reasonable to say that Ting of Tsin could not now take precedence of Woo. But again when we consider how, while Woo was at this meeting, news was brought to the king of the danger the State was in from Yueh, and how in its alarm he cut the throats of 7 men who brought the news, it also appears reasonable to say that, with such a reason for apprehension he would not dare to contest the precedence any longer. There is a connexion in the narrative of the Chuen Ts'ao and it appears to be matter of fact. The view of Chaoü Kwang that Woo and Tsin met on equal terms, just as when host

and guest now drink to each other so that the historians of Tsin represented that Tsin had the precedence, while those of Woo assigned it to Woo, each side supporting its own ruler seems also to be reasonable; and we therefore give it a place. I do not think that there are sufficient grounds for a positive decision in the matter. The meeting was, no doubt, called by Woo, as assuming to take the lead in the States; but the intelligence of the invasion by Yueh may have emboldened Tsin to claim the precedence at the covenant, and obliged Woo to yield it.

As to the question about the title, viscount of Woo, in the text, no doubt that was the title used on this occasion by the chief of that State, as he had got the royal sanction for calling the princes together. Still, we find the viscount of Woo in previous paragraphs;—see XI. iv 14 et al.

Par 7 Kung-yang leaves out the 侯 in the name Tsin, says Hsien Han, could now do nothing more than "make incursions." Its prestige was gone. The three great families in it were eager only for their own advantage, and careless of the common weal or glory of the State.

Par 9, 12 See on the last par of last year Wang Ts'ao proposes to transfer to the 12th par of this year the Chuen which appears there. There was, he says, an intercalary month this year, so that the 12th month of Chow was the 9th month of Hsü, and the 11th star had not disappeared from the heavens. Bring that narrative to its proper place, and all doubts are resolved. Confucius might correctly say that the 11th star was still in the west, for there it was. The officers of the calendar might make a mistake; but he did not do so.

Par 10. 星孛—see VI. xiv 5; X. xvii. 5. In those two passages we have the constellation or space of the heavens where the comet appeared specified. There being no such specification here but only that it was in the eastern quarter is taken as a proof that it was visible in the morning. Many scholars tell us that its appearance in the east portended the approaching downfall of Woo, the great eastern Power.

Par 11 Kung yang has 邲 for 區 None of the Chuen give any particulars of this event. It is the 4th instance which we have in the text of a death perpetrated by the hands of ruffians, either really nameless, or purposely left so.

### Fourteenth year

麟、獲、狩、西、春、年、四、有、一

取也、之、仲、賜、才、麟、鉏、之、叔、於、春、十、左  
之、然、曰、足、虞、祥、以、商、車、孫、大、四、傳  
後、麟、餽、人、以、爲、獲、子、氏、野、狩、年、曰、

XIV 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring [some] hunters in the west captured a *hün*

The Chuen says — 'This spring, they were hunting westwards in Ta-yay, and Ts'oo-shang, one of Shuh-sun's waggoners, captured a *lin*. Thinking the thing was inauspicious, he gave [the creature] to the forester. Chung-ne went to see it and said, "It is a *lin*," on which they took it, [and carried it away to the capital]'

The Chuen enables us to determine the *lin* in the text as meaning the west of Loo. Ta-yay was the name of a marsh,—in the pres of Keu-yay (鉅野), dep Ts'ou-chow. 狩 is the name of the winter hunt, used here appropriately, because the greater portion of the spring of Chow was really in the natural winter, or that of Hea. The winter hunt was such a regular thing, that we can suppose it to be mentioned here only because of the unusual circumstance of the finding the *lin*.

The finding of this *lin* has so important a place in the accounts of the composition of the Ch'un Ts'ew, that it may be well to give here the account of it, which we find in the 'Family Sayings,' or as we may term the work, 'The apocryphal Analects,' the more especially as it agrees a good deal with what we find in Kung-yang — 'A waggoner of Shuh-sun's, Tsze-ts'oo-shang, was gathering firewood in Ta-yay, when he found a *lin*. Having broken its fore left leg, he carried it home with him in a carriage. Shuh-sun thinking it inauspicious, threw it away outside the suburbs, and sent a messenger to tell Confucius of it, saying, "What is it? It is an antelope and horned." Confucius went to see it, and said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" He took the back of his sleeve and wiped his face, while his tears wet the lapel of his coat. When Shuh-sun heard what it was, he sent and had it brought [to the city]. Tsze-kung asked the master why he wept, and Confucius said, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected." See the 家語, at the end of the 16th chapter.

叔孫氏之車工，以鉅商探新於人野，獲麟焉，折其前左足，載以歸。叔孫以爲不祥，棄之於郭外，使人告孔子曰：「有麇而角者，何也？」孔子往觀之，曰：「麟也，胡爲來哉？胡爲來哉？」反袂拭面，涕洟沾衿。叔孫聞之，然後取之，了貢問曰：「人子何泣？」

孔子曰：「麟之爲靈昭昭也，出非其時，而見於天下，是以傷也。」

What was the *lin*? The earliest mention of it is in the She, I i ode XI, where the sons of king Wān are compared to its feet, its forehead, and its horn, but neither there, nor anywhere else in the classics, is there a description of it, by which we might be able to identify it. The Urh-ya describes it as having the body of an antelope, the tail of an ox, and one horn. The Shwoh-wān, the earliest dictionary, published A.D. 100, says, 'The k'e-lin (麒麟, k'e is the name of the male, and *lin* that of the female) is a benevolent animal, having a horse's body, an ox's tail, and a horn of flesh.' As early as the beginning of the Christian era, the *lin* had thus become the name of a fabulous animal. Later accounts, as we might expect, improve on the Urh-ya and Shwoh-wān. See Medhurst on the character 麟. Williams says, '*Lin*,—the female of the unicorn. The idea of the Chinese unicorn may have been derived from a one-horned Tibetan equine animal.'

All this does not help us to a satisfactory answer to the question of what the *lin* was. We may be sure there never was such an animal as the lexicographers and scholars of China describe and delight to dwell upon. If Confucius saw any animal at all, we can only suppose it was some sort of antelope, uncommon in Loo. For my part, I doubt whether this paragraph be from him at all.

The importance attaching to it arises from the circumstance that with it the Ch'un Ts'ew, so far as it is the work of Confucius, is all but universally believed to terminate. The editions by Kung-yang and Kih-lêng, indeed, end with this, but Tso-she continued his labours on to the 4th year of duke Taou, who followed Gae; and up to the day Ke-ch'ow of the 4th month of Gae's 16th year, the regular form of all the preceding annals is preserved, the disciples having digested, it is said, the records of Loo, as their master had done, down to the day of his death, and Tso-she continuing his labours on them, and on subsequent years in his own fashion. Having determined to translate all of Tso-she's collections in this work, I proceed to do so. The difference between the disciples' supplement and the previous text will be marked by the small type of the original and the translation.

A few remarks are still necessary on the connexion which has been and is maintained between the appearance of the *lin*, and the composition of the text. Confucius, say Too and a host of followers, was so impressed by

seeing the *hs*, that he immediately formed the purpose to compile the Ch'un Ts'ew. Ho H'ew the glossarist of Kung yang followed also by many others, says that he had finished the work to the end of Gae's 13th year and abandoned his *stylus*, when he saw the *hs*. Both sides have nothing but their own conjectures to go upon. The K'ang ho editors intimate their dissent from the former view and quote with approbation the opinion of Choo Hei— I do

not dare to pronounce any decision whether it was the completion of the book which moved the *hs* to come or whether it was the appearance of the *hs* which moved Confucius to compose the book. It may indeed, be presumed, that the appearance of the creature at a time not proper for it, and its then being killed, was altogether an inauspicious thing; and if the sage then laid his *stylus* aside, we may be assured he meant thereby to intimate something!

## 附錄經傳

小邾射以句繹來奔。

夏四月，齊陳恒執其君。

寘于舒州。

庚戌，叔還卒。

五月，庚申朔，日有食之。

陳宗暨出奔楚。

宋向魋入，曹以叛。

皆了狂卒。

六月，宋向魋自曹出，介

衛，宋向巢來介。

齊人弑其君于舒州。

秋，晉趙鞅帥師伐衛。

八月，辛丑，仲孫何忌卒。

冬，陳宗暨自楚復入。

陳人殺之。

陳轅買出介楚。

有肩字，饑。

小邾射以句繹來介。曰：使乎路要我，台無盟矣。使了路，了路辭。今康子使內有謂之曰：下乘之國，不信其盟，而信子之，予何辱焉。對曰：魯有事於小邾，不敢問故，死其城下，可也。彼不臣而濟其，是義之也。山弗能。

齊簡公之在魯也，闕止有寵焉。及即位，使爲政，陳成了憚之，驟顧諸朝。諸御鞅曰：於公曰：陳闕不可竝也。君其擇焉。弗聽。我夕，陳逆殺人，逢之，遂執以入。陳氏方睦，使疾而遺之潘沐，備酒肉焉。饗以者，醉而殺之，而逃了。我盟諸陳於陳宗。初，陳豹欲爲了我，使公孫曰：已有喪而止，既而曰：有陳豹者，長而卜，視事君了必得心，欲爲了我。台憚其爲人也，故緩以告了。我曰：何害，是其在我也。使爲臣。他日與之曰：政，詭遂有寵，謂之曰：我盡逐陳氏，而立女。若何。對曰：我遠於陳氏矣。且其違者，不過數人，何盡逐焉。遂告陳氏。了行曰：彼得君，弗先，必禍了。了行舍於公宮。夏，五月，了中成了兄弟四乘如公，了我在幄，出逆之，遂入，閉門，侍人禦之，了行殺侍人，公與婦人飲酒於檀臺，成了遷諸寢，公執戈將擊之，人史了餘曰：非不利也，將除害也。成了出舍於庫，聞公猶怒，將出，何所無君了。了行抽劍曰：需事之賊也，誰非陳宗，所不殺了者，有如陳宗。乃止了。我歸，屬徒攻闔與大門，皆不勝，乃出。陳氏追之，失道於弇中，適豐丘，豐丘人執之，以告殺諸郭關，成了將殺人，陸了方，陳逆請而免之，以公命取申於道，及郕，衆知而束之，出雍門。陳豹與之中，弗受，逆爲余請，豹與余申，余有私焉，申了，我而有私於其讐，何以見魯衛之。東郭買奔衛，庚辰，陳恆執公了舒州。公曰：吾早從鞅之，不及此。

宋桓魋之寵害於公，使夫人驟請享焉，而將討之，未及。魋先謀公，請以較易師。公曰：「不可，尊宗邑也。」乃益較七邑，而饋享公焉。以日中爲期，家備盡往。公知之，告皇野曰：「余長魋也，今將禍余，請即救。」馬子仲曰：「有臣不顧神之所惡也，而況人乎？敢不承命，不得左師，不可請以君命召之。」左師每食，擊鐘聞鐘聲，公曰：「夫子將食，既食又奏。」公曰：「可矣。」以乘車往曰：「迹人來告曰：『逢澤有介驪焉。』」公曰：「雖魋未來，得左師吾與之田，若何？」君憚告子野曰：「嘗私焉，君欲速，故以乘車逆子與之乘至。」公告之故，拜不能起。司馬曰：「君與之言，公曰：『所難子者，上有天下有先君，對曰：『魋之不共，宋之禍也，敢不唯命是聽。』」司馬請瑞焉，以命其徒攻桓氏，其父兄故臣曰：「不可。」其新臣曰：「從吾君之命，遂攻之。」子頑聘而告桓司馬，司馬欲入，子車止之曰：「不能事君而又伐國民，不與也。」祗取死焉，向魋遂入于曹以叛。

六月，使左師巢伐之，欲質大夫以入焉，不能，亦入于曹，取質。魋曰：「不可，既不能事君，又得罪於民，將若之何？」乃舍之，民遂叛之。向魋奔衛，向巢來奔。宋公使止之曰：「寡人與子有言矣，不可以絕向氏之祀。」辭曰：「臣之罪大，盡滅桓氏可也。若以先臣之故而使有後，君之惠也。若臣則不可以入矣。」司馬牛致其邑與珪焉，而適齊。向魋出於衛地，公文氏攻之，求夏后氏之璜焉，與之他玉而奔齊。陳成子使爲次卿，司馬牛又致其邑焉，而適吳。吳人惡之而反，趙簡子召之，陳成子亦召之，卒於魯郭門之外。阮氏葬諸丘輿。

甲午，齊陳恆弑其君壬于舒州。孔丘三日齊，而請伐齊。三公子曰：「魯爲齊弱久矣，子之伐之，將若之何？」對曰：「陳恆弑其君，民之不與者，半以魯之衆加齊之半，可克也。」公曰：「子告季孫，孔子辭退而告人曰：『吾以從大夫之後也，故不敢不音。』」

初，孟孺子洩將圍馬於成，成宰公孫宿不受，曰：「孟孫爲成之病，不圍馬焉。」孺子怒，襲成，從者不得入，乃反。成有司使孺子鞭之秋，八月辛丑，孟懿子卒，成人奔喪弗內。袒免哭於衢，聽共弗許，懼不歸。

## SUPPLEMENT OF TSO-SHE.

- XIV 2 Yih of Little Choo came a fugitive to Loo, transferring to it [the city of] Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Ch'in Hāng seized his ruler, and placed him in Shoo-chow
- 4 On Kāng-seuh, Shuh Seu-en died
- 5 In the fifth month, on Kāng-shin, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed
- 6 Tsung Shoo of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo
- 7 Hēang Tuy of Sung entered Ts'aou, and held it in revolt
- 8 K'ing, viscount of Keu, died
- 9 In the sixth month, Hēang Tuy of Sung fled from Ts'aou to Wei, and Heang Ch'aou of Sung came a fugitive to Loo
- 10 The people of Ts'e murdered their ruler Jin in Shoo-chow
- 11 In autumn, Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and invaded Wei
- 12 In the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, Chung sun Ho-ke died
- 13 In winter, Tsung Shoo of Ch'in entered Ch'in again from Ts'oo, and the people of Ch'in put him to death
- 14 Yuen Mae of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo
- 15 There was a comet
- 16 There was famine

Par 2 Kow-yih,—see on XII 1 Too gives it there as belonging to Choo, while here we have Yih of Little Choo betraying or surrendering it to Loo. We can easily suppose that, during the troubles through which Choo had passed since the 2d year of Gae, Little Choo had managed to appropriate this place.

The Chuen says — 'When Yih came a refugee, offering to surrender Kow-yih, he said, "Send Tsze-loo to make an agreement with me, I will have no covenant." It was proposed to Tsze-loo that he should go, but he refused. Ke K'ang-tse then sent Jen Yēw to say to him, "Why should you think the thing a disgrace to you, since he will put confidence in your words, while he will not do so in a covenant with our State of 1000 chariots?" Tsze-loo replied, "If Loo have hostilities with Little Choo, I will die before its capital, without presuming to ask any questions about the cause of the quarrel. But Yih is acting a traitor's part, and to give effect to his words would be to treat him as if he were righteous. I cannot do it."

Par. 3 舒州 appears in the 'Historical Records' as 徐州. It was a city of Ts'e, in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'āng, dep. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says — 'When duke Kēen of Ts'e was in Loo (He was, then, simply Jin, the son of Yang-sāng, see on XI 9, *et al.*), K'an Che became a favourite with him, and when he succeeded to the State, he employed Che as his chief minister. Ch'in Ch'ing-tse (Ch'in Hāng) was afraid of him, and was constantly turning his head round to look at him in the court. Yang, [chief of] the charioteers, said to the duke, "Ch'in and K'an cannot continue together

You must choose between them." The duke, however, did not listen to him.

'When Tsze-go (K'an Che) was going his rounds at night, he met Ch'in Yih (The Tsze-hāng of the battle of I-ling, XI 2) who had killed a man, seized him, and carried him into [the court]. At the time the Ch'in-clan was all harmonious, so that [the chief] made Yih say that he was ill, and sent rice water to wash his head with, and at the same time spirits and meat. With the latter he feasted his keeper, made him drunk, killed him, and effected his escape, and upon this Tsze-go imposed a covenant with the Ch'in in the house of one of their principal elders.

'Before this, Ch'in P'aou had wished to get an office under Tsze-go, and had employed one of the Kung-suns to speak for him. A death taking place in his family, the thing was stopped for a time, but afterwards the Kung-sun said to Tsze-go, "There is Ch'in P'aou, tall but humpbacked, with a look to the sky. If he serve you, you are sure to be pleased with him. He wishes to be an officer with you, but I have been afraid of the man, and delayed informing you of his wish." "What harm can he do?" said Tsze-go, "he will be at my disposal." Accordingly he employed him as one of his officers. Before long, he talked with P'aou about [the affairs of] the government, and being pleased with him, made him a favourite. [One day] he asked him what he thought of his driving out Ch'in-she and his adherents, and getting him appointed in his place. P'aou replied, "My connexion with Ch'in-she is remote, and they who are opposed to you are only a few individuals, why should you drive them all out?" He then informed Ch'in-she [of what

Taze-go was intending], when Taze-hing (Ch'in Yih) said, "He has got the ruler. If you do not take the initiative, he will bring calamity on you." Taze-hing then took up his quarters [privately] in the duke's palace.

In summer in the 5th month, on Jin-shin, Ching-tze and his brothers went in 4 chariots to the duke's. Taze-go was in his tent (his office), and came out to meet them, but they entered the palace, and shut the door [against him]. [One of] the attendants attempted to withstand them, but he was killed by Taze-hing. The duke and his wife were drinking in the Tan tower but Ching-tze removed him to the [state] chamber. The duke laid hold of a spear intending to strike him with it, but Taze-yu, the grand historiographer said, "There is nothing intended in [being] so furious to you. He means to remove all harm from you." Ching-tze then quitted the palace and took up his quarters in the treasury. Hearing there that the duke was still enraged, he [would] leaving the State, saying, "Where shall I not find a ruler?" but Taze-hing drew his sword, and said, "Delay is the thief of business. Who is there that is not to be regarded as belonging to the Ch'in clan? By the ancestors of the Ch'in I will kill you, [if you go]. On this Ching-tze stopped.

Taze-go returned home and collected his followers, with whom he attacked the great gate and a small gate of the palace. Unsuccessful in both attempts, he left the city and was pursued by Ch'in-shu, when he lost his way in a narrow pass, and went to Fang k'ew the people of which seized him, and informed [Ch'in-shu] of the capture and he was then put to death at the Kwoh barrier-gate. Ching-tze was about to put to death Taze-fang of Ta-luh but Ch'in Yih interceded for him, and his life was spared. He then, as if by the duke's orders, took a carriage which was on the road, and drove off; but when he had got to Uih the people all knew the truth, on which he turned to the east, and left the city by the Yung gate. Ch'in P'ao offered him a carriage, but he would not receive it, saying, "Yih interceded for my life, and P'ao would now give me a carriage—as if I had a private understanding with them. Having served Taze-go, if I should have a private understanding with his enemy how should I be able to see the officers of Lou and Wei?" Tung kwoh K'ia (Taze-fang) then fled to Wei.

On K'ing-shih, Ch'in Hing confined the duke in Shoo-chow when the duke said, "If I had followed early the advice of Yang, I should not have come to this.

Part 79 Sung had extinguished the State of Ts'ou in the spring of Gao's 8th year so that its capital was now only a city of Sang. Hing Tui it has been observed before was the name as the Hwan Tui of the Ana. VII xxi., a younger brother of Hing Ch'ao, whose name has occurred recently several times. The Hing of Sung were all Hwans, as being descended from duke Hwan, whose death is mentioned in V ix. 1. One of his sons was called Hing foo Hieh (南父辟), and from him came the Hing clan, one of his grandsons, Hing Shoh playing, as we saw a very considerable part in public affairs in the time of duke Hing.

The Chuen here says — The favour which was shown to Hwan Tui of Sung proved in [being] so [to] the duke who purposed to take Tui off, and with that object made the duchess [dowager] frequently invite him. Before he could execute his purpose however Tui took the initiative by plotting against the duke and asked that [his city of] Gan might be exchanged for Poh. This the duke refused, on the ground that he had an ancestral temple at Poh, but he added to Gan seven [other adjacent] towns, on which Tui invited the duke to an entertainment there. The time was to be at mid-day and Tui brought to the place all the men at-arms of his family. The duke got knowledge of this, and informed Hwang Yai of it, saying "I have cherished Tui and now he is going to do evil. Let me ask your immediate help." The marshal Taze-chung (Yai) replied "An insubordinate subject is hated by spiritual Beings; how much more must he be so by men! How should I presume not to obey your command? But it is necessary that we should get the aid of the master of the Left (Ch'ao, Tui's elder brother). Let me call him here by an order from you." Now, whenever the master of the Left was going to take a meal, he had a bell struck; and [just then] they heard the sound of it. "He is going to his meal," said the duke. After the meal, they heard the music strike up [again], and the duke said, "Now you can go." Yai then drove to the master and said, "The tracers have come with word that there are [some] large deer at the Fong marsh and the duke said to me, 'Although Tui has not come yet, what would you say to getting the master of the Left and hunting them with him?' He shrunk, however from sending you word, and I resolved to try and get you to go myself. The duke is in haste, and I came for you in my carriage." The master got into the carriage with him, and when they arrived [at the palace], the duke told him the whole affair on which he prostrated himself and was unable to rise up. "Speak to him," said the marshal; and the duke swore by Heaven above and by [the spirits of] the dukes, his predecessors that he would not injure him. The master then replied, "The insubordination of Tui is a calamity to Sung. I will not presume not to be entirely obedient to your orders." The marshal then asked from him his symbol of office, and proceeded with it to order his followers to attack Hwan-shu. The elders of the clan and old officers objected but the new officers said that they would obey the orders of their ruler. Accordingly they attacked the mansion. Taze-ku dashed off in a chariot to inform Tui who wished to enter the city. Taze-ku, however stopped him, saying, "You have been unable to serve the ruler and would now attack the capital,—the people will not be with you, and you would only invite your death." He then entered Ts'ou, and held it in revolt.

In the 6th month, Ch'ao, master of the Left, was sent to attack Ts'ou; and [being unsuccessful] he wished to get some of the great officers as hostages [for his safety] before he would [re-]enter [the capital]. Not being able to do this, he also entered Ts'ou, and seized some people there to hold as hostages. Tui said to him "You should not do that. We have not been able to serve our ruler and if we



also trespass against the people, what shall we do?" On this he let them go, and then the people revolted from them, on which Tui fled to Wei, and Ch'ou to us in Loo. The duke of Sung sent to stop the latter, saying, "I made an engagement with you. I will not extinguish the sacrifices of the Heang family." Ch'ou however, declined to return, and said, "My offence is great, and would justify you in extinguishing the family of Hwan. If from regard to my fathers, you suffer the family to be perpetuated, it will be an act of your kindness, but as for me, I cannot enter Sung." Sze-ma New (A brother of Tui and Ch'ou, and a disciple of Confucius, see Ann XII iii, iv, v) surrendered his city and badge of authority, and went to Ts'e. As Tui was quitting the territory of Wei, the chief of the Kung-wan family attacked him, and asked from him the *huan*-gem of the sovereigns of Hea. Tui gave him a different gem, and fled to Ts'e, where Ch'in Ch'ing-tze appointed him a minister of inferior rank, on which New gave back the city [which he had received in Ts'e], and went to Woo. The people of Woo hating him, he came back from that State, and received invitations from Chaou Keen-tze and Ch'in Ch'ing-tze, but he died outside the gate of the suburbs of the capital of Loo, and was buried by K'ang-she at K'ew-yu.

Par 10. Continuing the narrative under par 3, the Chuen here says — "On K'eah-woo, Ch'in King of Ts'e murdered his ruler Jin in Shoo-clo. K'ung K'ew fasted 3 days, and then begged [the duke] that he would invade Ts'e. Thrice he made the request, and the duke said, "Loo has long been kept in a state of weakness by Ts'e. If we should invade Ts'e, as you [propose], what could we do?" K'ung K'ew replied, "There are one half of the people of Ts'e who do not agree with Ch'in H'ang in his murder of his ruler. If with all the force of Loo we attack one half of that of Ts'e, we shall conquer it." The duke asked him to lay the matter before Ke-sun, but Confucius declined to do that, retired, and said to some one,

"Having followed in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to speak of such a matter."

See in the Ann, XIV xxi, an account of the conduct of Confucius on this occasion, somewhat different from that which the Chuen gives here.

The House of T'ien (田) is represented by many historians as from this year the ruling House of Ts'e. The Chuen on III. xxii 3, mentions how the Kung-tze Hwan (完) of Ch'in, styled King-chung, (敬仲) took refuge in Ts'e, and the Historical Records say that he adopted the clan-name of T'ien (田氏), though in Tso-she his descendants always appear as Ch'ins (陳). A brother of duke Keen nominally succeeded to him as marquis of Ts'e, and the House of K'ang was represented till B C 390, when Ho, (和), a great-grandson of Ch'in or T'ien H'ang put an end to the farce, and was acknowledged by King Gan, in B C 385, as ruler of Ts'e.

Par 12. The Chuen says — "Before this, [Ho-ke's] son M'ang Sze was going to keep his horses in Ch'ing, but the Kung-sun Suh, commandant of Ch'ing, refused to admit him, saying, 'M'ang-sun does nothing but distress Ch'ing. We will not keep his horses for him.' The young man in a rage surprised the place, but his followers not being able to enter it, he returned. An officer was sent from Ch'ing [to explain the circumstances], but the young chief had him scourged. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Sin-ch'ow, when M'ang E-tze died, officers of Ch'ing hurried to be present at the death-rites, but they were not admitted, and they wept in the street, with sackcloth on their heads and the upper part of their bodies bare, wanting to be allowed to take part in the services, which was not accorded to them. They were afraid in consequence to return to Ch'ing."

### Fifteenth year.

出衛及鄭冬師晉雋秋鄭齊高夏成春十  
介公齊平晉伐衛趙鞅帥八伯伐宋無子出齊月有  
齊彊

良感史使吳君卜寡然水大卒孫吳⊙克叛左  
廢人命無備滅國聞介君之隕大夫之不宰將貞及夏遂於傳  
日共隕隊使人逢人之下寡君敢辭以乃爵口使及桐汭陳侯使公武伯伐成  
日遷於之卜寡君敢辭以乃爵口使及桐汭陳侯使公武伯伐成

次，今君命逆使人曰：無以尸遺於門，是我寡君之命，委於草莽也。且臣聞之曰：事死如生，禮也。於是乎有朝聘而終以尸將事之禮。又有朝聘而遭喪之禮，若不以尸將命，是遭喪而還也，無乃不可乎？以禮防民，猶或踰之。今大夫曰：死而棄之，是棄禮也。其何以爲諸侯主？先民有言曰：無穢虐士，備使奉尸將命，苟我寡君之命達於君所，雖隕於深淵，則天命也。非君與涉人之過也。吳人內之。

○秋，齊陳瑯如楚，過衛，仲由見之，曰：天或者以陳氏爲斧斤，旣斲喪公室，而他人有之，不可知也。其使終喪之，亦不可知也。若善魯以待時，不亦可乎？何必惡焉？子玉曰：然，吾受命矣。子便告我弟。

冬，及齊平。子服景伯如齊，子驥爲介，見公孫成，曰：人皆臣人而有哲人之心，況齊人雖爲子役，其有不旤乎？子周公之孫也，多饗大利，猶思不義利不可得而喪，宗國將焉用之？成曰：善哉。吾不早聞命，陳成子館客曰：寡君使恆告曰：寡人願事君，如事衛君。景伯揖子驥而進之，對曰：寡君之願也。昔晉人伐衛，齊爲衛故，伐晉冠氏，喪車五百，因與衛地自濟以西，驪媚杏以南，書社五百。吳人加倣邑以亂齊，因其病，取譖與聞，寡君是以寒心，若得視衛君之事，君也，則固所願也。成子病之，乃歸成公孫宿以其兵甲入於闕。

○衛孔圉取犬子蒯聵之姊生，惓孔氏之豎渾良夫，畏而美，孔文子卒，通於內。犬子在戚，孔姬使之焉。犬子與之言曰：苟使我入獲國，服冕乘軒，三死無與與之盟，爲請於伯姬。閏月，良夫與犬子入舍於孔氏之外，則昏二人蒙衣而乘，寺人羅御如孔氏。孔氏之老嫗寧問之，稱姻妾以告，遂入適伯姬氏。旣食，孔伯姬杖戈而先，犬子與五人介，輿輶從之。迫孔惓於廂，強盟之，遂劫以登臺榭，寧將飲酒，炙未熟，聞亂，使告季子，召獲駕乘車，行爵食炙，奉衛侯輒來奔。季子將入，遇子羔將出，曰：門已閉矣。季子曰：吾姑至焉。子羔曰：弗及不踐其難，季子曰：食焉不辟其難。子羔遂出，子路入及門，公孫敢門焉，曰：無入爲也。季子曰：是公孫也，求利焉而逃其難，由不然利其祿，必救其患，有使者出乃入，曰：犬子焉用孔惓，雖殺之必或繼之。且曰：犬子無勇，若燔臺榭，必舍孔叔。犬子

聞之、懼、下石乞、  
孟驤、敵了路、以  
戈擊之、斷纓、了  
路、君了死、冠  
不免、結纓而死。  
孔了聞衛亂、  
柴也其來、山也  
死矣。孔憚立莊  
公、莊公害故政、  
欲盡大之、先謂  
司徒矚成、寡  
人離病於外、久  
矣、了請办嘗之。  
歸召褚師比、欲  
與之伐公、不果。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ch'ing revolted  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, Kaou Woo-p'ei of Ts'e fled from that State to North Yen  
3 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.  
4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain  
5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force and invaded Wei  
6 In winter, the marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing  
7 We made peace with Ts'e  
8 Kung-mǎng K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ts'e

Par 1 This revolt of Ch'ing was a consequence of the events related under par 12 of last year. The Chuen says — 'This spring, Ch'ing revolted to Ts'e. Woo pih (the son of Ho-ke, and now the Head of the Mǎng-sun clan. His name was Che—<sup>二</sup>琬) attacked it, but without success, on which he fortified Shoo.'

Par 2—6 [Tso-she introduces here two narratives —

1st' In summer, Tsze-se and Tsze-k'ue of Ts'oo invaded Woo, as far as the bend of the T'ung. The marquis of Ch'in sent condolences on the occasion to Woo by the Kung-sun Ching-tsze, who died on the way at Leang. [The assistant-commissioner] proposed to proceed with his body to the court of Woo, but the viscount sent the grand-administrator P'ei to present to him the customary offerings and messages on the toils of his journey, and to decline [his further progress], saying, "Considering the unseasonable rise of the waters, it is to be feared they will toss about and overwhelm the body of the commissioner, and thereby increase the sorrow of my ruler. He therefore ventures to decline the further progress of your excellency." The Woo-director, K'ae (Being the assistant-commissioner), replied, "My ruler having heard of the unreasonable conduct of Ts'oo in repeating its invasions of Woo, and destroying your people, appointed me assistant in this mission, to condole with the officers of your ruler. Unfortunately, the [chief-] commissioner encountered the anger of Heaven, so that our great business fell [for a time] to the ground, and he took his leave of the world at Lēang. Some days have been lost in collecting what was necessary for his remains, but a day hence I should have advanced to another station. But now your ruler's orders have met me, telling me not to approach with the body to his gate,—my ruler's commission must thus be thrown away among the grass. I have heard, however, that it is a rule of propriety to serve when dead as we serve when living. Hence there is the rule, that if [a commissioner] dies when engaged on a court or a complimentary visit, the business

should be discharged with his corpse, and also there is the rule about the course to be pursued when the death occurs of him to whom the visit is being made. If now I do not accomplish the mission with the body, I shall return as if the death [of your ruler] had taken place,—which surely would be improper. The use of the rule serves to prevent people's indifference, though they may still sometimes transgress it, but now your Excellency says, 'He is dead, and you may neglect it'—this is to put the rule away. How can your ruler thus become lord of the States? The ancients had the saying, 'Inflict no stain on a deceased officer.' I, the assistant-commissioner, propose to carry my chief's body to discharge his commission. If the commission of our ruler can only reach your ruler's place, although [the body] should fall into the deep gulf, it will be the doing of Heaven, and through no fault of your ruler or of the ferry-men." Upon this the people of Woo received K'ae, [as he proposed].

2d' In autumn, Ch'in Kwan of Ts'e passed by [the capital of] Wei on his way to Ts'oo, when Chung Yew (Tsze-loo) went to see him, and said, 'Heaven perhaps is using Ch'in-she as its axe. He has cut down the ducal House of Ts'e, but we cannot know whether some other man may not possess it. Nor can we know whether he shall not in the end enjoy it himself. Would it not be well to treat Loo well and wait for the time [to come]? Why should you show hatred to it?' Tsze-yuh (Ch'in Kwan) said, "Yes. I have received your orders. Do you send some one to lay the thing before my brother (Ch'in Hǎng, or Ch'ing-tsze)."

Par 7 The Chuen says — 'In winter, we made peace with Ts'e, and Tsze-fuh King-pih went to that State, with Tsze-kung as assistant-commissioner. The latter went to see the Kung-sun Ch'ing (Who had been commandant of Ch'ing), and said to him, "All men who are in the service of others [should be faithful], but they [often] show a false heart, how much more may the people of Ts'e, though they are [for the present] doing service to you, be expected to

play double! You are a descendant of the duke of Chow and enjoyed great advantages [in Loo] but still your thoughts have been on unrighteousness. Why have you adopted such a course as is likely to ruin the State of your ancestors, when you could not get an advantage [which you desired]?” Ching replied, “Good! Alas that I did not earlier hear your instructions!”

Chin Ching-tze assigned their lodging to the guests, and said to them, “My ruler has sent me to say to you that he wishes to do service to your ruler as he has done to the ruler of Wei.” King-pih made a sign to Tze-kung to advance and reply which he did, saying, “This is the desire of our ruler. Formerly, when the people of Tsin invaded Wei (in the 8th year of Ting), Tse on account of Wei attacked [the city] Kwan-she of Tsin, and lost 500 chariots. Notwithstanding, it made a grant of territory to Wei, and assigned it in writing 12,500 families on the west of the Tse, and the south of Choh, Mo, and Häng. When the people of Woo attacked our poor State (in Gae’s 8th year), Tse took advantage of our distress to take Hwan and Shen; in consequence of which our ruler became cold to it. If indeed you will deal with him as you have dealt with the ruler of Wei, this is what we desire. Ching-tze was pinched by this address, and restored Ching, on which Kung-sun Shu (1 q Kung-sun Ching) entered Ying with his military stores.

[Tse-she here relates a revolution in Wei, and the death of Tze-loo.—K’ung Yu of Wei (See XI. iv 12) married an elder sister of Kwae-wae (See II. 3, et al.) the eldest son of the marquis, by whom he had a son, Kwei. His attendant, Hwan Läng-foo, was tall and handsome, and after the death of Wan-tze (Yu) had an intrigue with his mistress. When her brother was in Tse’s (II. 5), she sent this Läng-foo to him, and the prince then said to him, “If you can bring it about that I enter the capital and get the State, you shall have the cap and the carriage of a great officer and 3 capital offences shall be forgiven you.” They covenanted together and the attendant made request for the other to Pih ke (The lady).

In the intercalary month, Läng-foo and the prince entered the capital, and stopped in an outer orchard of the K’ung family. At night, disguised as women, they were driven by a eunuch to the house. The steward Lwan Ning asked who they were, and admitted them on being told that they were ladies related to the family. They then went to the apartments of Pih ke; and, when they had eaten that lady went before, carrying a spear and followed by

the prince and 5 men-at-arms, and [two men carrying] a pig. They found K’ung Kwei in the privy and there forced him to make a covenant with the prince after which they violently carried him up into a tower. Lwan Ning was making ready to drink; but before the meat was fully roasted, he heard of the revolution which was being made, and sent information of it to Ke-tze (Tze-ko). [At the same time], Shao Hwob had the horses put to a carriage, sent the cup round, partook of roast meat, and then carried off Chieh, the marquis of Wei, with him to Loo for refuge. Ke-tze was going to enter the city when he met Tze-kaon (Also a disciple of Confucius, see Ana., XI. xxiv) about to leave it, who said to him, “The gate is shut.” “But I wish to try to go there,” replied Ke-tze. “It was not your doing,” said Tze-kaon, “you need not share in the duke’s misfortunes.” “I have eaten his pay” rejoined the other, “and I will not try to escape from his difficulties.” Tze-kaon then quitted the city and Tze-loo entered it. When he got to the gate of the K’ung family Kung-sun K’an was keeping it, and told him that he could not enter. Ke-tze said, “You are a grandson of a former duke. You seek what gain you can get, and shrink from encountering the difficulties of the State. I am not such an one. Having got the benefit of the pay of the State, I will try to save it in its difficulties.” Just then a messenger came out at the gate and Tze-loo entered. “Of what good,” said he, “is it for the prince to deal thus with K’ung Kwei? Though you put him to death, there will be some one to continue [his duty to the State].” He also said, “The prince has no courage. If we burn half the tower he is sure to let K’ung Shuh go. When the prince heard this, he was afraid, and sent down Shih K’eh and Yu Yen to resist Tze-loo, whom they struck with their spears, cutting also the strings of his cap. “The superior man,” said he, “does not let his cap fall to the ground when he dies,” and with this he tied the strings again and died.

When Confucius heard of the disorder in Wei, he said, “Chao will come [here safe]; but Yaw will die” (Comp. Ana., XI. xli). K’ung Kwei then raised duke Chwang (Kwae-wae) to the marquissate. He did what harm he could to the old ministers, and wanted to remove them all. He began by saying to Mwan Ching the minister of Instruction, “I have had long experience of distress abroad. Do you now make a trial of it.” Ching ethed, and communicated this to Pa, superintendent of the market, and wished with him to attack the duke. But the scheme did not take effect.]

### Sixteenth year

十有六年春正月己酉  
 王正月己酉  
 正月己酉  
 卯衛世  
 子蒯聵  
 自戚入  
 于衛  
 侯  
 于衛  
 侯  
 來  
 奔  
 二  
 月  
 衛  
 子  
 孫  
 遷  
 成  
 出  
 奔  
 宋  
 夏  
 四  
 月  
 己  
 丑  
 孔  
 丘  
 卒

左傳曰：十六年春，瞞成，褚師比出奔宋。衛侯使鄢武子告於周，曰：「蒯聵得罪於君父，君用，蒯聵竄於晉，晉以一室之故，不棄兄弟，寘諸河上，人誘其衷，獲嗣守封焉，使卜臣胖敢執事。」使單平公對曰：「胖以嘉命來告，余往謂叔父，余嘉乃成世，復爾祿，次敬之哉！方人之休，弗敬弗休，悔其可追。」

夏四月，甲子，孔丘卒。公誄之曰：「旻人不弔，不憖遺老，俾屏余一人以在位，煢煢余在疚，嗚呼哀哉！尼父，無自律。」贊曰：「君其不沒於魯乎？夫了之曰：『禮失則昏，名失則慙，失心爲昏，失所爲慙，牛不能用，死而誄之，非禮也。』稱一人非名也，君兩失之。」

六月，衛侯飲孔悝酒於平陽，重酬之，大夫皆有納焉。醉而送之，夜半而遣之，載伯姬於平陽而行，及西門，使貳車反，而於圉，了伯季了，初爲孔氏，中，新登於公，請追之，遇載而殺之，乘其車，許公爲反，而遇之，曰：「與不仁人爭明，無不勝，必使先射。」射發，皆遠，許爲許爲射之殪，或以其申從，得而於橐中，孔悝出，奔宋。

楚人復之如初，晉人使諜於了，了請行而期焉，了暴虐於其私邑，邑人訴之，鄭人省之，得晉諜焉，遂殺了，了子曰勝，在吳，了西欲召之，葉公曰：「台聞勝也，詐而亂，無乃害乎？」了曰：「台聞勝也，信而勇，不爲不利，舍諸邊，竟使衛藩焉。」葉公曰：「居仁之謂信，率義之謂勇，台聞勝也，好復，而求死，殆有私乎？」復，非信也，期死，非勇也，了必悔之，弗從，召之，使處吳，竟爲白公，請伐鄭，了西曰：「楚，不節也，不然，台不忘也，他日又請許之，不起師，晉人伐鄭，楚救之，與之盟，勝怒曰：『鄭人在此，讐不遠矣。』勝自厲劍，了期之，了不見之，曰：『孫何自厲也？』勝以直聞，不告，汝庸爲直乎？將以殺爾父，平以告了，了曰：『勝如卵，余翼而長之，楚國第我死，令尹可馬，非勝而誰？』勝聞之，曰：『令尹之狂也，得死，乃非我。』了西不悛，勝謂石乞曰：「一與卿，皆力白人當之，則可矣。」乞曰：「不可得也。」了中南有熊官僚者，君得之，可以當五白人矣，乃從白公而見之，與之，說，白公之故，辭承之以劍，不動，勝曰：「不爲利諂，不

爲威惕不洩人言以求媚者去之吳人伐慎白公敗之請以戰備獻許之遂作亂秋七月殺子西子期於朝而劫惠王子西以袂掩面而死子期曰昔者吾以力事君不可以弗終挾豫章以殺人而後死石乞曰焚庫弑王不然不濟白公曰不可弑王不祥焚庫無聚將何以守矣乞曰有楚國而治其民以敬事神可以得祥且有聚矣何患弗從葉公在蔡方城之外皆曰可以入矣子高曰吾聞之以險微幸者其求無厭偏重必離聞其殺齊管修也而後入白公欲以子闔爲王子闔不可遂劫以兵子闔曰王孫若安靖楚國匡正王室而後庇焉敢之願也敢不聽從若將專利以傾王室不顧楚國有死不能遂殺之而以王如高府石乞尹門圉公陽穴官負王以如昭夫人之宮葉公亦至及北門或遇之曰君胡不胄國人望君如望歲焉日月以幾若見君面是得艾也民知不死其亦未有蓄心猶將旌君以徇於國而又掩面以絕民望不亦甚乎乃免胄而進遇餓尹固帥其屬將與白公子高曰微二子者楚不國矣葉德從賊其可保乎乃從葉公使與國人以攻白公公奔山而縊其徒微之生拘石乞而問白公之死焉對曰余知其死所而長者使余勿言曰不言將烹乞曰此事也克則爲卿不克則烹固其所也何害乃烹石乞王孫燕奔雍黃氏沈諸梁兼二事國寧乃使寧爲令尹使寬爲司馬而老於葉衛侯占夢嬖人求酒於犬叔佖子不得與卜人比而告公曰君有大臣在西南隅弗去懼害乃逐犬叔邈邈奔晉

衛侯謂渾良夫曰吾繼先君而不得其器若之何良夫代執火者而言曰疾與亡君皆君之子也召之而擇材焉可也若不材器可得也暨告犬子犬子使五人輿輿從己劫公而強盟之且請殺良夫公曰其盟免三死曰請三之後有罪殺之公曰諾哉

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-maou, K'wae-wae, hen-son of Wei, entered the capital from Ts'eh, and Cheh, marquis of Wei, came to Loo a fugitive
- 2 In the second month, Tsze-seuen Ch'ing of Wei fled from that State to Sung
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-ch'ow, K'ung K'ew died

PAR 1, 2 The Chuen says — 'In the 16th year, in spring, Mwan Ch'ing (The Tsze-seuen Ch'ing of the text) and Pe, superintendent of the market-place (See the narrative at the end of last year), fled from Wei to Sung. The marquis of Wei sent Yen Woo-tsze to announce [his restoration] at [the court of] Chow, saying, "K'wae-wae, having offended against the marquis his father and the marchioness his mother, was obliged to flee for refuge to Tsin. That State from regard to [his connexion with] the royal House, and mindful of him as thereby connected with itself, placed him near the Ho. By the secret influence of Heaven upon his mind, he has [now] obtained the inheritance of his State, and has sent his humble servant Heih, to inform the king's ministers thereof." The king caused duke P'ing of Shen to return this reply, "Heih has come with his admirable message, and laid it before me, the One man. Let him go, and say to my uncle, 'I rejoice in your success, and restore to you and your descendants your emoluments and rank. Be reverent! Heaven is now blessing you, but if you are not reverent, it will not bestow its blessing, and repentance then will be of no avail.'"

PAR 3 With this par ends the continuation of Confucius' Work by his disciples. Henceforth there is no more *text* of the Ch'un Ts'ew, real or supplementary. 'The sage having been born,' says Too Yu, 'in the 22d year of duke Seang (But see the note at the end of IX xxi), was now 73 years old. In the 4th month of this year, the 18th day was Yih-ch'ow (7, 11)

There was no Ke-ch'ow in it. Ke-ch'ow was the 12th day of the 5th month, so that there is an error in the text either of the month or of the day. Too is wrong here. Ke-ch'ow was the 11th day of the 4th month of this year.

The Chuen says — 'The duke pronounced his eulogy, saying, "Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man, to support me, the One man, on my seat. Dispirited I am, and full of distress. Woe is me! Alas! O Ne-foo! There is none [now] to be a rule to me!" Tsze-kung said, "The ruler is not likely to die in Loo. The master said, 'Error in a point of ceremony shows darkness of mind, error in the use of a name is a fault.' Failure of the mind is darkness, a fault is failure in one's position. The duke could not use the master when alive, in eulogizing him when dead, he has transgressed the rules of ceremony. In calling himself 'the One man,' he has assumed a name which does not belong to him. In both things the ruler has erred."

Though the supplementary text of the Ch'un Ts'ew stops with the above paragraph, Tso-she continues his narratives for several years, and we shall continue to follow the stream of Chinese history as far as we have his guidance.

1 'In the 6th month of this year, the marquis of Wei entertained K'ung Kwei to drink with him at P'ing-yang, when he bestowed large gifts upon him, while all the great officers also received presents. He escorted him away when he had well drunk, and at midnight sent him [an order to go] away from the State. [Kwei] took [his mother] Pih-ke in the carriage with him from P'ing-yang, and took his way. When he had got to the west gate, he sent an attendant carriage back to Se-poo to bring away the stone spirit-tablets of his temple. Tsze-pih Ke-tsze, who had formerly been an officer in the K'ung household, but had lately been promoted to the service of the marquis, begged leave to pursue him, and, meeting with the carriage and the tablets, he killed the individual in charge of it, and mounted the carriage. Heu Kung-wei had come back to see about the tablets, and now met with Ke-tsze. "In a struggle," said he to himself, "with so bad a man, I am sure to conquer. I will make him shoot first." [Ke-tsze] discharged 3 arrows, which all went wide of the mark. Heu Wei then shot the other dead, and one of his attendants found the spirit-tablets in a bag. K'ung Kwei then fled to Sung.

2 'When Keen, the eldest son of the viscount of Ts'oo, was slandered (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of X xix, that after par 3, and the 2d at the beginning of X xx) he fled from Shing-foo to Sung. Afterwards, he went from Sung to Ch'ing to avoid the disorders caused by members of the Hwa family. The people of Ch'ing were very fond of him, but he went on to Tsin. There he took counsel with some officers of Tsin who wished to surprise [the capital of] Ch'ing, and [to aid them] asked that he might be recalled to that State, which was done, and he was treated as he had been at first. [By and by], the people of Tsin sent a spy to him (He was styled 'Isze-muh), to ask him to fix the time for their enterprize. He had been harsh and tyrannical in the city assigned to himself, so that the people accused him, and in the course of an investigation, this spy was detected, and Tsze-muh was put to death. His son, called Shing, was [now] in Woo, from which Tsze-se wished to recall him to Ts'oo. The duke of Sheh said, "I have heard that Shing is deceitful and insubordinate,—will not such a step turn out ill?" Tsze-se, however, said, "I have heard that Shing is a man of good faith and bold, to recall him will only be advantageous. We can place him on the borders, and employ him as a bulwark to the State." He of Sheh observed, "I call it good faith when a man cultivates the friendship of the virtuous, and I call it boldness when a man follows a

course of righteousness. I have heard that Shing wishes always to make his words good, and seeks to get around him bravoes who are not afraid of death. It is to be feared he has private aims of his own. To make good one's words is not good faith and to be speculating about death is not boldness. You will repent of this measure."

Tze-so did not follow this counsel, but called Shing [back to T'ao], and stationed him near the borders of Woo, where he became duke of Pih. [Ere long], he asked leave to invade Ch'ing; but Tze-so said, "The ordinances of T'ao are not yet fully arranged. But for this, [the thing should be done]. I will not forget the matter. By and by he made the same request, and leave was given to him; but before he had raised his forces, the people of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, and T'ao relieved it, and made a covenant with it. Shing was angry and said, "Here is a man of Ch'ing. My enemy is not far off," and he then proceeded to sharpen his sword. P'ing the son of Tze-k'e seeing him so engaged, said to him, "King's grandson, what are you doing that for?" Shing replied, "I have the reputation of being straightforward. If I do not tell you, how can I be called so? It is to kill your father. P'ing put this to Tze-so who said, "Shing is like an egg which I have hatched. I have brought him up under my wings. According to the order of the State of T'ao, when I die, no other but he will be chief minister or marshal." When Shing heard this, he said, "The chief minister is mad. If he die a natural death, it will be my condemnation." Still Tze-so did not repent of what he had done. Shing said to Shih K'eh, "If we meet the king and the two high ministers with 500 men in all, the thing may be done." K'eh replied "The men cannot be got; and he added "At the south of the market place there is one Hsiao E-k'ao. If you can get him, he will be equal to 500 men." They then went together to the place and saw the man. The duke of Pih talked, and was pleased, with him; but when he told him his object, E-k'ao refused [to engage in it]. Shing then threatened him with his sword, but he made no movement. "The offer of gain," said Shing "could not flatter him; threatening could not terrify him. He is not one who will seek to get favour by letting out my words; and with this he left him."

A body of men from Woo having attacked Shih, the duke of Pih defeated them, and begged leave to present [in the court] the spoils of the battle. This was granted him, and he took the opportunity to make an insurrection. In autumn, in the 7th month, he killed Tze-so and Tze-k'e in the court, and made king Hway a prisoner. Tze-so covered his face with his sleeve, as he was dying; but Tze-k'e said, "Heretofore I have used my strength in the service of our ruler; I must now end in the same way." With this he tore up a large log of a camphor wood tree, killed a man with it, and died. Shih K'eh advised Shing to burn the treasury and murder the king, for if he did not do so, his enterprise would not succeed. The duke, however, said, "No. To murder the king would be inauspicious. And if I burned the treasury I should have no stores. Where then could I maintain myself?" K'eh replied, "Holding the State of T'ao, and ruling its people and at the same

time reverently serving the Spirits, you will not be without good auspices and sufficient stores. You need not be anxious lest the people should not follow you."

[At this time], the duke of Shih was in T'ao and all the people outside the barrier wall advised him to advance upon the capital. He replied, however "I have heard that when a man puts his fortune to the risk by hazardous ways, he is insatiable in his desires, and falls from his place [like a vessel] made too heavy on one side." When he heard that Shing had put to death Kwan Szu [who was sprung] from T'ao, then he advanced.

The duke of Pih wished to make Tze-ku king, but that prince refused, on which the duke carried him off by force of arms. Tze-ku said, "If you, a king's grandson, will secure the peace of the State of T'ao, and will correct and regulate the royal House and afterwards extend your shelter over it, this is what I desire. Shall I presume not to obey and follow you? If animated by a desire for your own exclusive advantage you proceed to overthrow the royal House, and do not regard the State of T'ao, though I die, I cannot follow you. The duke on this put him to death, and proceeded with the king to the high treasury the gate of which was kept by Shih K'eh. Hung yang an eunuch however dug through the wall, and carried the king on his back to the place of [his mother], the queen Ch'ao. At the same time the duke of Shih drew near. When he arrived at the north gate some one met him and said, "Why are you without your helmet? The people are looking for you as for an indulgent parent. If the arrows of the rebels wound you, it will destroy the hope of the people—how is it that you are not helmeted?" The duke on this assumed his helmet and advanced. Shortly he met another man, who said to him "Why are you wearing your helmet? The people are looking for you as they look for a good year. Daily are they expecting your arrival. If they [once] see your face, they will feel at rest. When they [thus] know that they will not die, their souls will all be on fire; and they will, as it were, point you out as a mark throughout the whole city. Is it not too bad in you to cover your face and destroy the hope of the people?" At this speech, the duke took off his helmet and advanced without it.

[As he went on], he met Koo, the director of Remembrance, who was leading his followers to join the duke of Pih. Tze-kuo (The duke of Shih was so styled) said to him, "If it had not been for the two nihilists [who have been put to death], T'ao would have ceased to be a State. Is it to be preserved by abandoning the virtuous and following the rebellious? The director on this followed the duke of Shih, who sent him, with the people of the city to attack the duke of Pih. That leader fled to a hill, and strangled himself; and his followers concealed his body. Shih K'eh was taken alive, and questioned about the duke's death. "I know," replied he "the place where he died, but he told me not to tell it." "If you do not tell it," he was told, "we will hold you." He said, "If our enterprise had succeeded, I should have been minister. That I should be held on its failure is the natural consequence. What harm can it do me?" Accordingly he was



boiled. Shing's brother Yen fled to K'wan-hwang. Shin Choo-leang (The duke of Sheh) took the offices of both the murdered ministers, but when the State was composed, he made Ning (Son of Tsze-se) chief minister, and K'wan (Son of Tsze-k'e) minister of War, and remained himself to old age in Sheh.

[This Tsze-kaou or Shin Choo-leang is the duke of Sheh of the Analects, VII xviii, XIII xvi.]

3 A favourite of the marquis of Wei, who interpreted dreams, having asked for some spirits from T'ae shuh He-tsze, and being refused them, he joined with the diviner, and said to the marquis, "Your lordship has a great minister in the south-west corner who, we are afraid, will injure you, if you do not send him away." On this [the marquis] drove out T'ae-shuh E (He-tsze), who fled to Tsai.

4 The marquis of Wei said to Hwan Liang-foo, "I have now succeeded to my father, but I am not in possession of his [valuable] articles (Which duke Chieh had carried away with him),—what is to be done? Liang-foo took the place of the torch-bearer, and said, "Tsh and the exiled marquis are both your sons. Call the latter back, and then choose the abler of the two [to succeed you]. If he be not the abler, the articles [which he carried away] can thus be got. An attendant told this to Tsh, who made five men follow him with a pig, seized the marquis, and forced him to make a covenant with him, requesting him also to put Liang-foo to death. "I covenanted with him," said the marquis, "to forgive him three capital offences." "But," urged Tsh, "I ask that you will put him to death, for the the next offence after those three." To this the marquis agreed.

### Seventeenth year.

左傳曰十七年春衛侯爲虎幄於藉圃成求令名者而與之始食焉。人請使良人良人乘輿旬兩牡紫衣狐裘袒裘不釋劍而食。人使宰以退數之以罪而殺之。

月越了伐吳吳了禦之笠澤夾水而陳。越了爲左右句卒使夜或左或右鼓譟而進吳師分以禦之越了以軍潛涉富吳中軍而鼓之吳師大亂遂敗之。

首趙鞅使告於衛曰君之在晉也忘父爲上請君若人來以免忘父不然寡君其曰忘父之爲也。衛侯辭以難人又使榘之夏六月趙鞅圍衛齊國觀陳瓊救衛得首人之致師者了上使服而見之曰國了實執齊柄而命壙口無辟首師豈敢廢命了又何辱簡了曰我下伐衛木下與齊戰乃遂。

楚白公之亂陳人恃其聚而侵楚。楚既寧將取陳麥楚了問帥於人師了穀與葉公諸梁了穀曰右領差申與左史老皆相令尹司馬以伐陳其可使也了高曰率賤民慢之懼不用命焉了穀曰觀了父都俘也武王以爲軍卒是以克州蓼服隨唐人啟羣蠻彭仲爽中俘也文王以爲令尹實縣中息朝陳蔡封畛於汝唯其任也何賤之有了高曰人命不謫令尹有憾於陳大君亡之其必令尹之了是與君命舍焉臣懼右領與左史有俘之賤而無其令德也。卜卜之武城尹占使帥師取陳麥陳人御之敗遂圍

陳秋七月己卯楚公孫朝帥師滅陳王與葉公枚卜子良以爲令尹沈尹朱曰吉過於其志葉公曰王子而相國過將何爲他日改卜子國而使爲令尹

衛侯夢於北宮見人登昆吾之櫬被髮北面而譟曰登此昆吾之虛綿綿生之瓜余爲靡夏夫叫天無辜公親筮之胥彌赦占之曰不害與之邑真之而逃奔宋衛侯貞卜其辭曰如魚鼈尾衡流而方羊裔焉大國滅之將亡闔門塞寶乃自後踰冬十月晉復伐衛入其郭將入城簡子曰止叔向有言曰怙亂滅國者無後衛人出莊公而與晉平晉立襄公之孫般師而還十一月衛侯自鄆入般師出初公登城以望見戎州間之以告公曰我姬姓也何戎之有焉前之公使匠人欲逐石圃未及而罷作辛巳石圃因匠氏攻公公閉門而請弗許踰於北方而隊折股戎州人攻之犬子疾公子青踰從公戎州人殺之公入於戎州己氏初公自城上見己氏之妻髮美使髡之以爲呂姜也既入焉而示之璧曰活我吾與汝璧己氏曰殺汝璧其焉往遂殺之而取其璧衛人復公孫般師而立之十二月齊人伐衛衛人請平立公子起執般師以歸舍諸幽公會齊侯盟於蒙孟武伯相齊侯稽首公拜齊人怒武伯曰非天子寡君無所稽首武伯問於高柴曰諸侯盟誰執牛耳季羔曰卽衍之役吳公子姑曹發陽之役衛石魋武伯曰然則蒧也

宋皇瑗之子縶有友曰田丙而奪其兄劉般邑以與之劉般愠而行告桓司馬之臣子儀克子儀克適宋告夫人曰縶將納桓氏公問諸子仲初子仲將以杞姬之子非我爲子縶曰必立伯也是良材子仲怒弗從故對曰右師則老矣不識與也公執之皇瑗奔晉召之

▲VII. 1. In the [duke's] 17th year the marquise of Wei made a tent adorned with paintings of tigers in his own peculiar garden; and when it was finished, he sought for men of the best reputation, to feast with them in it at its opening. The heir-son [Teth] begged him to get Leang too to be present. That officer came in the carriage of a minister of the 2d degree, with 2 horses; and in a purple robe, with a jacket of fox-fur over it. On his arrival, he threw open the fox-fur but did not take off his sword. The heir-son ordered him to be dragged away set forth to him his 3 offences and put him to death.

2. In the 3d month, the viscount of Yueh invaded Woo, and was met by the lieutenant of Woo at the marsh of Leifu. Their forces were drawn up over against each other on either side of the water. The viscount of Yueh formed two bodies in files of five on his left and right, and made them during the night, with a noise of drums, advance now on the right and now on the left. The army of Woo divided to meet them on which the viscount of Yueh stole through the water right against the centre of that of Woo, which was thrown into great confusion and defeated.

3 'Ch'au Yang of Ts'in sent a message to the marquis of Wei, saying, "When your lordship was in Ts'in, I (王) was a name of Yang) was your host. I beg you or your eldest son now to come [to Ts'in], that I may escape being incriminated. If you do not do so, my ruler will say that your not coming is my doing." The marquis of Wei declined to go to Ts'in on the ground of the difficulties in which he was, and his eldest son made representations injurious to him. In summer, in the 6th month, Ch'au Yang laid siege to the capital of Wei, to the relief of which came Kwoh Kwan and Ch'in Kwan of Ts'e. An officer of Ts'in, who had come with a challenge to battle, having been made prisoner, Tsze-yuh (Ch'in Kwan) caused him to be clothed in his proper dress, and then went to see him. "Kwoh-tsze," said he to the prisoner, "has the govt of Ts'e in his hands, and he ordered me not to avoid the army of Ts'in. How should I presume to disobey his command? and why should your leader take the trouble to send a challenge?" Keen-tsze said, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Wei, and not about fighting with Ts'e," and on this he withdrew.

4 'During the troubles of Ts'oo caused by the duke of Pih, the people of Ch'in, relying on their accumulated stores, made an incursion into it. When the State was tranquilized, it was resolved to carry off the wheat crop of Ch'in, and the viscount consulted the grand-tutor Tsze-kuh, and Choo-l'ang duke of Shieh, about a leader for the expedition. Tsze-kuh said, "Ch'ae-keu commander of the Right and Laou, historiographer of the Left, both attended the chief minister and the marshal in a former attack of Ch'in, they may be employed now." Tsze-kaou said, "When the leaders are of low rank, the people despise them. I am afraid the orders of those officers will not be obeyed." Tsze-kuh replied, "Kwan Ting-foo was a captive of Joh, but our king Woo employed him as the general of the army, and thence came the conquest of Chow and L'auou, the subjugation of Suy and T'ang, and a great opening up of all the Man tribes. P'ang Chung-shwang was a captive of Shin, but our king Wan employed him as his chief minister, and he made Shin and Seih districts of our State. The bringing Ch'in and Ts'ae to our court, and the enlargement of our boundaries to the Joo, were his achievements. What has lowness of rank to do in this matter?" Tsze-kaou rejoined, "The decree of Heaven does not waver. The [late] chief minister had ground of indignation with Ch'in. If Heaven be [now] minded to destroy it, the work will be assigned to the chief minister's son. Why should the ruler not pass over those officers? I am afraid that the commander of the Right and the historiographer of the Left have the lowness of rank of the two captives [you have mentioned], without their excellent virtue." The king consulted the tortoise-shell, which indicated that the choice of the commandant of Woo-shing would be fortunate (He was the son of Tsze-se, the late chief-minister). He was sent therefore with a force to carry off the wheat crop of Ch'in. The people of that State withstood him, and were defeated, on which he laid siege to its capital city. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Ke-maou, he,—the

Kung-sun Ch'au of Ts'oo,—at the head of his force, extinguished Ch'in (See the Chuen on X ix 3).

'The king and the duke of Shieh consulted the tortoise-shell about Tsze-l'ang, whether he should be appointed chief minister. Choo, commandant of Shin, said, "The indication is that the appointment will be fortunate, but that he will go beyond your expectations." "A son of our [former] king and prime-minister, if he go beyond our expectations, what will he proceed to?" said the duke. Shortly after, they consulted the shell about Tsze-kwoh, and appointed him chief-minister.

5 'The marquis of Wei dreamt in the north palace, that he saw a man mounting the tower of Keun-woo. His hair was dishevelled, and with his face to the north, he cried out, saying,

"I mount here in the old site of Keun-woo,  
The gourds are only commencing their growth  
I am Hw'än L'ing-soo,  
I appeal to Heaven in assertion of my innocence."

The marquis himself consulted the reeds about the dream, and Seu Me-shay interpreted the result to the effect that there was no harm in it, on which a city was given to him, which he left, making his escape to Sung. The marquis again consulted the tortoise-shell, the interpretation of the indications of which was,

"He is like a fish with a red tail,  
Tossed cross-wise, and driven to the side  
Far from the great State,  
He will be extinguished and flee  
His gate and all his openings shut,  
He will get over behind."

'In winter, in the 10th month, Ts'in again invaded Wei, and entered its outer suburbs. When the army was about to enter the capital, Keen-tsze said, "Let us stop." Shuh-h'ang said that he who took advantage of its disorder to extinguish a State would have no posterity." The people of Wei then drove out duke Chwang, and made peace with Ts'in, which raised Pan-sze, a grandson of duke S'ang, to be marquis, and then withdrew its army. In the 11th month, the [expelled] marquis again entered the capital from Keuen, and Pan-sze fled.

'Before this, duke [Chwang] had been [on one occasion] taking a view from the city-wall, and observed [the place called] Jung-chow. Having inquired about it, and been told [its name], he said "Our surname is Ke. What have any Jung to do here?" and he proceeded to plunder the place.

'He had employed the workmen for a long time, and wished to expel Shih Poo, but before he could do so, an insurrection broke out, and on Sin-sze, Shih Poo, supported by the workmen, attacked him. He shut his gate, and begged for terms, which were refused him, and in getting over the wall on the north, he fell and broke his thigh, when the men of Jung-chow attacked him. His sons Ts'ih and Ts'ing got over it after him, and were killed by them. He then entered the house of Ke of Jung-chow.

'Before this, he had seen, from the wall of the city, the wife of this Ke, how beautiful her hair was, and had caused it to be cut off, to make a



*Nineteenth year.*

左傳曰：十九年春，齊人來徵會。夏，會於原丘，爲鄭故，謀伐  
 人侵楚，以  
 誤吳也。  
 夏，楚公了  
 慶公孫寬，  
 追越師，卒  
 其不及乃  
 還。  
 秋，楚沈諸  
 梁伐東夷，  
 夷男女  
 及楚師，盟  
 於敖。  
 冬，叔向如  
 京師，敬十  
 崩故也。

XIX 1. 'In the [duke's] 19th year, in spring, a body of men from Yueh made an incursion into Ts'oo, in order to delude Woo'

2 'In summer, the Kung-tsze K'ing of Ts'oo and the Kung-sun K'wan pursued the army of Yueh as far as Ming, could not come up with it, and returned'

3 'In autumn, Shin Choo-leang of Ts'oo invaded the rude tribes of the east (To punish Yueh) The men and women of 3 tribes covenanted with the army of Ts'oo at Gaou.'

4 'In winter Shuh Ts'ing (The son of Shuh Seuen) went to the capital, on occasion of the death of king King.'

[This date of the death of king King is very much contested]

*Twentieth year*

左傳曰：二十年春，齊人來徵會。夏，會於原丘，爲鄭故，謀伐  
 晉。鄭人辭諸侯。秋，師。吳  
 吳公了慶忌，諫吳王，不改，必亡。弗聽。出居於艾，遂適  
 楚。聞越將伐吳，冬，請歸。越遂歸，欲除不忠者，以說於越。  
 吳人殺之。  
 十一月，越圍吳。趙孟降於喪食。楚隆曰：年之喪，親暱之  
 極也。上又降之，無乃有故乎？趙孟曰：黃池之役，先王與吳  
 十有質，曰：好惡同之。今越圍吳，嗣子不廢舊業，而敵之，非  
 晉之所能及也。台是以爲降。楚隆曰：若使吳王知之，若何？  
 趙孟曰：可乎？隆曰：請嘗之。乃往。先誥於越軍曰：吳犯閭上  
 國多矣。聞君親討焉。諸夏之人莫不欣喜。唯恐君志之不  
 從，請入視之。許之。召於吳。王曰：寡君之老無恤，使陷臣降，  
 敢展謝。其不共。黃池之役，君之先臣忘父，得承齊盟。曰：好  
 惡同之。今君在難，無恤不敢憚勞，非晉國之所能及也。使  
 陷臣敢展布之。上拜稽首。曰：寡人不佞，不能事越，以爲人  
 大憂。拜命之辱。與之。箴珠，使問趙孟曰：刳踐將小憂寡  
 人，寡人死之，不得矣。上曰：溺人必笑，台將有問也。史黯何  
 以得爲召了？對曰：黯也。進不見怒，退無謗。曰：官哉。

XX 1 In the [duke's] 20th year, in spring, an officer of Ts'e came to call the duke to a meeting, which was held in summer at Lin-k'ew. It was on account of Ch'ing, to lay plans for the invasion of Tsin. The people of Ch'ing, however, declined the action of the States, and in autumn our army returned'

2 'The Kung-tsze K'ing-ke of Woo remonstrated frequently with the viscount, telling

him that, if he did not change his course, ruin must be the result." The viscount would not listen to him, on which he left and resided in E, going afterwards to Ts'oo. When he heard that Yueh was going to invade Woo, he begged leave to return and try to bring about a peace with Yueh. He then returned, and wished to take off the unfaithful [officers] in order to

satisfy Yueh. The people of Woo, however, put him to death.

3. In the 11th month, Yueh laid siege to [the capital of] Woo. Chaou-mang (Chaou Woo-seuh, or Shiang tze, son of Chaou Yang of Tsin, for whom he was now in mourning) diminished the quantity and quality of his mourning diet [in consequence]. Ta'oo Lung said to him, "The three years' mourning is the greatest capitation [of grief for the loss] of relatives; and yet you are now going beyond it,—have you not a reason for this?" Chaou mang replied, "At the meeting of Hwang-ch'e (XIII. 5), my father made a covenant with the king of Woo, that [Tsin and Woo] should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Now Yueh is besieging the capital of Woo. If I, as my father's heir do not make void his engagement, I ought to oppose Yueh, but this is what Tsin is not able to do; and I therefore have diminished my diet." Lung said, "Suppose you should send and make the king of Woo acquainted with the circumstances." Can it be done?" asked the minister. "Allow me to try it," said the other; and he took his way to the scene of strife. First he went to the army of Yueh, and said [to the viscount of that State], "Many have been the attacks and injuries committed by Woo on your superior State, and the people of our [northern] States have all been glad to hear that your lordship is now punishing it in person. I am only afraid

that your desire may not get its satisfaction, and beg your leave to enter the city that I may see." Permission was granted to him; and he then said to the king of Woo, "Woo-seuh, the minister of my ruler has sent me his servant Lung to venture to explain and apologize for his not coming to your assistance. His father Che-foo the former minister of our ruler undertook the engagement of the covenant at Hwang-ch'e, that Tsin and Woo should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Your lordship is now in difficulties. Woo-seuh would not dare to shrink from the toil; but Tsin is not able to make the effort, and he has sent me to venture to represent to you his case." The king bowed with his head to the earth, and said, "Through my incapacity I have not been able to serve Yueh, and have thus caused sorrow to your minister. I acknowledge the condescension of his message." He then gave Lung a small basket of pearls which he sent to Chaou-mang, saying, "Kow tseñ will cause me grief while I live; I would die, but death will not come. I would now ask you a question as with the laugh of a drowning man—how was it that your historiographer Gan (The Birth of the Chuen on X. 111 2), got his reputation of wisdom?" "Gan," said Lung, "when he advanced, incurred no hatred, and when he retired, was followed by no reviling." "His character was desecrated," rejoined the king.

### Twenty first year

左傳曰二十一年  
夏五月越人始來  
秋八月公及齊侯  
郊盟於頓齊人  
賁稽首因歌之曰  
魯人之阜數年不  
覺使我高蹈唯其  
儒書以爲二國憂  
是行也公先至於  
陽穀齊聞丘息曰  
君辱舉玉趾以在  
寡君之軍羣臣將  
傳遽以告寡君地  
其復也君無乃勦  
爲僕人之末次  
除館於舟道辭曰  
敢勦僕人

XXI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty first year an officer from Yueh first came to our court.

2. In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Tsin, and the viscount of Choo in Koo. The people of Tsin, to express their condemnation [of the duke] for not bowing with his head to the ground (XVII. 6), made the following song about it,

"How slow are they of Loo!  
They wait not, though years go,  
And make us travel so,  
'Tis their scholars with their books,  
That thus trouble our two States."

At this time the duke arrived before either of the others at Yang kuh. Lou K'w Ssh of Tsin said to him, "You have condescended to direct your steps here, and are now in the army of my ruler. We will send word with the most rapid despatch to him. But will it not be a trial of your patience till the messenger comes? As our workmen have not yet prepared the station [for the meeting], allow us to prepare a lodging house for you in Chow taou." The duke declined the offer saying that he would not because to trouble their workmen.

左傳曰。十  
九年春。越  
人侵楚。以  
誤吳也。  
夏。楚公了  
慶。公孫寬  
追越師。卒  
其不及乃  
還。  
秋。楚沈諸  
梁伐東夷。  
夷男女  
及楚師盟  
於敖。  
冬。叔占如  
京師。敬十  
崩故也。

[This date of the death of King King is very much contested]

左傳曰：二十五年春，齊人來徵會。夏，會於廪丘，爲鄭故。謀伐首鄭，人辭諸侯。秋，師戮。吳公子慶忌諫吳子曰：不改，必亡。弗聽。出居於艾，遂適楚。聞越將伐吳，冬，請歸。平越遂歸，欲除不患者，以說於越。吳人殺之。

十一月，越圍吳。趙孟降於喪，食。楚隆曰：今之喪，親暱之極也。又降之，無乃有故乎？趙孟曰：黃池之役，先王與吳。上有質，曰：好惡同之。今越圍吳，嗣了不廢舊業，而敵之，非吾之所能及也。台是以爲降。楚隆曰：若使吳王知之，若何？趙孟曰：可。降曰：請嘗之。乃往。先造於越軍曰：吳犯閭，上國多矣。聞君親討焉，諸夏之人莫不欣喜。唯恐君心之不從，請入視之。許之。告於吳王曰：寡君之老無恤，使陷而降，敢展謝其不具。黃池之役，君之先臣忘父，得承齊盟，曰：好惡同之。今君在難，無恤不敢憚勞，非吾國之所能及也。使陪臣敢展布之。王拜稽首曰：寡人不佞，不能弔越，以爲大人憂，拜命之辱。與之箴珠，使問趙孟曰：刳踐將小憂寡人，寡人死之，不得矣。王曰：溺人必笑，台將有問也。史黯何以得爲召了？對曰：黯也，進不見惡，退無謗。王曰：官哉。

him that, if he did not change his course, ruin must be the result." The viscount would not listen to him, on which he left and resided in E, going afterwards to Ts'oo. When he heard that Yueh was going to invade Woo, he begged leave to return and try to bring about a peace with Yueh. He then returned, and wished to take off the unfaithful [officers] in order to

satisfy Yueh. The people of Woo, however put him to death.

3. In the 11th month, Yueh laid siege to [the capital of] Woo. Chao ming (Chao Woo-sueh, or Shao-tze, son of Chao Yang of Tsin, for whom he was now in mourning) diminished the quantity and quality of his mourning diet [in consequence] Ts'oo Lung said to him, "The three years mourning is the greatest expression [of grief for the loss] of relatives; and yet you are now going beyond it;—have you not a reason for this?" Chao ming replied, "At the meeting of Hwang-ch'e (XIII. 3), my father made a covenant with the king of Woo, that [Tsin and Woo] should make common cause in their likes and dislikes. Now Yueh is besieging the capital of Woo. If I, as my father's heir do not make void his engagement, I ought to oppose Yueh, but this is what Tsin is not able to do; and I therefore have diminished my diet." Lung said, "Suppose you should send and make the king of Woo acquainted with the circumstances." Can it be done? asked the minister. "Allow me to try it," said the other; and he took his way to the scene of strife. First he went to the army of Yueh, and said [to the viscount of that State], "Many have been the attacks and injuries committed by Woo on your State, and the people of our [northern] States have all been glad to hear that your lordship is now punishing it in person. I am only afraid

that your desire may not get its satisfaction, and beg your leave to enter the city that I may see." Permission was granted to him; and he then said to the king of Woo, "Woo-sueh, the minister of my ruler has sent me his servant Lung to venture to explain and apologize for his not coming to your assistance. His father Che-foo, the former minister of our ruler undertook the engagement of the covenant at Hwang-ch'e that Tsin and Woo should make common cause in their likes and dislikes. Your lordship is now in difficulties. Woo-sueh would not dare to shrink from the toil; but Tsin is not able to make the effort, and he has sent me to venture to present to you his case." The king bowed with his head to the earth, and said, "Through my incapacity I have not been able to serve Yueh, and have thus caused sorrow to your minister. I acknowledge the condemnation of his message." He then gave Lung a small basket of pearls which he sent to Chao-ming saying, "Kow tsen will cause me grief while I live; I would die but death will not come. I would now ask you a question as with the laugh of a drowning man;—how was it that your historiographer Gan (The 11th of the Chuen on X. xxxi. 2), got his reputation of wisdom?" "Gan," said Lung, "when he advanced, incurred no hatred, and when he retired, was followed by no reviling." "His character was deserved," rejoined the king.

### *Twenty first year*

左傳曰二十一年夏五月越人始來秋八月公及齊侯郊子盟於顧齊人責宿首因歌之曰魯人之阜數年不魯使之高蹈唯其儒書以爲二國憂是行也公先至於陽穀齊聞丘忌曰君辱舉玉趾以在寡君之軍羣臣將傳遞以告寡君地其復也君無乃勤爲僕人之末次請除館於舟道辭曰敢勤僕人

XXI. 1. In the [duke's] twenty first year an officer from Yueh first came to our court.

2. In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e, and the viscount of Choo in Koo. The people of Ts'e, to express their condemnation [of the duke] for not bowing with his head to the ground (XVII. 6), made the following song about it,

"How slow are they of Loo!  
They wake not, though years go,  
And make us travel so,  
Tis their scholars with their books,  
That thus trouble our two States.

At this time the duke arrived before either of the others at Yang kuh. Lou-k'w Beh of Ts'e said to him, "You have condescended to direct your steps here, and are now in the army of my ruler. We will send word with the most rapid despatch to him. But will it not be a trial of your patience till the messenger returns? As our workmen have not yet prepared the lodging [for the meeting], allow us to prepare a lodging house for you in Chow tau." The duke declined the offer saying that he would not presume to trouble their workmen.



左傳曰。十二年夏。四月。邾隱公自齊奔越。曰。吳爲無道。執父立了。越人歸之。大了。單奔越。冬十一月。丁卯。越滅吳。請使吳子居。弔東。辭曰。孤老矣。焉能事君。乃縊。越人以歸。

2. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Ting-naou, Yueh extinguished Woo, and proposed to the king of it to reside in Yung-tung. He declined, saying, "I am old, how can I serve your lordship?" And with this he strangled himself. They carried his body back to Yueh.'

左傳曰：二十三年春，宋景公卒，季康了使內有弔，曰：「送葬。」敝邑有社稷之事，使肥與有職競焉。是以不得助執紼，使求從輿。曰：「以肥之得備彌甥也，有不腆先人之產馬，使求薦諸夫人之宰，其可以稱旌繁乎？」

夏六月，晉荀瑤伐齊，高無不帥師御之。知伯視齊師，馬駭，遂驅之。曰：「齊人知余旗，其謂余畏而反也。」及壘而還，將戰，長武了請卜。知伯曰：「君告於人了，而卜之以守龜於宗祧。」占矣，台又何卜焉？且齊人取我英丘，君命瑤，非敢耀武也。治英丘也，以辭伐罪，足矣，何必卜？」辰，戰於稔丘，齊師敗績。知伯親禽顏庚。秋八月，叔占如越，始使越也。越諸鞅來聘，報叔占也。

3 'In autumn, in the 8th month, Shuh Ts'ing went to Yueh;—the first complimentary mission to that State Choo Yang of Yueh, came to Loo on a similar mission, in return for that of Shuh Ts'ing.'

## Twenty fourth year

左傳曰二十四年夏四月晉侯將伐齊使來乞師曰昔臧文仲以楚師伐齊取穀宜叔以晉師伐齊取汶陽寡君欲微福於周公乞靈於臧氏臧石帥師會之取廩丘軍吏令繕將進萊章曰君卑政暴往歲克敵今又勝都天奉多矣又焉能進是豈有也役將班矣晉師乃還饋臧石牛犬史駟之曰以寡君之在行牢禮不度敢展駟之

邾子又無道越人執之以歸而立公子何何亦無道

公子荆之母嬖將以爲夫人使宗人毀其禮對曰無之公怒曰女爲宗司立夫人國之大禮也何故無之對曰周公及武公娶於薛孝惠娶於商自桓以下娶於齊此禮也則有若以妾爲夫人則固無其禮也公卒立之而以荆爲犬子國人始惡之

閏月公如越得太子遯郢將妻公而多與之地公孫有山使告於季孫季孫懼使因犬宰詬而納路焉乃止

XXIV 1. In the [duke's] twenty fourth year in summer in the 4th month, the marquis of Tsin, intending to invade Tse, sent an officer to ask the aid of an army from us, saying, "Formerly Tsang Wan-chung, with an army of Tse, invaded Tse, and took Kuh (See V. xvi. 5, 7); Souen-shuh with an army of Tsin, invaded Tse, and took Wan-yang (VIII. II. 4, 7). My ruler [now] wishes to seek the blessing of the duke of Chow, and desires to beg the help of the power of the Tsang family." Tsang Shih [was sent to] join him with a force when they took Lin-k'ew. The officers of the army gave orders to make everything ready for advancing; but Lee Chang said, "The ruler is reduced low and the ministers are oppressive. Last year Tsin vanquished its opponents, and now it has taken a great city. It has received much favour from Heaven; how should it be able to advance farther? That is a mistake. The expedition will now withdraw. The army of Tsin did accordingly withdraw. Some oxen were given alive to Tsang Shih, and the grand historiographer [of Tsin] apologized to him, saying, "Because our ruler is on march, this gift of oxen is not according to the rule. I venture to set forth our apologies to you."

2. The viscount of Choo gain pursued an unreasonable course, on which an officer of Yueh seized him, and carried him to that State, appointing his son Ho in his stead. Ho also acted in the same unreasonable way

3. The mother of the duke's son King was his favourite, and he proposed to raise her to the position of his wife. Having told the director of ceremonies Hsin Hsa to go and see those appropriate for such a proceeding, that officer replied that there were none such. The duke said to him in a rage, "You are an officer of the ancestral temple, and the appointment of the ruler's wife is a great ceremony of the State. Why do you say that there are no rules for it?" The duke of Chow was the reply and duke Woo married daughters of Szech. Hsiao and Hsueh daughters of Sang; from Hsiao downwards, our rulers have married daughters of Tse. For such marriages there are the appropriate ceremonies; but for the constituting a concubine the wife there are none." The issue, however was that the duke carried out his purpose, and declared that King should be his successor. From this time the people began to hate the duke."

4. In the intercalary month, the duke went to Yueh, and won the friendship of Sui-yin, the heir-apparent, who proposed giving a wife to him, and much territory. Kung-sun Yew shan sent word of this to Ke-sun, who was frightened by the prospect, and sent bribes which he got presented through the grand administrator Pei. The plan was then dropped.

*Twenty-fifth year.*

左傳曰：二十五年，夏五月，庚辰，衛侯出奔宋。衛侯爲靈臺於藉圃，與諸大夫飲酒焉。褚師聲了韞而登席，公怒，辭曰：臣有疾異於人，若見之，君將設之，是以不敢。公愈怒，人大辭之，不可。褚師出，公執其手曰：必斷而足。聞之，褚師與司寇亥乘曰：今日幸而後亡，公之入也，奪南氏邑，而奪司寇亥政。公使侍人納公文懿了之申於池。初，衛人翦髮丁氏，以其帑賜彭封彌了，彌了飲公酒，納亥之女，嬖以爲大人，其弟期，人叔疾之從孫甥也，少畜於公，以爲司徒。夫人寵亥，期得罪，公使斤久，公使優狡盟拳彌，而甚近信之，故褚師比，公孫彌牟，公文要，司寇亥，司徒期，因斤與拳彌以作亂，皆執利兵，無者執斤，使拳彌入於公宮，而自大了疾之宮，諫以攻公。鄆了上請禦之，彌援貝丁曰：了則勇矣，將若君何？不見先君乎？君何所不逞欲？且君嘗在外矣，豈必不及？當今不可，衆怒難犯，休而易間也。乃出，將適蒲，彌曰：晉無信，不可。將適鄆，彌曰：齊晉爭我，不可。將適洽，彌曰：魯不足與，請適城鉏，以鉤越。越有君，乃適城鉏，彌曰：衛盜不可知也，請速自我始。乃載寶以歸。公爲支離之卒，因視史揮以侵衛，衛人病之，懿了知之，見了之，請逐揮，文了曰：無罪。懿了曰：彼好專利而安，夫見君之入也，將先遁焉，若逐之，必出於南門，而適君所，夫越新得諸侯，將必請師焉，揮在朝，使史遺諸其宰，揮出，信弗內。五日，乃館諸外甲，遂有寵，使如越請師。

八月，公自越，李康了，孟武伯逆於力梧，郭重僕見了曰：忠口多次，君請盡之。公宴於力梧，武伯爲祝，忠郭重曰：何肥也？李孫曰：兩飲境也，以魯國之密邇仇讐，臣是以不獲從君，克免於人行，又謂車也肥。公曰：是食口多矣，能無肥乎？飲酒不樂，公與大人始有忠。

XXV 1 'In the [duke's] 25th year, in summer, in the 5th month, on K'ang-shin, Cheh, marquis of Wei, fled from that State to Sung. The marquis had made a marvellous tower in his own peculiar garden, and was drinking in it with all his great officers. Among them was Shung-tsze, superintendent of the markets, who ascended and took his place on his mat, with his stockings on. The duke being angry, he

excused himself on the ground that he had a peculiar disease [in his feet], which would make the duke vomit, if he saw it. The duke was still more angry, and could not be appeased by the apologies of the [other] great officers. The superintendent then left the tower, the duke threatening him with his fist as with a javelin, and saying that he would cut off his feet. This was heard by Shung-tsze, who got into a carriage,

with Hsiao the minister of Crime, and said, "To-day I am fortunate that my death is deferred till another day."

When the duke [re-] entered the State, he took away his city from Nan-sha, and his power from Hsiao, the minister of Crime. He [also] caused one of his attendants to push the carriage of Kung Wan E-tze into a pond.

Before this, when the people of Wei deprived the officer Hsiao Ting of his position (See the narrative on XI. 7) here should, probably be 臣, his household and property were given to P'ang fung Me-tze, who entertained the duke in consequence, and presented to him the daughter of Hsiao Mow. She became his favourite, and was put in the position of his wife. Her brother K'ue was grandson of the sister of Tiao-shuh Tai, and, when young, had been brought up in the palace. He was afterwards made minister of Instruction; but when the favour of the lady declined, he was made guilty of some offence. The duke kept employing the workmen of the 3 departments for a great length of time. He also made K'ueon, a player on cymbal with K'ueon Me, kept him near to himself and very much trusted him.

In consequence of all these things, Pe super-intendent of the markets, Kung-sun Me-mow, Kung Wan Yaou, Hsiao minister of Crime, and K'ue minister of Instruction, took advantage of [the ill-intention of the] workmen and of K'ueon Me, to raise an insurrection. Armed with sharp weapons, and those of them who were not so provided with axes, they sent K'ueon Me into the duke's palace; and beginning to make a great noise at the palace of the [late] eldest son, Tai, they attacked the duke. K'ueon Me-tze asked leave to oppose them; but Me held his hand, and said, "You are bold indeed; but what good can you do to the duke? Do you not see the case of the late ruler? Let the marquis go wherever he pleases. He has, moreover already been abroad; why should he not return? At present [resistance is of no use]. The anger of the nobles is not to be encountered. Let it pass away and it will be easy to find an opportunity. The duke accordingly left the city. [At first] he proposed going to P'oo; but Me said, "Tai is not to be trusted; don't go there." He then proposed going to K'ueon, but Me said, "No. Tai and Tai will

be quarrelling about us." Next he proposed going to Ling; but Me said, "Loo is not sufficient to have any dealings with. Let us go to Shing-t'oo, to draw the notice of Yueh, which now has a ruler." Accordingly the duke went on the way to Shing-t'oo. Me said, "The robbers of Wei must not get to know [where we are]; let us make haste. I will go first," and he thus carried the valuables which they had with them in his chariot and returned.

The duke [by and by] formed his men into separate bands, and, by means of a conspiracy, once with the prayer m'ker Hway, made incursions into Wei, to the distress of the people. E-tze knew of the circumstance, went to see Tiao-che, (The Kung-sun Me-mow) and begged that he would drive out Hway. Wan-tze said, "He has committed no offence." E-tze replied, "He loves to monopolize all profit, and is lawless. You would see, if the duke returned to the capital, that he would be the first to lead the way. If you drive him out, he will escape by the south gate, and go where the duke is. Yueh has recently got the control of the States; they will be sure to go there, and ask the assistance of an army. When Hway was in the court, an officer was sent to send away all the members of his household. He went out [after them], stopped outside 2 nights without being recalled; and on the 5th day lodged in Wao-lo. He then became a fa wife [with the duke], and advised him to go to Yueh to ask the help of a force.

2. In the 8th month, the duke arrived from Yueh. He K'ang-tze and Ming Woo-ph met him at Woo-woo. Kwok Ch'ung drove the duke's carriage; and when he saw the two ministers, he said, "They speak much evil. Let your lordship pay particular attention to them."

The duke took refreshment at Woo-woo, and Woo-ph presented him with the cup of congratulation. Duahki g Kwok Ch'ung he said, "How stout he is! Ke-san then asked that Woo-ph should be made to drink [a cup of spirits], adding, "In consequence of Loo's being so near its enemies, we were not able to follow your lordship, and so escaped so great a journey but why should he say that Ch'ung has got fat?" Can one who eats many of his words, said the duke, "escape getting fat? They drank [in this way] without any pleasure, and finally now commenced between the duke and his great officers

Twenty-sixth year

左傳曰二十六年夏五月叔孫舒帥師會越舉如后庸宋樂茂納衛侯文子欲納之懿子曰君愾而虐少待之必毒於民乃睦於子矣師侵外州大獲出禦之大敗掘稽師定子之墓焚之於平莊之上文子使王孫齊私於舉如曰子將大滅衛乎抑納君而已乎舉如曰寡君之命無他納衛君而已文子致衆而問焉曰君以蠻夷伐國國幾亡矣請納之衆曰勿納曰弼卒立而有

益請自北門出。衆曰：勿出。車賂越人，中開守陴，而納公。公不敢入。師還，立悼公。南氏相之，以城鉏與越人。公曰：期則爲此。令苟有怨於大人者，報之。司徒期聘於越，公攻而奪之幣，期告曰：「命取之，期以衆取之。」公怒，殺期之甥之爲犬了者，遂卒於越。

宋景公無子，取公孫周之了得，與啟，畀諸公宮。木有了焉，於是阜緩爲右師，阜非我爲人司馬，阜懷爲司徒，靈不緩爲左師，樂伐爲司城，樂朱鉏爲人司寇，六卿族降聽政。因人尹以達，人尹常不告，而以其欲，稱君命以令國人，惡之。司城欲去人尹，左師曰：縱之使盈其罪，重而無忌，能無敝乎？冬十一月，公游於空澤，辛巳，卒於連中。人尹與空澤之一千甲，奉公自空桐入，如沃宮，使召了，曰：聞下有師，君請了，了書，了了，以甲劫之，曰：君有疾病，請了盟。乃盟於少寢之庭，曰：無爲公室不利。人尹立啟，卒喪殯於大宮。日而後國人知之，司城伐使宣曰於國曰：人尹惑蠱其君，而專其利，今君無疾而死，死又居之，是無他矣。人尹之罪也。得夢啟北首而寢於盧門之外，曰：爲鳥而集於其上，味加於南門，尾加於桐門，曰：余夢人，必立。人尹謀曰：我不在盟，無乃逐我，復盟之乎？使祝爲載書，了了在唐中，將盟之，祝襄以載書，曰：阜非我，阜非我，因了潞門，尹得左師，謀曰：民與我，逐之乎？皆歸授甲，使徇於國曰：人尹惑蠱其君，以陵虐公室，與我者救君者也。衆曰：與之。人尹徇曰：戴氏，阜氏，將不利公室，與我者無憂不富。衆曰：無別。戴氏，阜氏，欲伐公，樂得曰：不可，彼以陵公有罪，我伐公，則甚焉，使國人施於大川。人尹本啟以介楚，乃立得，司城爲卜卿，盟曰：族共政，無相害也。

衛出公自城鉏，使以弓問了贛，曰：台其入乎？了贛稽首受弓，對曰：臣不識也。私於使者曰：昔成公孫於陳，甯武了，孫莊了，爲宛濮之盟，而召入，獻公孫於齊，了鮮了辰，爲火儀之盟，而召入，今君再在，孫矣，內不聞獻之親，外不聞成之卿，則賜不識所由入也。詩曰：無競惟人，四方其順之。君得其人，四方以爲主，而國於何有。

XXVI.1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in summer, in the 5th month, Shuh-sun Shoo, at the head of a force joined Kao Joo and How Tung of Yueh, and Yoh Fei of Sung in an expedition to restore the marquis of Wei. Wan-tze wished to receive him; but E-tze said to him, "The ruler is obstinate and oppressive. Wait a little. He is sure to vent his poison on the people, who will consequently be of one mind with you." [In a little], the [invading] army made an incursion on Wae-chow [on behalf of the marquis of] Wei, and obtained great spoil; and the troops which went forth to resist them were greatly defeated. [On this, the marquis] dug up the grave of Ting-tze, [intendant of the markets, and] burned his body on the top of Ping-chwang. Wan-tze sent Wang sun Tae privately to ask Kao Joo whether he meant utterly to extinguish Wei, or simply to restore the marquis. Kao Joo said that his ruler's orders to him were simply that he should restore the ruler; and on this Wan-tze assembled the people and put the thing to them, saying, "The ruler has now attacked the city with those wild people of the south and east, till it is nearly destroyed. Let us receive him back." They said, "Don't receive him." He went on, "It will be a benefit to you if I go away. Allow me to go out at the north gate." "You shall not go out," all urged. They then sent great bribes to the officers of Yueh, threw open the gates, manned the parapets, and [offered] to receive the duke. He however did not venture to enter the city; and the armies withdrawing the people of Wei raised duke Taou to the marquisate. Nan-she (I e Wan-tze) acted as minister to him, and made over Shing ts'oo to Yueh. The [expelled] duke said "This is K'e's doing;" and he told all [the ladies] who had any quarrel with his wife (K'e's sister) to vent their spite on her. K'e having been sent on a complimentary mission to Yueh, the duke attacked him, and carried off his offerings. K'e laid the matter before the king who ordered him to retake the things, which, with the aid of a large body of men, he did. The duke was angry, put to death the son of K'e's sister whom he had declared his successor and afterwards died in Yueh.

2. Duke King of Sung had no son, but took Tib and K'e, the sons of Kung sun Chow and brought them up in his palace without appointing either of them however to be his successor. At this time Hwang Hwan was master of the Right; Hwang Fei-go, grand marshal; Hwang Hwa, minister of Instruction; Ling Puh-hwan, master of the Left; Yoh Fei, minister of Works; and Yoh Choo-ts'oo, grand-minister of Crime. These 6 ministers belonging to three clans conducted the government with harmony. They should have communicated with the duke through Ta yin; but that minister constantly kept back their presentations, and gave them commands according to his pleasure, pretending that they were from the duke. The people hated him, and the minister of Works wanted to take him off; but the master of the Left said, "Let him alone, till he fill up the measure of his iniquity. When he is like a heavy vessel without any foundation, is it possible he should not be overthrown?"

"In winter in the 10th month the duke was taking relaxation by the marsh of K'ung; and on Sin-tze, he died in Lien-chung. Ta yin raised 1000 men at-arms from the soldiers near the marsh, and conveyed the duke's [body] from K'ung t'ung to the capital. Having gone with it to the Yueh palace he sent to call the six ministers saying there was a report that there were enemies in the State and that the ruler wished them to frame measures for the emergency. When they arrived he made the men-at-arms seize them and said to them, "The ruler is very ill, and asks you to make a covenant," and accordingly they covenanted in the courtyard of the small chamber that they would do nothing disadvantageous to the ducal House. Ta yin then declared K'o to be the successor to the State bore the coffin to the ancestral temple and set it forth there; but it was not till the 3d day that the thing was known in the city. Fei, the minister of Works spread it abroad through the city that Ta yin had deceived the ruler and sought to monopolize all gain to himself; that the duke had now died without any illness; that Ta yin had concealed his death; and that things could not be accounted for on any other ground but the crime of Ta yin.

Tib dreamt that K'e was lying outside the Loo gate with his head to the north, and that he himself was a bird which was settled upon him. His beak reached to the south gate and his tail to the Tung gate. "I have dreamt," said he, "a beautiful dream. I shall succeed to the State." Ta yin then considered that, as he was not in the covenant, and they might drive him out, he had better impose a second covenant on the ministers; and he therefore ordered the priest to prepare the writings. The ministers were then in Tung yu; and just as the time for the covenant was at hand, the priest Hwang told Hwang Fei-go of the writing. Fei-go consulted with Tze-loo, Tib the overseer of the gates, and the master of the Left, whether they could not get the people to drive him out for them. They then returned to their houses, and gave out their armour, sending notice round the city to this effect, "Ta yin keeps the ruler in a State of delusion, and insolently usurps the ducal House. Those who side with us will be saviours of the ruler." The multitude responded, "Let us side with them." Ta yin, [on his part], sent round a notice saying, "The clans of Tao and Hwang (The Yoh were descended from duke Tao) wish to injure the ducal House. Those who side with me need have no trouble about not becoming rich. The multitude said, "It is not different [from a ducal notice]!"

Tae-she and Hwang-she wished to attack the duke but Yoh Tib said "No. He is a criminal because of his violent proceeding with the duke; but if we attack the duke, our conduct will be more violent than his. They then made the people hold Ta yin as the offender and that officer fled to Ts'oo, taking K'o with him. They then raised Tib to be duke with the minister of Works as chief minister. They made a covenant that the members of their three clans should all share in the government and not injure one another.

3. Duke Chu of Wei sent a messenger with a bow from Shing ts'oo to Tze-kung to

ask him whether he would re-enter Wei again Tsze-kung bowed his head to the ground, received the bow, and replied, "I do not know" [Afterwards], he said privately to the messenger, "Formerly, duke Ch'ing withdrew to Ch'in (V. xlviii. 7), but, through the covenant of Yuen-puh, brought about by Ning Woo-tsze and Sun Chwang-tsze, he entered again Duke H'een withdrew to Ts'e (IX. xiv. 4); but through the covenant of E-e, brought about by Tsze-seen and Tsze-chen, he entered again (IX. xvi. 3) Your ruler has now twice withdrawn from his

State I have not heard of his having relatives like those of H'een, or ministers like those of Ch'ing,—I do not know by what means he is to re-enter It is said in the ode (She, IV. i Pt. i ode IV. 3),

"Nothing gives strength like the employment of right men,  
All throughout the State obey them."

If he [only] had the men, and the four quarters of the State regarded him as their lord, what difficulty would there be with the capital?"

*Twenty-seventh year.*

左傳曰：二十七年春，越了使后庸來聘，曰：邾田封於駘上，二月，盟於平陽，了皆從，康了病之，及了薨，曰：若在此，台不及此人。武伯曰：然何不召？曰：同將召之。又曰：他日請念。

夏四月，辛亥，季康了卒，公弔焉，降禮。

晉荀瑤帥師伐鄭，次於桐丘。鄭駟弘請救於齊，齊師將興，陳成了屬孤了。日朝，設乘車兩馬繫力焉，焉召顏涿聚之了，晉曰：隰之役，而父死焉，以國之多難，不女恤也。今君命汝以是焉，也服車而朝，毋廢前勞，乃救鄭，及閉舒，違穀七甲，穀人不知及濮，雨不涉了，思曰：人國在敝，焉之宇下，是以告急，今師不行，恐無及也。成了衣製，杖戈，立於阪上，馬不出者，助之鞭之。知伯聞之，乃還曰：我下伐鄭，不卜敵齊，使謂成了曰：大大陳了，陳之自出，陳之不祀，鄭之罪也，故寡君使瑤祭陳衷焉，謂人人其恤陳乎？若利木之顛，瑤何有焉？成了怒曰：多陵人者皆不在，知伯其能久乎？中行文了告成，了曰：有自晉師告寅者，將為輕申，乘以厭齊師之門，則可盡也。成了曰：寡君命恆，曰：無及寡，無畏衆，雖過，乘敢辟之，將以了之命告寡君。又了曰：台乃今知所以亡，君了之謀也，始衷終皆舉之，而後入焉，今我不知而入之，不亦難乎？

公患桓之侈也，欲以諸侯去之。桓亦患公之安也，故君臣多間。公游於陵阪，遇孟武伯於孟氏之衢，曰：請有問於了，余及死乎？對曰：臣無山知之。問卒辭不對。公欲以越伐魯而去桓，秋八月，甲戌，公如公孫有陲氏，因孫於邾，乃遂如越，國人施公孫有山氏。

XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] 37th year in spring the viscount of Yueh sent How Yung on a complimentary mission to Loo, and to speak about the lands of Choo, that the boundary between it and Loo should be T'ao-shing. In the 3d month, a covenant was made at P'ing yang in which the 8 ministers all followed the envoy K'ang tze who was vexed about this, and spoke about Tze-kung saying, "If he had been here, I should not have come to this." "Why then did you not call him?" asked Woo-pih. "I was indeed going to call him," was the reply Wan-tze (Shuh-sun) said, "Pray think of it another time."

2. In summer in the 4th month, on Ke-hae, Ke K'ang-tze died. The duke went to offer his condolences; but his ~~unwillingness~~ were not what the occasion required.

3. Sun Yau of Tsin led a force against Ch'ing and halted at Tung k'ew while in the meantime Hsue Hwang of Ch'ing went to beg assistance from T'ao. When the army of T'ao was being raised, Ch'in Ch'ing-tze ~~embled~~ the sons of officers who had died in battle for the State, and ~~put~~ <sup>kept</sup> them for 3 days in the court, giving also to each a carriage with two horses, and assigning to him 5 cities (4 <sup>1</sup> miles). He ~~called~~ <sup>asked</sup> him Tsin, the son of Yen Choh tze, and said to him, "In the action at Sath (The Lo-k'ew of XXIII 2), your father died. In consequence of the many troubles of the State we were not able to think of you before. But now the ruler confers on you these cities, and to appear at court with these robes and this carriage. Do not make void the service of your father."

After this [Ch'ing-tze] proceeded to the relief of Ch'ing. When he arrived at L'ow-shoo, and was [only] 7 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> from Kuei, the people of that place were not aware of his approach. When he got to the Pui, it had rained so that they could not cross. Tze-ze said, "[The troops of] the great State are quite close to our poor dukedom, and therefore we sent to tell you of our distress. But now your army does not go on, and I am afraid it will not be in time. Ch'ing-tze having on a [rain] <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> and leaning on a spear stood upon the bank, and now helped forward, now whipt on, the horses which were unwilling to proceed. When Che Pih heard of this, he withdrew saying, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Ch'ing, and not about fighting with T'ao." [At the same time] he sent a message to Ch'ing tze, saying "You Sir are a son of Ch'in, sprung from the House of Ch'in. That Ch'in has lost its sacrifices (Having been extinguished by T'ao; see XVII. 4) was owing to the crime of Ch'ing. My ruler therefore sent me to examine into the justice of [the fate of] Ch'in, thinking that, possibly you would have a regard for Ch'in. If you consider that the overthrow of your root is an advantage to you, what is it to me? Ch'ing tze, in a rage, said, "All who have heaped insults on others have [soon] passed away—can Che Pih continue long?"

Chung hing Wan-tze (A refugee in T'ao) told Ch'ing tze, saying "One from the army of Tsin informed me that they were going with 1000 light chariots to attack the gate of the army of T'ao, which might thus be entirely destroyed. Ch'ing tze replied, "My ruler charged me that

I should not fall on a small force, nor fear a large one. Though they come with more than 1000 chariots, I should not avoid them. I will inform my ruler of your communication." Wan-tze said, "Now I know the [folly] of my leaving Tsin. A superior man, in forming his plans considers ~~very~~ <sup>all</sup> things,—the beginning, the middle, and the end,—and then he enters on his course. But now I took mine, without knowing any one of these,—is it not hard?"

4. The duke was distressed and annoyed by the arrogance of the three Hwans, and wished for the help of the other princes to take them off. The three Hwans were in like manner distressed and annoyed by the rudeness of the duke, and thus there arose many differences between him and them. The duke had been remiss in Ling fan, and met Ming Woo-pih in the street of Ming-shue. "Let me ask you, said he to him, "if I shall [be permitted to] die [a natural death]." Woo-pih replied that he had no means of knowing. Thrice the duke put the question, till the minister declined to give any answer. The duke then wished, with the help of Yueh, to attack Loo, and take off the three Hwans. In autumn, in the 8th month, he went to Kung sun Y'ew-hing's, and thence he withdrew to Choo, from which he went on to Yueh. The people attributed the blame of this to Kung-sun Y'ew-shan (I q Y'ew hing).

[With this year ended the rule and life of duke Gao. T'ao-shue does not mention his death, but we may conclude from the above narrative that it took place in Yueh. Considering the saying of Tze-kung which T'ao-shue has given under XVI. 4, there can be no doubt that he believed that the duke did not die in Loo. See Ma T'ien, how <sup>or</sup> in his History of Loo (史記三十三), says that the people of the State brought him back from Yueh, and he died in the house of Y'ew-shan-shue. This account is adopted in the Tung k'oon Kang muh (通鑑綱目) of Choo He; but it appears to me more than doubtful. How <sup>or</sup> there is no doubt that duke Gao died in this year B.C. 467.

It may be well to give here a list of the succeeding marquises of Loo.

Gao was succeeded by his son Ning (寧), known as duke Tao (悼), B.C. 466—430.

Tao was succeeded by his son K'ia (嘉), known as duke Yuan (元公), B.C. 429—402.

Yuan was succeeded by his son Hsiao (顯), known as duke Muh (穆公), B.C. 402—376.

Muh was succeeded by his son Fun (奮), known as duke Kung (共公), B.C. 375—363.



Kung was succeeded by his son Shun (屯),  
known as duke K'ang (康公), B C 353—343

K'ang was succeeded by his son Yen (偃),  
known as duke King (景公), B C 342—315.

King was succeeded by his son Shuh (叔),  
known as duke P'ing (平公), B C 311—293

P'ing was succeeded by his son K'ea (賁),  
known as duke W'än (文公), B C 292—270

W'än was succeeded by his son Ch'ow (雋),  
known as duke K'ing (頃公), B C 269—248.

In B C 248 Loo was extinguished by king K'aou-leeh of Ts'oo, and duke K'ing reduced to the position of a private man. Thus from the duke of Chow to duke K'ing there had been thirty-four marquises in Loo, embracing a period of 874 years. The history of the State, however, after duke Gae is almost a blank.]

After the above year, there is a blank in Tso-she's chronicles, and he gives only one other narrative under the 4th year of duke Taou.

## Fourth year

## 悼公

左傳曰悼之四年晉荀  
瑤帥師圍鄭未至鄭駟  
弘曰知伯愎而好勝早  
下之則可行也乃先保  
南里以待之知伯入南  
里門於桔枋之門鄭人  
俘鄭魁壘賂之以知政  
閉其口而死將門知伯  
謂趙孟入之對曰主在  
此知伯曰惡而無勇何  
以爲子對曰以能忍恥  
庶無害趙宗乎知伯不  
悅趙襄子由是甚知伯  
遂喪之知伯貪而愎故  
韓魏反而喪之

This year Seun Yaou of Tsin led a force to lay siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing. Before he arrived, Sze Hwang of that State said, "Che Pih is obstinate, and fond of victory. If we tender our submission early he will take his departure." He therefore in the first place put Nan lo (A place outside the walls) in a state of defence, and waited for the approach of Yaou. He entered Nan-lo, and attacked the Keih-t'ieh gate. On the side of Ch'ing they made prisoner He Kwei-loy and tried to bribe him by offering him a share in the government. He kept his mouth shut, however, and enlisted to death.

Che Pih said to Chaou-ming, "Do you enter the city; but that minister replied, "You are here yourself; [do you enter it]" "Ugly and without courage as you are, how were you made chief of the Chaou?" said Yaou. "As I am able," rejoined Chaou-ming "to submit to such a disgrace [from you] perhaps I shall not cause any injury to the House of Chaou." Che Pih made no alteration in his conduct; and from this time he was an object of hatred to Chaou S'ang-tso, and the issue was his ruin. Che Pih was greedy and self-willed, so that the

chiefs of the Han and Wei revolted from him, and [joined in] his destruction.

[Why Tao-sho ended his narratives here it is impossible to say. From the last sentence in the above relation, it is clear he could have continued them for at least ten years more. Too Yu says, 'According to the Historical Records, in the 4th year of duke E (懿公) of Tsin, and the 14th year of duke Taou of Loo, Che Pih led [the chiefs of] Han and Wei to lay siege to Chaou S'ang-tze in Tsin-yang. There they turned against him, laid their plans with Chaou-sho, and put Che Pih to death beneath the walls of Tsin-yang;—27 years after the close of the Ch'un T'ieh']

On the extinction of the Che or Seun family, there remained in Tsin only the three great families of Chaou, Wei, and Han, by which Tsin was ultimately dismembered. In a.o. 402, in stead of the great State of Tsin we have the three marquisates of Wei, Chaou, and Han, though the descendants of K'ang-shuh continued to have nominal existence as marquises of Tsin for some years longer.]



# INDEXES

## INDEX I

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T'eln, the State of V il. 3; v 1; 9; viii. 3; ix. 5; 6; x. 3, 5; xli. 1; xv 13; xxiv 5; xxviii. 1; 4; 5; 8; 11; 15; 16, 10; xxix. 3; xxx. 5, 8; xxxi. 2; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 3, 4; 13; VI l. 6, 8; 9; il. 1; 3, 4; 8; x. 1; xli. 2; xlii. 7; xlii. 6, 8; xlv 1; 4; 7; xv 1; 7; 9; xvii. 1; VII. 1; 3; 11; 12, 14; il. 1; 3, 4; vi. 1; vii. 5; viii. 6; ix. 1; 8; 9; 1; x. 11; xli. 4; xlii. 3; C; xlii. 4; xlv 3; xv 3, 4; xvi. 1; xvii. 5; xviii. 1; 6, 8; VIII l. 5; il. 3; III. 1; 6, 8, 11; 12; v 3; vi. 6, 10, 11; vii. 5, 9; viii. 1; 2, 9; 10; ix. 2, 8; 11; x. 3, 5, 6; xli. 1; 2, 3; xlii. 1; 3; xlv. 1; xv 3, 4; 9; 10; xvi. 4, 6; 10; 1; 14; xvii. 1; 8; 13; xviii. 1; 1; 4; 6, 13, 14; IX l. 2, 3, 7; il. 5, 6, 9; III. 1; 3, 4; 5; 9; iv 2, 6; v 1; 3, 7; 11; vi. 1; vii. 9; viii. 1; 2, 5; 6; ix. 1; 5; x. 1; 1; 1; xli. 4; 8; 11; xli. 3, 6; xlii. 1; xlv 1; 3, 7; xv. 1; xvi. 1; 2, 3, 7; xvii. 2, 4; xlix. 2; 5; 15; xx. 1; xli. 1; 3, 4, 8; xlii. 4; xlii. 7; 8; 9; 1; xlv. 1; 8; xlv. 3; xlv. 4; 7; xviii. 0; 4; xviii. 2, 5; xlix. 5, 6, 11; xxx. 5, 9; x. 1; 2, 4, 6, 12; il. 1; 2, 4; v 3, 5; vi. 3; vii. 3; x. 4; 5; xli. 7; xlii. 4; 10; xlii. 2; 4; 7; 11; xlv 1; xlv 5, 6; xlv 8, 4; 6, 7; xlv. 4; xli. 2, 7; xlii. 1; 3, 4; 10; xlv 2; xlv. 2; xviii. 4; xviii. 2; xlix. 1; xxx. 2, 9; xxxi. 1; 4; xxxii. 4; XI l. 1; il. 1; iv 12; v 6; vi. 4; 5; viii. 7; 10; x. 4; xlii. 5, 6, 7; XII. 1; 5; il. 6; iv 6; v 3; vi. 1; vii. 1; x. 5; xli. 3; xlv 11; xv 5, 6.

T'eln, marquess of Wei, I iv 7; II xli. 8.

T'eln, the State of V. xxviii. 5, 15; xlix. 5; xxx. 5; xxxii. 5; VI il. 1; 7; III. 3; iv 8; v 1; vii. 5; G; ix. 13; x. 1; xli. 6, 7; xvi. 6; xvii. 1; VII il. 2; iv. 1; vii. 6; xv. 4; VIII il. 10; ix. 11; xlii. 3, 5; xlv 7; IX. x. 5; xli. 11; xlv 8; X. l. 4; v 7; vi. 1; XI. ix. 6, 7; XII il. 8; iv 3.

T'eln, a place in Loo, III. xxxi. 5.

T'eln yang a place in T'eln, XI. xli. 5.

T'eln t'ang a place in Loo, X. xl. 6.

T'eln duke of T'eln, XI. viii. 11.

T'eln, a place in Wei, I. iv 8.

T'eln k'ow a place in Wei, VII. xli. 6.

T'eo, heir of Sung, IX. xxvi. 6; X. iv. 1; xv. 8.

T'eo, the State of (See Aung), V l. 0; il. 6; III. 7; iv 1; 3, 6; v 7; vi. 3; xli. 4; xli. 1; xv. 7, 15; xlix. 7; xx. 6; xli. 1; 4; 0; xlii. 1; 4; xlii. 8; xxv. 5; xxvi. 5-8; xvii. 5; xviii. 5, 6, 7; 11; VI. l. 10; III. 4; 7; iv 4; v 6; ix. 6; 12; x. 3; 7; xli. 1; xli. 4; xlv. 6; VII. l. 10; III.



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- Ts'oo, a palace built by the duke of Loo like those of Ts'oo, IX xxxi 2
- Ts'oo-k'ew, a place in Wei, I vii 7,—another, the capital of Wei, V ii 1
- Ts'ung, a small State, pres Se-gan, VII 1 13
- Tsung Shoo, an officer of Ch'in, VII xiv 6
- Ts'uy, a place in Loo, II xvii 2
- Ts'uy, a family of Ts'e, VII x 5
- Ts'uy Ch'oo, an officer of Ts'e, VIII xviii 14 IX 1 2, ii 9, xxiv 5, xxv 1, 2
- Tswan-han, a place in the territory of the Teih, VII xi 4
- Tsze, a city of Ke, III 1 8
- Tsze, a place in Loo, III xi 2
- Tsze, a place given by Keu to Loo, X v 4
- Tsze, the wife of duke Yin of Loo, I ii 8
- Tsze-foo, duke of Sung, V xxiii 2
- Tsze-gae, a minister of Sung, VI xiv 10
- Tsze-kew, son of duke He of Ts'e, III ix 6
- Tsze-low, a place, prest Tse-ning Chow, V xxxiii 6
- Tsze-pih, an officer of Ke, I ii 7
- Tsze-seuen Ch'ing, an officer of Wei, XII xvi 2
- Tsze-tuh, an officer of the king, III vi 1
- Tuh, a minister of Sung, II ii 1
- Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, II xi 5, xv 4, 9 III xxi 2, 4
- Tun, a small State within Ch'in, V xxv 5 IX iv 7 X iv 2, 4, v 8, xiii 7 XI iv 2, xiv 3
- Tung, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, II vi 5
- Tung-kwoh, marquis of Ts'ae, X xxiii 5
- Twan, younger brother of the duke of Ch'ing, I 1 3
- Twan-taou, a place in Tsin, VII xvii 5

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- Wan, a city in the royal domain, V x 2, xxi 15
- Wan, the duke of Loo, VI
- Wan, duke of Wei, V xxv 6
- Wan, duke of Tsin, V xxviii 4
- Wan, duke of Ch'ing, VII ii 1
- Wan, duke of Ts'au, VII xiv 5
- Wan, duke of Ts'ae, VII xvii 3
- Wan, duke of Sung, VIII iii 5
- Wan, duke of K'e, X vi 4
- Wan of L'ew, XI iv 13
- Wan Keang, the wife of duke Hwan of Loo, III xvi 2 See *K'ang*
- Wan of Sung, who murdered his ruler, III xii 3, 4
- Wan-yang, a territory of Ts'e, taken by Loo, VIII ii 7 restored, viii 1

- Wang-shin, duke of Sung, VI vii 3
- Wei, the State of, I ii 9, iv 2—7, v 2, 3, viii 1, 6, x 5, 6 II iii 2, v 6, x 3, 4, xi 1, 6, xii 8, xiii 1, 2, xiv 7, xv 10, xvi 1 2, 5, xvii 7 III iii 1, v 4, vi 1—5, xiv 4, xv 1, xvi 2, 4, xxv 2, xxviii 1 IV ii 7 V iv 1, 8, v 4, vi 2, viii 1, ix 2, x 2, xv 3, xii 1, 3, xvi 5, xviii 1, 6, xix 6, xxi 1, xxii 2, xxv 1, 2, 6, 7, xxvi 1, 4, xxviii 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, xxx 3, 4, xxxi 8, 9, xxxii 3, 4 VI 1 6, 8, ii 1, iv 6, ix 8, xii 6, 7, xiv 4, xvii 1 VII 1 5, 12, ii 3, vi 1, viii 1, 5, ix 7, 10, x 5, 11, xii 6, 7, xiv 1, xvii 5, xviii 1 VIII ii 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, iii 1, 2, 11, 12, v 7, vi 4, vii 5, 9, viii 11, ix 2 x 1, 3, xii 2, xiii 3, xiv 2, 6, xv 1, 3, 10, xvi 8, xvii 1, 2, 8, xviii 14 IX 1 2, 7, ii 5, 6, 9, iii 5, v 4, 7, 11, vii 7, 9, viii 4, ix 5, x 1, 7, xi 4, 8, xiv 1, 3, 4, 7, xvi 2, 7, xvii 3, xviii 2, xx 2, xxi 8, xxii 4, xxiii 8, xxiv 8, xxv 3, 7, xxvi 1, 2, 3, 7, xxvii 2, 3, 4, xxviii 2, xxix 3, 5, 9, xxx 9 X 1 2, vi 5, vii 5, 8, xi 7, xiii 4, xiv 2, xx 3, xxv 2, xxvii 4, xxxii 4 XI iv 2, 12, vii 4, 5, viii 10, 13, 14, ix 5, x 4, 10, xii 4, xiii 1, 4, xiv 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, xv 7 XII 1 5, ii 3, 5, 7, iii 1, v 3, vii 2, x 8, xi 7, xii 4, xiii 7, xiv 9, 11, xv 5, 8, xvi 1, 2
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- Wei Man-to, an officer of Tsin, XII vii 2, xiii 7
- Wei P'e, an officer of Ts'oo, IX xxv 1 X vi 7
- Woo, the State of, (*Chuen*, VII viii 7), VIII vii 2, 7, xv 10 IX iii 1, v 4, 7, x 1, xii 4, xxiv 3, xxv 10, xxix 4, 8 X 1 8, iv 4, v 8, vi 7, xiii 12, xv 1, xvii 6, xxiii 7, xxiv 6, xxvii 2, xxx 4, xxxii 2 XI ii 3, iv 14, 15, v 3, xiv 5, 6 XII iii 7, iv 2, vi 3, 5, vii 3, viii 2, x. 2, 11, xi 3, 4, xii 3, xiii 3, 5
- Woo, a city of Ke, III 1 8
- Woo, a city of Loo, VI vii 2
- Woo, duke or marquis of Loo from 825 to 815 B C, VIII vi 2 X xv 2
- Woo, marquis of Ch'in, IX iv 1, xii 9 xi iv 1
- Woo, heir of Ts'ang, IX v 3
- Woo, duke of Ts'au, X xiv 4
- Woo, earl of Ts'au, X xxvii 5
- Woo-che, a nobleman of Ts'e, III viii 5, ix 1
- Woo, a family name at the court of Chow, I iii 4
- Woo-foo, a place in Ch'ing, II xii 7
- Woo-heae, an officer of Loo, I ii 3, viii 10
- Woo-le, marquis of T'ang, II vii 3
- Woo-low, a place in K'e, VII xv 7
- Woo-s'ang, earl of Ch'ing, II xi 2
- Woo-she, a city of Tsin, XI ix 5
- Woo-shing, a city of Loo, IX xix 16
- Woo-yay, marquis of Ts'e, VIII ix 7

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- Ya, son of duke Hwan of Loo, III xxxii 3
- Ya-urh, a place in the royal domain, I viii 6
- Yang, a small State, pres E-shwuy, IV ii 1
- Yang, a place in North Yen, X xii 1
- Yang, the third duke of Loo, XI 1 5
- Yang, earl of Ts'au, XII viii 1
- Yang Ch'oo-foo, (See Ch'oo-foo) an officer of Tsin, VI ii 3, iii 7, vi 6

- Yang-chow a border-city between Loo and Ts'è  
X xxv 8
- Yang kuh, a place in Ts'è V III 5; xl 2; VI  
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- Yang sang, hung tze of Ts'è XII vi 7; after  
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- Yay son of the duke of Loo, IX xxxi 3
- Yay-tsing, a city of Ts'è X xxv 6
- Yeh, baron of Hsü, VI v
- Yen, a small State pres. dis. Keth in Ho-nan,  
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- Yen, North, a State, IX xxix 10; X III; vi  
9; vii 1; xli 1; XII xv 2
- Yen, a place in Ch'ing pres. Yen ling I L 3
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- Yew a great officer of Loo, II xl "
- Yew a son of duke Hwan of Loo, III xxv 6;  
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- Yew heir of Ts'ao X xl 9
- Yew heih, an officer of Ch'ing X xxv 2
- Yew Shu, an officer of Ch'ing, XI vi 1; x 10
- Yih a city of Chou, VII x 13
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- Yih-koo, heir of Ts'ao, II ix 4; III xliii 9
- Yih koo, earl of K'è X vi 1
- Yin, a family name, I III 3; X xxiii 8; xxxi 8
- Yin, the viscount of VIII xvi 10; xvii 2
- Yin, son of duke Ssang of Loo, X xli 8
- Yin, duke of T'ang, XII xi 6
- Ying, the capital of Ts'oo, VI iv 10
- Ying a place in Ts'è II III 1
- Ying earl of Ts'ü, VI xviii "
- Ying, the lady of Loo, VII viii 5
- Ying she a small State subordinate to Ts'oo, V  
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- Ying ts'è viscount of T'ang V xix 1
- Ying urh, viscount of the Loo tribe of Red Telh,  
VII xv 3
- Yoh, marquis of Ch'in, II xli 4
- Yoh K'e-le an officer of Sung X xxv XI x  
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- Yoh K'wan, an officer of Sung XII III 6
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- Yu, a small State pres. Ping lah V II 3; v 9
- Yu a small State within Loo, X xviii 3
- Yu, a place in Sung V xxi 4
- Yu, a place in Loo, IX xv 3
- Yu, the younger brother of the earl of Ch'ing  
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- Yu-chae viscount of Woo, IX xxix 4
- Yu-e the ruler of Sung II II 1
- Yu k'ow son of the marquis of Ch'in, III xlii 3
- Yu Shih, an officer of Sung, VIII xv 9; xviii 5
- Yu woo, viscount of T'ang XII xl "
- Yu yu k'ew a small State not far from Loo, III  
II 2
- Yu yueh, the State of Yuch, XI v 3; xiv "
- XII xlii 6
- Yu yueh, duke of Sung V ix 1
- Yueh, the State of (Chou, VII viii 7) X v 8;  
viii 9; xxxi 1; XI v 8; xiv 5; XII xlii 5
- Yueh, a place in Wei or Loo, the same as Ch'uy,  
II L 4
- Yuen, duke of Sung X xxvi 1
- Yuen, duke of Hsü, XII xlii 8
- Yuen marquis of Ts'è VII x 4
- Yuen, viscount of T'ang X III 1
- Yuen, marquis of Wei, VII II 3
- Yuen, an officer of Ch'ing I viii "
- Yuen Chung a minister of Ch'in, III xxvii 3
- Yuen Hsuen, an officer of Wei, V xxviii 11 19;  
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- Yuen Hsiao, an officer of Ch'in, IX III 6 "
- Yuen-hing, a town I iv V xiv 1
- Yuen low a place in T'è VII II 4
- Yuen Mac an officer of Ch'in, XII xiv 14
- Yuen lo, an officer of Ch'in, XII xl "
- Yuen Tsao t'oo, a great officer of Ch'in, V iv 4
- Yueh earl of K'è X xxiv 5
- Yun, a town in Loo, VI xli 8; VII ix 10; IX  
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1 8; xxix 1 5; XI vi 7; x 5—another  
V III iv 8
- Yun, a place in Woo, XII xli 4
- Yung, a State in pres. Hoo-pih, VI xvi 6
- Yung a clan name in Chou III L 6
- Yung k'ew a place in Sung XII ix 2
- Yung-shing, a place within Ts'oo, XI iv
- Yung yu a place belonging to Ts'ü IX xxiii  
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# INDEX III

## OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND PHRASES —

INTENDED ALSO TO HELP TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A DICTIONARY AND CONCORDANCE  
FOR THE CLASSICS

### THE 1ST RADICAL

*yh* One Found only in the specification of years and months — *e g*, 一有年, in the eleventh year, I xi 1, 一有月, in the eleventh month, ib, 4, 一有年, in the twenty-first year, III xxi 1, 一有年, in the thirty-first year, V xxxi 1 For the first year we always find 元年, and for the first month, 正月

*ting* A calendaric stem-character,—in the specification of days II 1 4 vi 5, *et sape*

*ts'eh* Seven Found, like , in the specification of years and months,—*e g*, 七月, in the seventh month, I 1 4, 七年, in the seventh year, I vii 1, 一有七年, in the 17th year, III xvii 1, 一有七年, in the twenty-seventh year, III xxvii 1

*san* Three In the phrase 三, to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey, V xxvi 5 VII iii 2, *et al* What those objects were is uncertain A third time, IX vii 2 The character is generally found in the specification of years and months,— 三年, 一月, in the third year, in the third month, 一有年, in the thirteenth year, 一有年, in the thirtieth year, 一有年, in the 23d, in the 33d year

*shang* (1) = the first, X xxv 4 (2) 鹿上, the name of a place in Sung,—in the pres dis of 太和, dep 潁州, Gan-hwuy

*hca* (1) Beneath After the noun 卜, VI xviii 1 (2) 卜陽, the second city in the State of Kwoh (號), in the north-east of the present dis of P'ing-luh, now in K'chae Chow, Shan-se V ii 3

*hca* To decline Used of the sun XI xv 12 (日 卜 昃)

*puh* (1) Not III vii 2, xxxi 6 V ii 5, iii 1, 2, *et al* (2) 不信, name of an officer of Tsin X xxxii 4 不敢, name of an officer of Loo XI v 5

A calendaric branch-character II v 1, viii 3, *et sape*

*ch'ow* 驪 目, name of a viscount of Choo VIII xvii 12

*tseu* And VI v 1.

*ts'ay* (1) In the phrase 田了, heir-son, the son to whom it has been declared, or it is understood, that the succession belongs II ix 4 V v 1, 4, vii 4, viii 1, *et al* The application of the phrase in II xv 5 is anomalous (2) 世叔, a clan-name in Wei IX xxix 5 X xxxii 4 XII xi 7 (3) 世室,—see under 人

*p'e* A clan-name in Tsin V xi 1.

*h'ew* (1) A mound or hill It is found often making up the names of towns, cities, and districts We have 丘 in Loo,—in the pres. dep of Lan-shan, dep E-chow, I vii 3, x 1 祝丘, also in Loo, and somewhere in the pres. dep of E-chow, II v 5, III iv 1 咸丘, in Loo,—in pres dep of Yen-chow, II vii 1 炆丘, in Wei,—in the pres dis of Ts'au, dep Ts'au chow, Shan-tung,

also another city in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Hwah, dep. Ta ming Chih-le Ⅴ II. 1: 桃丘 in Wei,—in pres. dia. of Tung-o, dep. Tung-ch'ang (now in dep. of T'ae-gan), Shan-tung Ⅱ x. 3: 穀丘 in Sung,—in pres. dep. of T'au-chow Ⅱ xii. 3 乘丘 in Loo,—in pres. dep. of T'ao-yang Yen-chow Ⅲ x. 4: 梁丘 in T'ae,—in pres. dia. of Shing woo, dep. T'au-chow Ⅲ xii. 2: 葵丘 in Sung,—in pres. dia. of K'au-shing dep. Kwei fung Ⅴ ix. 2, 4: 牡丘 in T'ae,—in pres. dia. of L'au-shing, dep. Tung-ch'ang. Ⅴ xv. 3: 帝丘 in Wei,—in pres. h'ae Chow dep. Ta ming, Ⅴ xxxi. 1: 鄆丘 in T'ae,—in the pres. dia. of Tung-o, dep. T'ae-gan, Ⅴ I. xvi. 3 清丘 in Wei,—in pres. K'ao Chow dep. Ta ming Chih-le Ⅴ II. xii. 6: 茗丘 in T'au, situation unknown, Ⅴ III. xvi. 1: 邢丘 in T'au,—in pres. dia. of Ho-nan dep. H'wa-k'ing Ho-nan, Ⅴ VIII. 4: 閭丘 in K'au,—probably in pres. dia. of T'au dep. Yen-chow Ⅴ xxi. 2 重丘 in T'ae,—in pres. dia. of L'au-shing dep. Tung-ch'ang, Ⅴ xxv. 3: 平丘 in T'au,—in pres. dia. of Ch'in-l'au dep. K'ao fung Ⅴ xiii. 4: 雍丘 in Ching,—in pres. dia. of h'ae dep. h'ae-fung, Ⅴ II. ix. 2: (2) 於份丘 probably the name of a barbarous tribe Ⅲ III. (2) 柏丘 name of a duke of Sung, Ⅴ I. xvi. 7 (3) The name of Confucius. In the 16th year of duke G o, par 4 (4) A territorial designation,—a place occupied by 144 families. 什丘甲 he made the k'ao and buff-coat ordinance. VIII. 1. 4 丘 is often written 邱

(1) Middle, that which is in the midst. 中夜 at mid night, Ⅲ vii. 2. 日中 at mid-day Ⅴ II. viii. 10. 中軍 the middle army the army of the centre, —the third army X. v. 1 ( ) In the names of cities. 中丘—see 丘 中城 in VIII. ix. 13: XI vi. 6, is uncertain. Many think it was the name of a

city of Loo. I am inclined to suppose it means an inner wall in the capital surrounding the ducal palace and the buildings belonging to it.

## THE 3d RADICAL. 亠

To paint of a red colour Ⅲ xxiii. 8

A spirit tablet. Ⅴ I. II. —

## THE 4th RADICAL. 勹

A conjunction, meaning—*and*, and *so* Ⅴ xxxi. 3: Ⅴ II. III. 1; vi. 2 Ⅴ vii. 9; xi. 3: Ⅴ II. 4 xii. 4; xiii. 1; xxi. 6: Ⅴ III. 1

(1) Of The sign of the possessive The 勹 follows the 之 and the regimen precedes it Ⅴ I. 4; Ⅲ xix. 3: Ⅴ xv. 10; *et al.* (2) The objective case of the 3d personal pronoun without reference to number or gender. In the 勹 on T'au however only = it, him. Ⅴ III. 2 Ⅴ III. 4; xvii. 8 (In these and many other instances, 之 occurs in the phrase 日有所食之—日有所食之者 descriptive of an eclipse: Ⅴ viii. 5 Ⅴ; xi. 2, 9; *et al.* (3) 舍之 a name. Ⅴ xi. 3; xxv. 4

(1) Name of a viscount of Woo. Ⅴ xii. 4 (\*) 乘丘 a city in Loo:—see 丘

## THE 5th RADICAL. 乙

A calendaric stem-character Ⅴ II. 1: Ⅲ I. 1; *et seq.*

Nine Used in the specification of years and months. 九年九月 十有九年, &c. Ⅴ I. 5; II. 5; ix. 1: Ⅲ xix. 1; xxix. 1; *et seq.*

(1) To ask, to beg Ⅴ viii. 3 xxvi. 3: Ⅴ III. xiii. 1; xvi. 1; *et al.* (2) Name of a minister of T'au Ⅴ II. vi. 7

(1) 乾時 a place in T'au—in pres. dia. of I shing dep. T'ing-chow Ⅲ ix. 5 ( ) 乾侯 a place in T'au,—in pres. dia. of Ch'ing-gan dep. Kwang Ⅴ I'ing Ⅴ III. 6 Ⅴ xxvii. 9; xxx. 1 xxxi. 1; xxvii. 1 & (2) 乾谿 a city in T'au,—in pres. P'oh Ch'ow dep. Yung ch'w Gan hway X. xiii. 2

Confusion, disorder Ⅴ II. 8. To be in confusion X. xxi. 6.

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## THE 2d RADICAL. 丨

中  
夜

(1) Middle, that which is in the midst. 中夜 at mid night, Ⅲ vii. 2. 日中 at mid-day Ⅴ II. viii. 10. 中軍 the middle army the army of the centre, —the third army X. v. 1 ( ) In the names of cities. 中丘—see 丘 中城 in VIII. ix. 13: XI vi. 6, is uncertain. Many think it was the name of a

## THE 6TH RADICAL 亅

事  
sze

Business Used for the business of sacrifice 有事, VII vii 3 X xi 2 人事, the great business, meaning the fortunate *to* sacrifice VI ii 6

## THE 7TH RADICAL 月

urh

Two the second In the specification of months and years 月, 二年,

十有二月, 十有二年, (the twentieth), &c I i 6, ii 1, 7, iii 1, *et passim*

丁  
yu

A preposition In, at I i 2, 3, 5, ii 1, 4, 7, *et passim* Sometimes we must translate it by *to* as in I ii 6 In II ii 4, we must translate it—now by *from*, and now by *into*

五  
woo

(1) Five V xvi 1 The fifth In the specification of months and years I i 3, ii 2, v 1, *et passim* A fifth time VIII x 2 (2) 五氏, a city of Tsin,—in pres dis of Han-tan, dep Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le XI ix 5

井  
tsing

野井, a city of Ts'c,—in pres dis of Tse-ho, dep Tse-nan X xxi 6

## THE 8TH RADICAL 亡

亡  
wang

To perish, to become extinct V xix 8

交  
k'iao

交剛, a place where Tsin defeated the Teih,—must have been near the pres dep of Yen gan, Shen-se, but probably on the east of the Ho VIII xii 3

亥  
h'ae

(1) A calendaric branch-character I viii 4 II vii 1, *et passim* (2) Name of a minister of Sung X xi 7, xx 4, xxi 3, xxii 2

亨  
heung

To entertain But the entertaining which went by this name was mainly confined to drinking, accompanied by complimentary offerings The animals whose flesh should have served as food were set forth whole and not partaken of It is not easy, however, to make out the exact difference in the Chow times between the 亨 and the 宴 III iv 1

京  
king

In the phrase 京師, the capital II ix 1 V xxviii 18, xxx 8 VI i 7, viii 6, ix 3, *et al*

亳  
poh

The name of the capital of Tang the founder of the Yin dynasty We have 亳社 in XII iv 8, an altar in the capital of Loo, commemorative of the Yin or Shang dynasty 亳城, the wall

of Poh in IX xi 5 is said to have been a city of Ch'ing, acc to the Kang-he editors. In pres dis of Yen-se, dep Ho-nan, which would make the city the same as the ancient capital of Tang which was in the royal State of Chow Probably the reading of Kung and Kuh,—京城—should here be adopted King was in the pres dis of Yung-yang, dep K'at fung

## THE 9TH RADICAL 人

人  
jin

Man, men 人 is variously used in the Ch'un Ts'w in a way which is very perplexing to the student (1) It is often—the people, following the name of a State *E g*, I ii 6 7 II vi 1, xi 4, III ix 1, 6 V xix 1, 4 VI vii 4, xiv 7, 11, 12, xvi 7, xviii 3 IX xvi 3 In most of these, and the other instances where I have thus translated 人, the meaning is accepted by most commentators What is predicated belongs to the action, as it were, of the whole State, (2) It is often—a minister or high officer,—also following the name of a State *E g*, I i 5 II xi 1 III vi 1 (人), xix 3, xxvi 4, xxviii 4 V i 7, ii 4, iii 5, iv 5, 8, viii 1 (人), xix 2, 7 This usage occurs *passim* In many cases the meaning is obvious, in others, the meaning which immediately follows would also be suitable (3) It often means *men*, equivalent to a body of men, a small military force, under the command we may suppose, of an officer of no great distinction,—the name of the State, as before, preceding *E g*, I ii 2, 9, iv 4, 5 (perhaps the 2d meaning is here preferable), v 5, 6 III viii 1, xix 5, xxviii 1 IV i 2, ii 1 V ii 6 (4) 人人 the wife of the prince of a State I ii 7 III xix 4, xx 1, *et saepe* (5) 行人, a messenger from one State to another, an envoy IX xi 10, xviii 2 X viii 4, xxiii 3, *et al* (6) In names 商人, a marquis of Ts'c VI xiv 9, xviii 3 封人, a marquis of Ts'ac II xvii 4 佗人, a minister of Ch in XI xiv 3

仇  
leu

仇牧, name of a great officer of Sung III xii 3 州仇, name of a minister of Loo XI v 6, 7, 11, xii 3 XII ii 1, 2, iii 4, 9

仍  
jung  
介  
leue

A surname, or clan-name II v 3

The name of one of the wild tribes of the east,—in the pres Keau Chow, dep Lue-chow, Shan-tung V xxx 1, 5, xxx 1

**令** **令狐** a place in Tain, —in pres. dis of E-sha dep. P'oo-chow Shan-se VI vil. 5 The scene of a battle between Tain and T'ai'o.

**以** (1) Followed by a verb, —**歸叛** or **來** where it is itself —**將** or **把** meaning to take **以歸** —to take back with himself or with themselves and **以來** —to bring back to Loo. **歸** and **來** being neuter verbs, we cannot resolve the cases into **以** as being a sign of the accusative case; and the name of the party carried off occurs several times between **以** and **歸** or **來** evidently in the objective case go cited by **以歸** —see I. vil. 7; III x. 5; V 1.5; xxvi. 6 vil. xv 3; VIII lx. 1; IX. xvi. 3; X. xl. 9; xiii. 7; XL. 1 3; vi. 1 xv 3. **以來** —see IX. xxi. 2; X. v 4; XII. vii 4 xlv 2 **以叛** is a similar usage. **叛** being a neuter verb, the phrase —and therefore with rebelled, and held...in rebellion. See IX. xxvi. 2 XL. xiii. 5 6; XII. xiv 7; et al. (2) With, by means of II. 1 3. Before **師** and sometimes other terms or phrases, it means —having under control, having at disposal. It is explained in such cases by —**能左右** (之) **之** V xxvi. 8; XI. iv 14. (3) To, in order to. II. 11. 8; III. viii 1 Sometimes it —**遂** to go on to, and thereupon. V. xxi. 4; XL. vii. 3.

**仲** (1) The second in order of birth, as in I. 4; v 4 It is often the designation, as if it were a name. We have **祭仲** a minister of Ch'ing, in II. xl. 4 and **原仲** a minister of Ch'in, in III. xxvii. 3 (2) A clan name of a great family —[ ] in Loo, VII. viii. 5; VIII. xv 2; [ ] in Sung, X. xxxii. 4 XL. i. 1; x. 12; xl. 1 (3) **仲孫** was the clan-name of one of the three great families of Loo descended from duke Hwan. The Chung-suns owed their origin to K'ing foo, styled **共仲** first mentioned in III. ii. 3 After VII. ix. 3, where we have an entry about Chung sun M'ieh, the great-grandson of K'ing foo, the clan name is continually occurring in connexion with the successive chiefs of the family (4) There was also a Chung sun clan in T'ai'o. IV. 1. 6. (5) **叔仲** The Shuh-chung was a branch from the Shuh-sun clan of Loo VI. xl. 2 In xlv 3, the **仲** is omitted. Different members of it frequently occur in the Tso-chuen.

**任** **商任** the name of a place unknown. A meeting of the States was held at it. IX. xxi. 8

**伐** To invade; to make an open attack on another State —**伐** —the says, with drums beating and bells sounding. I. 11. 8; iv 4 5 et al. **伐** see.

**伯** (1) The eldest in order of birth. Found often in speaking of the daughters of the marquises of Loo, the eldest of which was **伯姬** I. 11. 5; III. xxv 4 xxvii. 1 0 V. v 9; xxv 3; et al. (2) The third title of nobility —**伯** I. 1. 3, 0; III. 7; II. 1 2, 3, 4; et passim. (3) Used as the designation. **夷伯** combines the honorary or sacrificial title and what had been the designation of the officer spoken of in V. xv 10. (4) **白糾** a name. II. iv \*

**位** A seat, a place **即位** is the phrase used for a marquis of Loo succeeding to the place of his predecessor II. 1. 1; VI. 1. 1 VII. 1. 1; VIII. 1. 1; IX. 1. 1; X. 1. 1; XI. 1. 1; XII. 1. 1

**佐** A name 1st of a minister of T'ai'o VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv 3; xvi. 10; —xviii. 3. 4, of a duke of Sang. X. iv 2; xxv 8

**何** **何忌** the name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan of Loo; called also M'ang F'ero (**孟懿子**) X. xxx. 11. 4 XI. iii. 5; vi. 4 (**何** is omitted) 7; viii. 13; xl. 0, 7; xii. 5; XII. 1. 6; II. 1 2; iii. 9; vi. 9; xiv 12.

**作** To make VI. ii 2 **新作** to renew and make with alterations, —to enlarge V. xx. 1; XI. ii. 4 Used with reference to the establishment of new ordinances or institutions. VIII. 1. 4; IX. xl. 1

**佗** A name 1st, of a usurping marquis of Ch'in. II. vi. 4 2d of a minister of Wei X. xl. 7 3d of an officer of Sang XI. x. 12; xl. 1 **佗人** a minister of Ch'in. XI. xiv 2.

**佞** **佞夫** name of a younger brother of king Ling IX. xxx. 4

**使** To cause to send. I. 1. 4; vii. 4; V. xiv 2; xxi. 6; et saepe.

**來** (1) To come, meaning to come to Loo, i.e., to the court of Loo. I. 1. 4 6; III. 5; vii. 4; III. xxvii. 4 5; IV. 1. 5, 6; et saepe. Only once is it used where the coming is not to Loo; —in V. iv 2. (2) In names of places **浮來** in Keu, —in pres. Keu Chow dep. E-chow I. viii. 8. **時來** in Ch'ing —in pres. dep. of K'ao-fung I. xl. 2 **州來** in T'ai'o, —in pres. Show Chow dep. Fung yang Gan hway VIII. vii ~ X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7

In a name 黎來, III v 3, the chief of the attached territory of E

侯  
how

(1) The second order of nobility, = marquis, I iii 7, iv 4, 5, *et passim* (2)

諸侯 the princes, = the States, or the princes of the States, —who have been previously mentioned V ix 4, xiv 1, xv 4 VI xv 11, xvii 1, *et al* (2)

乾侯, —see 乾 (3) Name of a great officer of Ch'ing V vii 3

侵  
ts'in

To make an incursion into, to make a raid upon As distinguished from 伐.

侵 indicates the comparative secrecy of the invasion III xv 4, xvi 8 VI xv 8, 12, *et saepissime*

Spouls III vi 5

俘  
foo

To wait for III. viii 1

侯  
sze

不信, —see 不

信  
sin

To borrow II i 3

假  
lea

偃陽, a small State, —in the pres dis of Yih, dep Yen-chow IX v 2

偃  
fuh

(1) A place, —in pres dis of Pe, dep E-chow V i 8 (2) Name of a half-brother of duke Ch'ing VIII xvi 16 Name of a minister of Tsin IX xiv 3, xvi 7 (3) 偃師, name of a prince of Ch'in X viii 1

偃  
perh

The name of a prince of Ts'oo VIII xvi 7

偃  
yen

The name of a minister of Ts'e III xxii 5

側  
ts'uh

To be hurt, to receive some injury VII iii 1

係  
he

An honorary or sacrificial title, meaning 'Careful and cautious' 1st of a marquis of Ts'e II xv 3 2d, of a marquis of Loo Title of Book V VI i 4, ii 2 6, ix 13 XII iii 3 3d, of a baron of Heu VI vi 1 4th, of an earl of K'e XII ix 1

傷  
shang

(1) The name of a minister of Ch'in IX iii 6, 7 (2) 僑如, the name of a minister of Loo, the Head of the Shuh-sun clan VIII ii 3, iii 9, v 3, vi 8, viii 10, xi 4, xiv 3, 5, xv 10, xvi 13 Keaou-joo was so named from a Teih giant whom his father slew, —see the Chuen on VI xi 6

僖  
he

(1) The name of a minister of Wei IX. xxix. 5 (2) 儀父, the designation of a chief of Choo I i 2 II xvii. 2 He was afterwards made a viscount, —see on III xvi 5 (3) 夷儀 a city which appears at first as a new capital of the State of Hing, —near the pres dep city of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung V

僑  
k'eaou

儀  
e

僚  
liaou

i 3 Hing was afterwards extinguished by Wei, —see V xxv 2 Subsequently we meet with 僚 in IX xxiv 8, xxv 3, 7 The name of a viscount of Woo X xxvii 2

元  
yuen

## THE 10TH RADICAL. 儿

(1) The first In the phrase 元年, the first year, with which the chronicle of each of the 12 marquises of Loo commences I i 1 II i 1 III i 1, &c (2) The name of a marquis of Ts'e VII x 1 of a marquis of Wei XII ii 2 of a minister of Sung, VIII iv 1, viii 4, *et al* (3) A clan-name V xxviii 11, 19, xxv 3 (4) The honorary or sacrificial title — of a duke of Sung X xxvi 1, of a baron of Heu, XII viii 5

兄  
hiung

An elder brother X xv 3.

先  
sien

(1) Former XI viii 15 (先公, all the former dukes of Loo) (2) A clan-name in Tsin VI vii 6, ix 4 VII viii 4

光  
kuang

The name —1st, of a prince of Ts'e, IX iii 5, v 7, ix 5, x 1, 7, xi 4, 8, xxv 2, 2d, of a viscount of Woo, XI xiv 4

克  
k'ih

(1) To overcome, to conquer I i 3 (2) To effect, to succeed in VI xiv 7 VII viii 10 XI xv 12 (3) The name —1st, of a viscount of Choo, III xvi 6, 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, V ix 6, x 5, 3d, of another great officer of Tsin, VIII ii 3, iii 11

免  
mien

To let go, —used of letting a victim off V xxi 3 VIII vii 1 IX vii 2

兒  
urh

(1) 嬰兒, the name of a viscount of the Loo tribe of the Teih VII xv 3 (2) 諸兒, name of a marquis of Ts'e III viii 5

## THE 11TH RADICAL. 入

入  
juh

To enter, to come or go in III xxiv 5 VII viii 4 X xv 2, *et al* The most common use of 入, however, is in connexion with military expeditions, meaning to enter and take possession of a hostile city Some contend that the 入 implies that the entry is made against the will of the previous holders, —which, indeed, may be allowed, others hold that 入 implies that the city, though taken, was not permanently retained, —which depended altogether on circumstances I ii 2, 3, v 3, x 6, 8, xi 3, *et saepissime* The addition of 冫 —入 —modifies the violence indicated by the single 入 II xv 6, 9 III iii 4, vi 2, ix 4 VI xiv

5; IX. xxiii. 7 *et sepe* 復入 indicates the restoration of an individual by means of violence to his former place and station. VIII. xviii. 5; xx. iii. 7 *et al.*

Two XI. ii. 1 4 See 觀

The name of a great officer of Wei, VI. iv. 8

### THE 1<sup>st</sup> Radical 八

Eight. The eighth, in the specification of months and years. I. ii. 4; iii. 5; *et sepe*.

(1) The highest title of nobility, — a duke. So it is used of the dukes of Sung, who possessed that title. But the title was also given to the various nobles of the royal domain, when they were in the position of the *lung* or highest ministers at the court. The marquises of Loo are also all styled *lung* throughout the classic; and the title is given after their death to the rulers of all the States, whatever may have been their rank. I. i. 2, 4; ii. 1 4; iii. 5, 7; ii. viii. 6; xi. 3; *et sepe*. (2) 公子 means the son of the ruler of a State, whether the father was duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron. I. i. 7; ii. iii. 5; iii. xix. 3; *et sepe*. In translating I have either said *Kung tze* or the *Aung-tze* treating the phrase as a surname or clan name or have introduced the posthumous title of the father in brackets — duke [Hwuy's] son duke [Hsiao's] son, &c. (3) 公孫 means a son of a Kung tze, — the grandson of a ruler of a State. I have retained it as a surname V. iv. 8; v. 3; xv. 4; xvi. 4; *et sepe*. (4) 公叔 appears as a clan name of Wei, in XI. xiv. 1 (5) 公孟 is another clan-name of Wei. XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12. XII. x. 8.

(1) Six. The sixth, in the specification of months and years. I. v. 4; vi. 1; V. xvi. 1 (six) *et sepe*. (2) 六羽 — six rows of dancers. I. v. 4 (3) A small State, — in the pres. dia. Luh-gan Chow Gan hway; held by 199 tributaries of the ancient Kiao yao. VI. v. 6.

The honorary or sacrificial title: — 1st, of an earl of Tsao, VI. ix. 14; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 3; 3d, of this duke's wife, IX. xxx. 6.

Weapons of war. In the phrase 治兵, III. viii. 2; where, however perhaps means soldiers. So the K'ang ho dictionary explains it, and 治兵 — to raise and train soldiers.

(1) The third possessive pronoun — his, its, their. I. iv. 2. III. xii. 3; xiii. 3; xxv. 3; IV. i. 8; V. v. 3; *et sepe*. (2) 其, the name: — 1st, of a viscount of K'eu,

VI. xviii. 5; 2d, of an officer of Choo, IX. xxi. 2.

### THE 15<sup>th</sup> RADICAL 冫

Winter; in winter. I. i. 6; ii. 6; iii. 11; *et sepe*.

Ice. II. xiv. 2; VIII. i. 3; IX. xxviii. 1

木冰, the trees were encrusted with ice. VIII. xvi. 1

The name of a great officer of Ch'in. VII. ix. 13.

### THE 16<sup>th</sup> RADICAL 儿

The name of a small State in the royal domain, — in the pres. dia. of Hwuy dep. Wei hway Ho-nan I. vii. 6.

### THE 1<sup>st</sup> RADICAL 口

To go forth from, to leave. It is used with reference to rulers and officers leaving their own State and fleeing to another being followed by 奔. II. xi. 6; xv. 4; *et sepe*.

### THE 10<sup>th</sup> RADICAL 刀

For the first time. I. v. 4; VII. xv. 8.

To carry. III. xxiv. 1

To put to death, to execute. The term is appropriate to the execution of one of its great officers, or members of the ruling house by the marquises or State of Loo. V. xxviii. 1; VIII. xvi. 10.

### 交剛 — see 交

The name of a marquis of Wei, of more than questionable title. IX. xxv. 1. In IX. i. 7 he appears as the 公孫剛 being a grandson of duke Mah.

(1) The name of a place near the capital of Loo. IX. xv. 1 (2) A small State in the royal domain, whose holders were viscounts — in the pres. dia. of Yen-ao, dept. Ho-nan. IX. xv. 2; X. xiii. 4

### THE 20<sup>th</sup> RADICAL 勹

長勹 a place in Loo. Its situation has not been ascertained. III. x. 1

The name: — 1st, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 7; IX. xiv. 1; xix. 9 13 (In the Historical Records, the name is 巧); 2d, of an earl of K'ue, IX. xxviii. 2.

雨  
龍  
雨

八  
公  
公

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## THE 21ST RADICAL 匕

**北** *ph* The north 匕 北, on the north IX xi 5 Northern V xxi 3 VIII ii 1, *et al* 北斗, the Northern Bushel, = Ursa Major VI xiv 5 北戎, the Northern Jung, called also the Hill Jung in III xiv 7, had their seat in the pres dep of Yung-ping, Chih-le V x 1 北燕, the Northern Yen, was a State held by the descendants of Shih, the duke of Shaou, of the Shoo-king, whose chief city was Ke (鉅) in the pres dis of Ta-hung (Peking), dep Shunt'een,—though some critics place it elsewhere IX xiv 10 X iii 7 vi 9, *et al* (2) 北杏, a place or city in Ts'e,—in the pres dis of Tung-o, dep Yen-chow It is famous as the place of the first meeting under the presidency of duke Hwan of Ts'e III xiii 1 北, a place in the State of Hing,—in the pres dis of Leaou-shing, dep Tung-ch'ang V i 2 (3) 北宮, the clan-name of a great family of Wei VIII xiii 1 IX xiv 3, *et al*

## THE 22D RADICAL 王

**王** *k'wang* (1) a city of Wei,—in the pres dep of Pa-ming, Chih-le, but the identification is uncertain V xv 3 (2) The honorary or sacrificial title of one of the kings of Chow VII iii 2

## THE 23D RADICAL 亼

**亼** *gow* 亼 人, the name of an officer of Ch'in XII xiii 11

## THE 24TH RADICAL 一

**一** *shuh* Ten The tenth, in the specification of months and years I i 6, ii 6, x 1, *et passim*

**一** *woo* (1) A calendaric branch-character I viii 6 III viii 2, *et scepe* (2) The name —1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, IX iv 1, 2d, of a prince of Ts'oo, IX xviii 6, 3d, of an earl of Ts'aou, X xxvii 5

**一** *shing* 一 陞, a place in Loo, the site not otherwise ascertained V xxii 3

**一** *p'ei* (1) 無 牟, the name of a great officer of Ts'e XII xv 2 (2) A clan- or surname V xi 1

**一** *tsuh* (1) To die Used of the death of the rulers of other States than Loo, as in I iii 5 III i 5, *et al* of the death of

ladies of the House of Loo, as in III ii 3, iv 2, *et al* of great officers of Loo, eiders of the ruling House, as in I i 7, iii 1, *et al* of royal princes as in VI iii 2 of Confucius, XII xvi 3 (2) To complete, to accomplish V xxviii 2

The name of a young marquis of Tsin V x 3

(1) The south, as in V xix 2 Southern, as in V xx 1 VI xiv 2, *et al*

(2) A clan-name I ix 1 (3) 南里, the name of a quarter in the capital of Sung X xxi 3, xxii 2

**卓** *choh*  
**南** *nan*

**卜** *ph*  
**卜** *p'ien*

## THE 25TH RADICAL 卜

To divine by the tortoise-shell V xxxi 3 VII iii 1 VIII vii 1, x 2 IX vii 2, xi 2 XI xv 2 XII i 3

A city of Loo,—in pres dis of Sze-shwuy, dep Yen-chow V xvii 3

## THE 26TH RADICAL 卯

A calendaric branch character I ii 7, iii 4 II vi 5, *et passim*

The name of a viscount of Lëw XI ix 9

**卯** *maou*  
**卷** *k'uen*

**卽** *tseih*

To come to In the phrase 卽位, II i 1 VI i 1 VII i 1 VIII i 1, *et al*

## THE 27TH RADICAL 厂

The name of a great officer of Ts'e IX xvii 4, xix 11

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in III xxvii 3 (2) The name of a viscount of T'ang X iii 1

(1) The name of a minister of Tsin IX i 2 (2) 厥貉, the name of a place,—probably in the pres dis of Heang-shing, dep Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan VI x 7 厥憇, the name of a place, site not known X xi 7, xiv 1

(1) The name of a small State,—in the pres Suy Chow, dep Tih-gan, Hoo-pih V xv 6 (2) The honorary or sacrificial title of an earl of Ch'ing III xvi 4

**厚** *how*  
**原** *yuen*  
**厥** *leueh*

**厲** *le*

## THE 28TH RADICAL 人

(1) To leave 人 去, to take a grand leaving, i e, to leave and never return III iv 4 (2) 人疾, the name of a prince of Ch'ing, VIII iii 7

**人** *k'eu*

**去** (1) To put away VII VIII 4; ㄣ xv  
 2. (2) **去疾** the name—1st of a  
 viscount of Hsu, ㄣ I 7; xiv 5; 2d, of a  
 marquis of Tsin, ㄣ xxx. 2.—Why the  
 去 in VIII III 7 should not also be  
 marked in the second tone, I cannot tell  
 but the best editions do not so mark it,  
 while they do so in the other two cases  
 of the name.

The name of a minister of Ching the  
 son of the famous Tze-ch'uan. ㄣ xxxii. 4

### THE 29th RADICAL. 又

Also, again VIII. vii. 1; ㄣ xxv. 4.

To come up to or with. V xxvi. 弗  
**及** would not make a covenant  
 with him. VI. xvi. 1. E. C., here it oc-  
 curs as a conjunction—and, but we must  
 often construe it as a preposition—with,  
 and sometimes—against. Many contend  
 that it has then a peculiar signification in  
 the Ch'uan Tse'w—and, involving also;  
 but this is doubtful. I. I. 2 5; II. 4; II  
 xiii. 1; et passim.

The name of a son of duke Hwan from  
 whom came the He-sun clan or family  
 in Loos. III. xxv. 6; xxvii. 3; ㄣ I 9; III  
 6; vii. 6; xiii. 5; xvi. 2.

(1) The third in order of birth; used  
 both of males and females. I vii. 1; II.  
 xi. 7; xv. 6; III. xii. 1; xxvii. 5; et passim.  
 It is also often used as the designation for  
 as in II. v. 3; III. I. 6; xxiii. 2 7; xxv  
 1; et al. (2) A clan name in Loos,  
 derived from Shui heih, a brother of  
 duke Beden, mentioned in VII. xvii. 7  
 IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xx. 7; xxii. 3; xxx.  
 6; ㄣ I 9 II. 2; III. 2; et al. It seems  
 also to occur as a clan name in the royal  
 domain, in VI. I. 3; but this is not cer-  
 tain. (3) **叔孫** the clan name of the

2d of the three great families of Loos,  
 derived from Yu, or Shui-yu, the son of  
 duke Hwan, whose death is recorded in  
 III. xxiii. 3 VI. I. 7; III. 1; ix. 3; xl. 6;  
 xviii. 5; VII. I. 4; VIII. II. 3; IX. II. 8;  
 et passim. We find **叔** alone in VI.

xiv. 3. (4) **叔仲** was the clan name  
 of a branch of the Shui-sun. It occurs  
 only once in the text, in VI. xi. 2; but  
 several members of it are mentioned in  
 the Chuen. In VI. xiv. 3, the 仲 is  
 omitted. (5) **世叔** a clan name in

Wei. See **世**. (6) **叔公** a clan  
 name in Wei. See **公**.

To take II. II. 4. It is used of the  
 seizure of individual; of the taking of  
 towns, and territory; of the capture of an  
 army. I. iv. 1; III. ix. 7; V. iii. 3; xxvi.  
 8; xxxi. 1; VI. vii. VII. I. 8; VIII. vi.

3; IX. xiii. 2; ㄣ xxxii. 1; VII. xiii. 1;  
 et al. To revolt; to hold in rebellion. IX.  
 xxvi. 2; XII. xv. 1; et al.

### THE 30th RADICAL. 口

The mouth VII. III. I

**須句**—a small State—in the pres.  
 Tung ping Chow dep. Tse-gan Its  
 lords were Fung, and said to be de-  
 scended from Fuh he V. xxii. 1; VI. vii. 2

**句** a place in Choo—probably in  
 the present dis. of Tsow dep. Yen-chow  
 VII. II. 2

(1) A small State in the royal do-  
 main—in the pres. dis. of Yen k'ueh,  
 lep. K'uang Chow Shian-se. It was held  
 by the descendants of the duke of Shao  
 of the Choo-king with the title of earl;  
 but his appanage was more to the east  
 in Shen-se. The Shao of the Ch'uan  
 Tse'w was probably a grant from the  
 crown after king I'ing's removal of the  
 capital to Lo. VI. v. 3; VII. xv. 5; VIII  
 vii. 7; ㄣ xxv. 8. (2) **召陵** a place  
 in Tsao,—in pres. di. of Yen-shing Hsu  
 Chow Ho-nan; famous for a covenant  
 between Ts'ao and Ts'ao. V. iv. 3; XI. iv. 2.

A city of Loos,—in the pres. dis. of Ho,  
 dep. H-chow IX. xii. 1 2.

To preside over. We have **司馬**  
 the minister of War and **司城** the  
 minister of Works, in XI. vii. 8; xv. 2.  
 In both texts the reference is to ministers  
 of Sung whose **司城** bore in Chow  
 and in the other States, the title of **司**  
**空**.

(1) **州吁** a prince of Wei, who  
 murdered his ruler and made himself  
 marquis of the State for a short time. I  
 vi. 2, 6. (2) **留吁** a tribe of the  
 Red Teth, who had their seat in the pres.  
 dis. of Tsun l'ow dep. Loos-gan, Shan-se  
 VII. x. 1 1

**合比** the name of a great officer of  
 Sung ㄣ vi. 5.

(1) Fortunate **吉** **禘** the service  
 performed when the spirit tablet of a de-  
 ceased king or ruler of a State was solemn-  
 ly placed in the ancestral temple IV. II.  
 2. (2) The name of a minister of Ching  
 X. xxv. (3) **吉射** an officer of  
 Tsin a scion of the Fan or Sze clan. XI  
 xiii. 6.

(1) Together. Used often in accounts  
 of convicts, with what precise signifi-  
 cation is disputed III. xvi. 1; xx. II. 2

**叛**  
 p'an

**口**  
 k'ou

**句**  
 k'ou

**召**  
 shao

**召**  
 shao

**召**  
 shao

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**召**  
 shao

VII xii 6 VIII vii 5, ix 2, *et al* In the account of a siege IX xviii 1 (2) The name —1st, of a son of duke Hwan of Loo, afterwards duke Chwang, II vi 5, 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII viii 6

后

how

向

heang

Queen,=the king's bride II viii 6 IX xi 2

(1) A small State, held by Kiangs,—probably in the present Ken Chow, dep E-chow I ii 2 (入向)=entered the principal city of Heang V xvi 1, VII iv 1, IX xiv 1, probably all relate to the same place But in II xvi 1 we seem to have a Heng, properly belonging to Loo (2) A clan-name in Sung IX xi 1 X i 2, xvi 3, *et al*

君

keun

(1) A ruler Applied to the rulers of the different States without distinction of their different ranks I iv 2 II ii 1, xviii 5 V ix 6, *et passim* (2) 小君 is used for the wife of the ruler, so denominated by the people of the State It is used in the Ch'un Tsew in describing the burial of the wives of the ruler of Loo, and=duchess III xxi 2 V ii 2 VI v 2 VII viii 9 IX ii 7, iv 5, ix 4 X xi 8

Pearls and precious stones put into the mouth of a corpse VI v 1

舍

han

吳

uoo

(1) The name of a State,—the chief city of which was in the pres dis of Woo, dep Soo-chow The State might be said to date from T'ae-pih, celebrated in the She and the Analects, the son of king T'ae He had his sent in Mei-le (梅

里),—in the pres dep of Chang-chow King Woo constituted a great-grandson of Chung-yung, brother and successor of T'ae-pih, viscount of Woo, but it is not till the 7th year of duke Ch'ing that the State appears in the text of the Ch'un Tsew VIII vii 2, 7, xi 10 IX iii 1, *et al* (2) The name —1st, of a great officer of Tsin, IX xxi 4 X xv 5, *et al*, 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, X xiii 9 XI iv 1, 3d of a great officer of Ts'ae, X xv 3

台

uoo

(1) 台離, name of a marquis of T'ang II vii 3 (2) 夷台, name of a marquis of Tsin V xxi 5

To announce, to represent with a request III xxviii 7

台

k'ou

月

kuh

In the phrase 台月, to inaugurate the beginning of a month with the usual ceremonies VI vi 8

周

chow

(1) The name of the appanage in the royal domain, granted by king Woo to his brother Tan, the famous duke of Chow, and which was held by one branch of his descendants, V ix 2 (2) 成周, the eastern capital of Chow VII xvi 2 X xxi 7, xxii 4 (3) The name of a marquis of Tsin IX xi 7

命

ming

(1) To charge 尙命, they charged or pledged each other II iii 2 (2) The symbol of rank, constituting the investiture of a ruler by the king, with other tokens of dignity and of the royal favour III i 6 (where those tokens are strangely sent to the deceased duke Hwan) VI i 5 VII viii 7

和

ho

咎

f'wo

(1) The name of a duke of Sung I iii 5 (2) Paddy, rice III xxviii 6

(1) 無咎, the name of a minister of Ts'ue VIII xv 10, xvii 5 (2) 宜咎, the name of a great officer of Ch'in IX xxv 11

咎

f'au

厲咎如, a tribe of the Red Teih VIII iii 11

咸

hien

咸丘 a district in Loo—probably in Yen-chow dept, but it may have been in dep of Ts'au-chow II vii 1

陌

heuen

The name —1st of a minister of the king I i 1, 2d of a great officer of Wei, V xxi 11, 19, xxx 3

哀

gan

(1) The posthumous title of —1st, a marchioness of Loo V ii 2, 2d, a marquess of Ch'in, X xiii 10, 3d, an earl of Ts'in, XI ix 7 (2) 了哀, the designation of a minister of Sung VI xiv 10

To wail,—on an occasion of calamity VIII iii 4

哭

k'uh

唁

yen

唐

t'ang

To condole with one,—on occasion of his meeting with calamity or misfortune X xxi 6, xxx 1, xxxi 4

A place, probably a city of Loo—in the pres dis of Yu-t'ae, dep Yen-chow I ii 4 II ii 8, 9

商

shang

(1) 商人,—see 人 (2) 商中, the name of a prince of Ts'oo who murdered his ruler VI i 10 (3) 商任,—see 任

啟

k'ie

啟陽, a city in Loo,—in dep of E-chow XII iii 4

善

shen

喜

he

善道, a place in Woo,—probably in the pres Sze Chow, Gan-hwuy IX v 4

The name —1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, VIII xiv 4, xvi 3, 2d, of a minister of Wei, IX, xxi 1, 7 xxvii 3, 3d, of another minister of Wei, X xxi 2, xxvii 4

喪

sang

(1) The coffin and corpse II xviii 3 V i 10 VI xv 4 VIII ix 1 XI i, 2 (2) The mourning and early preparations for burial XI xv 8

單

shen

The name of a State in the royal domain VIII xvii 2, 8 sufficiently establish the existence of such a State We there find—'the viscount of Shen' It is probably the same that is mentioned in III i 3, iv 2, 4, VI xiv 11, xv 6 There, indeed, we find—'the earl of Shen', though many critics understand the characters as=Shen Pih a great officer of Loo being intended This seems to me very unlikely, and in other cases

we find the rank of rulers of States, now raised, now degraded.

The name—1st, of a prince and great officer of Ch'ing IX. xix. 12; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing X. xii. 2; 3d, of a viscount of Shih (沈) VI. iv. 3.

To offer the autumn 1 sacrifice. II. xiv. 5.

A clan-name in T'ao-t'ou XI. iv. 14 Williams' to the dictionary gives this character under 衣

### THE 31st RADICAL 口

Four fourth in the specification of months and years. I. iv. 1; V. 2; et passim. A fourth time V. xxi. 3.

The name—1st, of a minister of T'ao VII. v. 3, 5; xv. 2d, of a duke of Sung VIII. xv. 6; 3d, of a marquis of T'ao IX. xxx. 2.

A park. VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 5; XI. xiii. 2.

(1) A State a country III. iv. 4 (2) A clan-name in T'ao V. xxxiii. 2; VII. x. 1; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; et passim.

(8) 平國 the name of a marquis of Ch'in VII. x. 8. 東國 the name of a marquis of T'ao X. xxiii. 3.

The name of a great officer of Wei XI. iv. 12.

(1) To besiege. I. v. 8 III. viii. 8; V. vi. 2, 3; VI. iii. 4; et passim. (2) The name of a prince of T'ao. X. i. 2.

### THE 32d RADICAL 土

踐土 a place in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dia. of Yang tai, dep. K'ae-fung, where there was a great meeting of the States after the battle of Bihing puh, and d. ke Wan of Tsin was acknowledged as leader of the States. The king himself is said to have been present. V. xxviii. 8

To be in— IV. xxix. 1.

(1) The earth. In the phrase 地震 there was an earthquake. VI. ix. 11; IX. x. 10; X. xix. 3; xiii. 9; XII. iii. 2 (2) The name of a prince of Sung XI. x. 9; xi. 1

(1) A place whose situation is not clearly ascertained, and which has been claimed for Wei, for Loo, and for T'ao-t'ou. I. viii. 1; II. i. 2; III. iv. 3. (3) A place in T'ao,—in dia. of P'ing yin, dep. T'ao-t'ou. VII. viii. 8. (4) 垂龍 a place in Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Yang tai, dep. K'ae-fung. VI. ii. 4 (4) 垂葭 a place, probably in the dep. of T'ao-t'ou chow XI. xiii. 1

城  
shing

(1) To wall, to fortify I. vii. 3; ix. 4; II. v. 5; et passim. (2) 司城 see 司

(8) 中城—see 中 (4) 亭城

亭 (5) 城濮 a place in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of T'ao-t'ou, dep. T'ao-t'ou-chow; the scene of a great battle between Tsin and T'ao. III. xxvii. 7; V. xxviii. 5. (6) 新城 a city in Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Meih dep. K'ae-fung. V. xvi. 4 There was a city of the same name in Sung,—in pres. dia. of Shiang k'ew dep. hwei ili. VI. xiv. 4

(7) 彭城 a city of Sung,—in the pres. dia. of P'ung shan, dep. Seu-chow K'ang-soo. See 彭 (8) 郢城 a city in the pres. dia. of K'ien le dep. King chow Hoo-pih, to which Tsin transferred its capital. XI. iv. 7 (9) 王城 the royal city called Keah juh (邲) close by the pres. dia. city of Loh yang X. xiii. 8.

To seize and hold as a prisoner II. xli. 4 III. xviii. 1; V. iv. 4; v. 9; xix. 1, 4; xxi. 4; xxviii. 4; VI. xiv. 11; 12; et al.

The name of an earl of Ch'ing. VIII. iv. 2

To dismantle to throw down the wall of a city XI. xli. 3, 5

詩塗 the name of a great officer of Ch'in V. iv. 4

To be broken, to go to ruin. VI. xiii. 5

單墀 a place in Tsin,—in the pres. district of T'ao-t'ou dep. Taih-chow, Shian-so. VIII. vii. 8.

單墀 the name of a great officer of Ch'in V. iv. 4

To be broken, to go to ruin. VI. xiii. 5

單墀 a place in Tsin,—in the pres. district of T'ao-t'ou dep. Taih-chow, Shian-so. VIII. vii. 8.

### THE 33d RADICAL 士

A clan-name in Tsin. VI. ii. 4; ix. 6; VIII. viii. 9; 10; xv. 10; xviii. 7, 13; IX. xii. 3; xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 13; et al.

(1) A calendaric stem-character II. iii. 4; vi. 3; et passim (2) Name of a marquis of T'ao XII. xiv. 9 (3) 壬

夫 the name of a prince and great officer of T'ao. IX. i. 4; v. 6.

The name—1st, of an earl of T'ao-t'ou, VII. xiv. 2 2d, of a great officer of Sung VIII. viii. 5

### THE 35th RADICAL 夕

Lower 3d tone. Summer; in summer I. i. 3; II. 2 et passim

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in. VII. x. 8 X. xiii. 7 XII. xiii. 11 (3) The name—1st, of a viscount of L'ow IX. xv. 2 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing a cousin of

執  
chih

堅  
k'ien

墜  
chuei

塗  
tu

壞  
huai

壤  
jang

士  
shi

壬  
jen

夫  
fu

壽  
shou

夏  
hia

夏  
hia

夏  
hia

the ruling House, IX ㄨㄨ 9, 3d of a great officer of Ts'ue XI ㄨ 7, ㄨ 6 XII ㄢ 1, ㄨ 4

A small State,—in the present Kwei Chow dept E-chang, Hoo-pih It, lords were viscounts a branch of the House of Ts'oo V ㄨㄨ 6

夔  
kwei

# THE 36TH RADICAL 夕

外  
uae  
多  
to

The outside. 夕 外, outside [the city] III 1 4

(1) Many III ㄨ 4 (2) 曼多, the name of a great officer of Tsun XII ㄨ 2, ㄨ 7

夜  
yay

In the night-time III ㄨ 2 夜中, at midnight 1b

# THE 37TH RADICAL 人

人  
tu

(1) Great, greatly, grand I 1 2 II 1 4, *et sepe*. We have 人 𠂇, to have a grand sacrifice for rain, II 5 7, *et al*, 人 閱, to have a grand military review, II 1 3, 人 水, to have great floods, II 1 3, ㄨ 3 IX ㄨ 6, *et al*, 人 事, to have great sacrificial business, VI 1 6, 人 旱, to have a great drought, VII ㄨ 4, *et al*, 人 饑, to have a great famine, a failure of all the crops, IX ㄨ 13, 人 弓, a great bow that had been conferred on the duke of Chow, and was one of the precious things of Loo, XI ㄨ 16, 1 3, 人 去 其 國, to take a grand leave of one's State, to leave it for good III 1 4 (2) 大人, a great officer, one in high position and employment II 1 1 III 1 2, ㄨ 3, ㄨ 6, *et sepe*. (3) 人 棘, a place in Sung, —in the pres Suy Chow, dep Kwei-tih, the scene of a battle between Sung and Ch'ing VII 1 1 人 鹵, a place in Tsun,—probably in the pres dis of T'ae-yuen, dept T'ae-yuen, Shan se X 1 6 (4) 人 辰, a space in the heavens, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio X ㄨ 5 (5) 人 心, the name of a great officer of Sung X ㄨ 2 XI 1 8, 1 3

大  
tae

Great, grand 人 廟 the ancestral temple of the ruling House of Loo, or specially, the temple of the first duke of Loo V ㄨ 5 VI 1 6 VII ㄨ 3 人 宰 is the reading of Kung-yang, adopted

天  
t'ien

by the K'ang-hi editors, in VI ㄨ 5, meaning perhaps the shrine-house or temple of Pih-kun, the first duke of Loo Heaven In the denominations of the king, as 大 1 =king by Heaven's grace expressive of his supremacy over all the States, I 1 4, ㄢ 3 II 1 2, ㄨ 2, ㄨ 1, 2 V ㄨ 6, ㄨ 4, ㄨ 17 VI 1 5, ㄨ 3 VII 1 12 VIII 1 6 IX 1 5, ㄨ 8, ㄨ 4 X ㄨ 4, ㄨ 8 XI 1 16, and 人 了, son of Heaven, expressive of the foundation of the royal authority in the favour of Heaven VIII ㄨ 7

大  
foo

(1) 人 大,—see 人 (2) 夫

人, the ordinary designation for the marchioness, or the wife of the marquis, of Loo I 1 7 II ㄨ 1 III 1 1, 1 1, *et sepe* (3) 夫 遼, a place in the small State of Shing,—in the pres dis of Ning-yang, dep Yen-chow II 1 8 (4) In names 良 夫, the name of a great officer of Wei VII ㄨ 1 VIII 1 2 3, *et al* 佞 人,—see 佞 區 大,—see 區 丁 人,—see 丁

夷  
e

The general name for the wild tribes of the east 淮 夷, the tribes about the Hwai X 1 2 4 (2) A place in Ts'ue, according to Kung-yang, or in Loo, acc to T'ou Yu V 1 5 (5) A place called also 城 父, to which Hui removed its capital city, in X 1 2 It was in the pres Poh Chow, dep Ying-chow, Gau-hwuy (4) 夷 儀,—see 儀 (5) The name —1st, of an earl of Ch'ing, VII 1 3, 2d, of a marquis of Tsun X ㄨ 4, 3d, of an earl of Seeh, XII 1 8 We have also 與 夷, the name of a duke of Sung, II 1 1, 夷 台, the name of a marquis of Tsun, V ㄨ 5, 夷 皐, the name of a marquis of Tsun, VII 1 4, 牟 夷, the name of an officer of Keu, X 1 4, 夷 人, the name of a viscount of Woo, X 1 1, 夷 伯,—see 伯 夷 being there the honorary epithet

夾  
k'eah

夾 谷, the name of a valley, where the marquises of Ts'ue and Loo had a meeting, at which Confucius is said to have distinguished himself,—probably in the pres dis of Lae-woo, dep T'ae-gan XI 1 2, 3

夙  
h'au

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing IX ㄨ 2 X ㄨ 9

介  
pun

(1) To flee to Generally found along with 出 II 1 6 IV 1 5 V 1 7, *et sepe* (2) To hurry to XI 1 8

**奚** (1) A place in Loo, the scene of a battle between T'ao and Loo,—in pres. dia. of T'ing, dep. Yen Chow II xvii. 8  
(2) **奚齊** the name of a young prince of Tsin V ix. 6.

## The 38th RADICAL. 女

**女** A daughter a young lady. It is used in the text for what we call a bride the daughter of some noble House, while the marriage is in process of being celebrated; and in one case for the same after the celebration with regard to the final ratification of the marriage. I II. 5; II. III. 5 III. xxiv. 8; VII. L. 2 VIII. ix. 3; xiv. 8; et al. See **逆** and **致**.

(1) A clan name in Chin III. xxv. 1  
(2) **女栗** a place unascertained, the scene of a covenant between duke Wan of Loo and a viscount of Soo. VI. x. 5  
(1) As, like III. vii. 2. (2) To go to. II. III. 3; v. 2, 9; xviii. 1; V. xxvi. 8 et al. (3) In names. **僑如**—see **僑** **意如** the name of one of the chiefs of the Ke-sun clan in Loo, X. x. 8; xi. 7; xiii. 7; xiv. 1; xvi. 6 xxxi. 2; XI. v. 4. (4) **臆咎如**—see **咎**.

**嬖** The surname of the descendants of the great Yu. Used of ladies of the House of K'e, who were married to marquises of Loo. IX. iv. 3, 5 XI. xv. 9 13.

(1) In names **射姑** the name—1st, of a prince of T'aoou, II. ix. 4 afterwards earl. III. xxiii. 9; 2d, of an officer of Tsin, VI. vi. 7 **容姑** the name of an earl of K'e, IX. vi. 1. **益姑** the name of another earl of K'e, X. vi. 1 **曼姑** the name of a great officer of Wei XII. III. 1 ( ) **落姑** a city of T'ao,—in pres. dia. of Ping jin, dep. T'ao-gan IV. i. 4.

The name of a cadet of the House of T'ao and high officer XI. iv. 8; XII. iv. 5.

The surname of the ruler of the House of T'ao. It occurs generally if not only in connexion with ladies of that house married to marquises of Loo, and is followed for the most part by 氏 equivalent, in such a connexion, to our lady II. III. 6, 8; x. III. 1; III. II. 4; VI. iv. 2; et al. The surname of the House of Ko (紀) II. ix. 1 A tribe of the Jung were also distinguished as the K'ang Jung, and said to be descended somehow from Yao's chief-minister V. xxxiii. 3; a d see the Chuen on IX. xiv. 1. But all the K'ang pretended to trace their lineage up to Shun nung.

The surname of the royal House of Chow **王姬** a princess of the royal House III. L. 3 xi. 4 The surname of the House of Loo We have **伯姬** the duke's eldest daughter; **叔姬** the duke's third daughter &c. I II. 6 vii. 1; III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1 4; et al. All the K'es traced their lineage up to Hwang te.

**牟婁** a city of K'e,—in pres. dia. of Ch'ao ling dep. T'ing-chow I. iv. 1 **婁林** a place in Sen—in the pres. dia. of Hung dep. Fung yang Gan hway V. xv. 13 **婁婁** a place in T'ao, the site not satisfactorily determined. VIII. II. 4 **營婁** a city of Choo,—in the pres. T'ao-ning Chow dep. Yen-chow V. xxxiii. 6. **無婁**, acc. to Too Yu, a city of K'e, and further acc. to Kung yang the **牟婁** above. But from the text we should not infer that it was in K'eat all VII. xv.

A wife III. xxiv. 6. But it is used for the lady when she was only what we call a bride. III. xix. 3 (?) V. xxv. 3 xxxi. 7; VI. iv. 2 (?) VII. L. 3; VIII. xiv. 6.

To escort ladies to the harem of a newly married wife III. xix. 3 VIII. vii. 11 ix. 6 x. 4.

(1) **嬰齊** the name—1st, of a viscount of T'ing V. xix. 1 2d, of a son of the House of Loo, and a great officer the son of Shun heli in VII. xvii. 7 VIII. II. 8; vi. 6; viii. 3; xvii. 10; 3d, of a prince of T'ao, VIII. II. 9 vi. 9; vii. 5 ix. 10; IX. III. 1; 4th, of another high officer of Loo, a grandson of duke Chwang, and son of Chung Say in VII. viii. 3, VIII. xv. 3 (2) **嬰兒**—see **兒**.

A city of T'ao—in pres. dia. of T'ao-gan, dep. T'ao-gan. II. III. 1.

## THE 39th RADICAL. 子

(1) A son. L. III. 5 V. v. 2; ix. 6. Standing alone, and followed by a name it denotes a son of the ruling, or just deceased marquise of Loo II. vi. 5; III. xxii. 5; V. L. xviii. 6; IX. xxxi. 3. **公子**—see **公** **世子**—see **世** **王子** king's son, a son of the reigning or some previous sovereign. VI. III. 2; VII. x. 12 xv. 5 (**王札子** for **王子札** is a remarkable inversion of the terms) IX. xxx. 5; X. xxii. 9 **天子**—see **天** (2) In the sense of prince and successor in the State the father

being dead but not yet buried V ix 7, xxviii 15 XI iv 2 Observe the case of 衛了 in V xxviii 8 (3) A daughter VI xii 3, xiv 12, xv 11 VII v 3 (4) In the sense of officer, after the clan-name or the designation IV i 5 ii 6

(5) In designations 了帛, I ii 7 了突, III. vi 1 了還, XII xvi 2 (6) The fourth of the titles of nobility, = viscount V xi 2, xiv 2, xxii 2, xxiii 4, *et scapissime* (7) The surname of the House of Sung, as representing the dynasty of Shang or Yin I ii 7 Observe 孟了 in XII xii 2 (8) A calendaric branch-character II xviii 2 VII xvii 1, *et al*

孔

k'ung

(1) 孔父, the designation of a minister of Sung, from whom sprang the K'ung clan or family, to which Confucius belonged II. ii 1 We find it as Confucius' clan or surname in XII xvi 3 (2) A clan name in Wei VII xiv 1 XI xv 12 (3) A clan-name in Ch'iu IX xxvii 2 X viii 9—There was also a K'ung clan in Ch'ing, individuals of which are mentioned in the Chuen

彗

p'ei  
puh

A comet VI xiv 5 X xvi 5 XII xiii 9, xiv 13 彗星 and 彗星 are now the ordinary designations of a comet From the style of the three passages in the text, I conclude that 彗 is descriptive of the appearance or motion of the 星 or star That the texts refer to a comet there can be no doubt

侯

heaou

The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of Ts'e, V xxvii 3, of an earl of K'e, IX xxiii 4

季

ke

(1) The 4th (or, it may be, the 3d) in the order of birth, so becoming a designation II ix 1, xvii 5 III iii 4 V xiv 2, xv 9, *et al* 季友, in V xvi 2, is the designation and name of the son of duke Hwan, from whom came the Ke or Ke sun family in Loo (2) The third or last X xxv 4 (3) 季孫, the clan-name of the third of the great clans of Loo VI vi 2, 3, xv 1, 9, xvi 1, xviii 8 VII i 4, x 15 VIII ii 3, vi 10, ix 5, xi 3, xii 12, 14, *et scapissime*

公

māng

(1) The eldest XII xii 2 (2) 公

孫

sun

(1) Grandson,—which meaning is apparent in 公孫, see 公 We find

孫 also in various clan-names, such as 仲孫, (see 仲), 叔孫 (see 叔), 季孫 (see 季), 仲孫 (see 仲), 臧孫 (see 臧) (2) A clan name of Wei VII vi 1, vii 1 VIII ii 2, 3, iii 11, 12, 13, iv 4, vii 9, *et scap*

孫

sun

To retire, to withdraw A euphemism for—to flee III i 2 IV ii 4 X xxv 5

## THE 40TH RADICAL

安

gan

安甫

the place of a meeting between the marquis of Ts'e and others, situation undetermined XI x 9

完

hwan

The name —1st, of a marquis of Wei, I iv 2, 2d, of a minister of Ts'oo, V iv 3

宋

sung

The State of Sung, of which the capital was Shang-k'ow, a name remaining in the dis so called of dept Kwei-tih The country embraced in that department was the principal part of the dukedom of Sung, but it comprehended also portions of the pres provinces of Kiang-soo and Gan-hwuy Its dukes had the surname Tsze (了), as being the representatives

of the sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang It is to be observed that 宋 in the text, like the names of other States, frequently denotes the capital city of the State I i 5, iii 6, 8, v 5, *et passim*

宗

tsung

(1) Connected with—having the same surname as the rulers of the State, in connexion with which we find the term

III xxiv 6 (宗婦) (2) A clan-name in Ch'iu XII xiv 6, 13

定

ting

(1) The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Wei, VIII xv 1, 2d, of a marchioness of Loo, IX iv 5, 3d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X xxviii 4, 4th, of a marquis of Loo (who gives the title to Book XI) XI xv 12, and of his wife, 13 (2) The name —1st, of a great officer of Sung, IX xxix 5 X xii 3, *et al*, 2d, of an earl of Seeh, XI xii 1

宛

yuen

The name —1st, of a great officer of Ch'ing, I viii 2, 2d, of a great officer of Ts'oo, X xxvii 3

宜

e

(1) 宜中, the name of a great officer of Ts'oo V xxi 6 VI x 3 (2)

宜咎, the name of a great officer of Ch'iu IX xxiv 11

官

seuen

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of one of the kings of Chow, VII xvi 2, 2d, of a marquis of Loo (who gives its title to Book VII), VIII i 2, 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ue, I viii 7, 4th, of a marquis of Wei, II viii 2, 5th, of an earl of Ts'aou, VIII xii 6

宰

shih

(1) A temple or shrine-house,—that of the first duke of Loo VI xiii 5

(世宰) (2) A House or family X xxii 6 (一宰, the royal House)

宮

kung

(1) A palace V xx 3 IX xxxi 2 (2) A temple or shrine house I v 4 III xxiii 8, xxiv 1 VIII iii 4, vi 2

X xv 2 XI i 6 XII iii 3 (3) 北

宮,—see 北

宰 (1) The chief minister V ix. 2; xxx 7 (2) Another officer of the king, whom we may designate assistant or sub-administrator I. i. 4; II iv 2.

家 A clan name in Chow II. viii. 2; xv 1

容 (1) 姑容—see 姑 (2) 容城—see 城

宿 (1) A small State.—In the pres. Tung ping (Chow dep. Tao-gan, its chiefs were barons with the surname Fung (風). I. i. 5; viii. 5; III. x. 3 (2) The name of one of the chiefs of the Ko-sun clan. IX. vi. 7; vii. 5; ix. 2; xiv 1 7; xv 4 et al.

寅 (1) A calendaric branch-character I. viii. 2; II. xii. 2; et passim. (2) The name.—1st, of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiii. 5; 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, XI. xiii. 6.

密 (1) A city of K'eu.—In pres. dia. of Ch'ang. dep. Lao-chow I. ii. 6. (2) 密州 the name of a viscount of K'eu. IX. xxxi. 7

寇 御寇 the name of a prince of Ch'in. III. xxii. 3.

寇 (1) A clan-name in Wei, VI iv 6; IX. xxvii. 3; et al. (2) The name.—1st, of a great officer of Sung, X. xxi. 4; xxi. 3; xxiii. 2; d. of an earl of Ch'ing X. xxviii. 3; 3d, of a viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 5 4th, of a baron of Hien, IX. xxvi. 8. (3) 甯母 a city of Loo,—in pres. dia. of Yu t'iao, dep. Yen-chow V vii. 4.

寢 To place. XII. xiv 3

A chamber of the palace. We have

路寢 the State chamber III. xxxii. 4; VII. xviii. 7; VIII. xviii. 11; 小寢, the Small chamber V. xxviii. 11; and 高寢 the High chamber XI. xv. 5.

寤生 the name of an earl of Ch'ing II. xi. 5

寤 (1) To yield fruit V. xxxiii. 12. (2) Written 寤 probably the name of a duke of Chow II. vi. 1.

The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. IX. xiii. 3.

寶 Precious, valuable. 寶玉 the precious sacrifice of jade. XI. viii. 16; ix. 3.

### THE 41st RADICAL. 十

封 (1) The name of a great officer of Ts'e IX. xxvii. 1 xxviii. 6. (2) 封人 the name of a marquis of Ts'ao. II. xvii. 4.

射 (1) The name of an officer of Little Choo. XII. xiv 2 (2) 射姑—see 姑 射吉射—see 吉

### THE 42nd RADICAL. 小

小 Small, little. (1) 小寢—see 寢 (2) 小君 is the designation employed for a marchioness of Loo, in the record of her burial. See 君 (3) 小白 the name of a marquis of Ts'e, the famous duke Hwan. III. ix. 3; V. xvii. 5. (4) 小穀 apparently a city of Loo. III. xxxii. 1 (5) 小邾 the name of a small State in the pres. dia. of T'ang dep. Yen-chow. It first appears in the text under the name of E (兒), in the 5th year of duke Chwang, when it was only an attached territory of Sung. After wards its lords were made viscounts, and the name changed to Little Choo. V. vii. 2; IX. ii. 9; et saepe.

The name of an officer of Chow XI. xiv 9

尙 shang

### THE 43rd RADICAL. 尸

尹 (1) A clan-name of an officer of Ch'ing who accompanied duke Yin to Loo. This, h = er is uncertain, as is the reading 尹氏 in I. iii. 4. (2) The name of a State in the royal domain of Chow—in the pres. dia. of E-yang, dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were viscounts. VIII. xvi. 10; xvii. 2.

(1) To dwell, to reside. V. xxiv. 4; X. xxii. 7; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 5. (2) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. V. xxvi. 6.

A clan-name in Ts'oo. It originated from the K'ueh-h'ia, mentioned in the Chuen appended to II. xi. 1 V. iv 3; IX. xxv 8; xxvii. 2; X. v 2

(1) A roof VI. xiii. 5. (2) 瓦屋 a place in the royal domain—in the pres. dia. of Wei-ch'uen, dep. K'ao-fung. I. viii. 6

展 展與 the name of a viscount (though not so designated in the text) of K'ou. X. i. 8.

履 (1) The name of a prince of Ts'ao IX. xx. 5. (2) 履綸 (the reading of Kung and Kuh in I. ii. 6), the name of a great officer of Ke (紀).



## THE 46TH RADICAL 山

山  
shan

(1) A mountain, a hill VIII v 4 (梁 山) (2) In VIII xv 9, 山 appears as if it were the name of a great officer of Sung, but it is an abbreviation for 了 山, the designation of the officer intended (3) 山 戎, the Hill Jung, is another name for the 北 戎, or northern Jung III xx 7

岸  
gan

長 岸, a place in Ts'oo, the scene of a battle between Ts'oo and Woo,—in the pres dis of T'ang-too, dep T'ae-p'ing, Gan-hwuy X xvii 6

崇  
ts'ung

A small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Ts'in,—in the pres dis of Hoo, dep Se-gan, Shen-se VII 1 13

崔  
tsuy

A clan-name in Ts'e VII x 5 VIII xviii 14 1 x 3, xxiv 5, xxv 1, 2

崩  
p'ung

(1) To fall down Used of a land-slip V xiv 3 VIII v 4 (2) To die The term appropriate to narrate the death of a king I iii 3 II xv 2, et al

品  
yen

A city in what was a kind of neutral territory between Ch'ing and Sung XII xiii 1

## THE 47TH RADICAL 州

州  
chow

(1) A small State, held by Keangs,—in the pres dis of Gan-k'ew, dep Ts'ing-chow II v 9 Its ruler appears as a duke, and visits the court of Ts'aou, apparently abandoning his own State, which was then absorbed by K'e (杞)

(2) In names 州 吁,—see 吁 州 蒲, the name of a marquis of Tsin VIII xviii 2 密 州,—see 密 州 仇,—see 仇 (3) In names of places 个 州, a city of Ts'e,—in the pres dis of

Lae-woo, dep T'ae-gan VII 1 6 舒 州, also a city of Ts'e,—in the pres dis of T'ang, dep Yen-chow XII xiv 3, 9 州 來, a city of Ts'oo,—in the pres Show

Chow, dep Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy VIII vii 7 X xiii 12 XII ii 8 陽 州,—a city on the borders between Loo and Ts'e, in the pres dis of Tung-p'ing, dep T'ae-gan X xxv 5

巢  
ch'aou

(1) To build nests in trees X xxv 3 (2) A State, lying between Woo and Ts'oo,—in pres dis of Ch'aou, dep Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy VI xii 4 IX xxv 10 X xxiv 6 The lords of Ch'aou were earls, but their surname is unknown (3) The name of a great officer of Sung XII vi 10, xii 5, xiv 9

## THE 48TH RADICAL 小

小  
woo

The name of a prince of Ch'ing IX v 3

## THE 49TH RADICAL 𠂔

𠂔  
le

A calendaric stem-character I iii 1 II xiii 1, et passim

𠂔  
sze

A calendaric branch-character I iii 1 II xiii 1, et passim

𠂔  
pa

A considerable State, the name of which remains in the dis so called of dep Ch'ung-k'ing, Sze-chuen Its lords were Kes, and had the title of viscount VI xvi 6

## THE 50TH RADICAL 巾

帥  
suh

To lead I ii 3, iv 5 V 1 9, xxvii 4, et passim

了 帛  
p'ih

了 帛,—see 了

帝 斤  
te

帝 斤,—see 斤

師  
sze

(1) A army, a force I ii 3, iv 5 II xiii 1, et passim (2) 京 師, the capital See 京 (3) In names 益 師, a prince of Loo I 1 7 偃 師,—see 偃 徵 師, an internuncius of Ch'in X viii 4

幣  
pe

Pieces of silk,—offered in contracting a marriage III xxii 6 VI ii 8 VIII viii 5 Offered to a recently married wife III xxiv 6

## THE 51st RADICAL 亓

亓  
lan

A clan-name in Ch'in X viii 4

个 國  
p'ing

(1) Peace, friendship, I vi 1 To make peace VII xv 2 XI x 1 XII xi 7 To reconcile VII iv 1 (2) The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Ts'in, X x 5, 2d, of a duke of Sung, X xi 1, 2d, of an earl of Ts'aou, X xviii 4, 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X xxi 1, 5th, of an earl of K'e, X xxiv 7

(3) 个 國, the name of a marquis of Ch'in VII x 8 (4) In names of places 个 州, see 州 个 陽 a city of Loo,—in pres dis of Sin-t'ae, dep Tse-nan VII viii 11 个 斤,—see 斤

年  
n'een

(1) An year I 1 1, ii 1, et passim (2) In the phrase 有 年, to have a

good or plentiful year II. III. 10; VII xvi.  
4 (3) The name of a prince of T'ao, I  
vii 4 II III. 9

## THE 52D RADICAL. 𠂔

幽  
yau  
yau  
le

A city of Sung.—In pres. dia. of K'ao-shing, dep. Kwei-tib III xvi. 4; xxvii. 2.

A great officer of Sung. X. xxxii. 4; XI I. 1

## THE 53D RADICAL. 𠂔

庚  
Leng

(1) A calendaric stem-character I. II. 4 III. 3, 6 II. x. 1; et passim. (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII III. 12 13. We have also 庚與 the name of a viscount of K'ou. X. xxxii. 6.

庶  
shoo  
yang

(1) A small State of which little is known.—In the pres. dia. of Chuh-shan dep. Yang Hoo-pih. VI xvi. 6. (2) 舒州 a State held by Yous, descendants of K'ao yaou.—In the pres. dep. of Leu-chow Gan-hwuy VIII xvi. 14

廐  
leu  
moo

Stables III xxix. 1.

廟  
moo

An ancestral temple V xv. 10; VI vi. 8. 太廟 the temple of the duke of Chow in Loo II. II. 4; V viii. 4; VI II. 6; VII viii. 3.

廩  
lin

A granary II xiv. 4 See 御.

廩  
lin

廩咎如—see 咎

The name—1st. of an earl of T'ao, VIII. xiii. 4; 2d. of a marquess of T'ao, X. xiii. 9; xxi. 3

## THE 54TH RADICAL. 𠂔

延  
yen  
yin

? long Descriptive somehow of the ducal stables in Loo III. xxix. 1

The name of a great officer of T'ao. IX xxv. 8; xxvii. 2

## THE 55TH RADICAL. 𠂔

弑  
sho

To put to death, to murder.—the term appropriated to the death of a ruler by a subject, or of a father by a son. I iv. 2; II. II. 1; III. viii. 3; xii. 3; VII. I. 10; xiv. 0; xvi. 7; xviii. 3; VII. II. 4; iv. 3; x. 8; VII. xviii. 1; IX. xxv. 1; xxvii. 1; xxi. 4; xxx. 2; xxxi. 7; X. xiii. 9; xix. 2; xx. II. 10 XI. xiii. 8; XII. vi. 8; xiv. 10

## THE 57TH RADICAL. 弓

弓  
kung

(1) A bow VI viii. 10; ix. 3. (2) The name of a great officer of Loo IX. xxx. 6; X. II. 2; III. 2; v. 6; vi. 8; vii. 3; ix. 1; x. 3; xi. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 2.

弗  
fuk

Not. II x. 3; V. xxvi. 2; VI. xiv. 7; xvi. 1

弘  
hong

The name of a great officer of Ching VII. vii. 6.

弟  
dei

A younger brother I. vii. 4; II. xiv. 3; et al.

弦  
hsien

The name of a small State whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Wei (隗).—In the pres. dia. of K'ao-shwuy dep. Hwang-chow Hoo-pih V v. 6.

弱  
jok

The name—1st. of a great officer of Sung IX. vi. 2. 2d. of a great officer of T'ao X. i. 2; xi. 7.

張  
chang

The name of a great officer of T'ao X. xlix. 1; xxxii. 4 VII. vi. 4

張  
chow

The name—1st. of a prince of Loo I. v. 1; 2d. of a great officer of Sung XI. x. 12; xi. 1 3d. of a great officer of Wei, XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12 VII. x. 8

## THE 59TH RADICAL. 彡

彪  
piao

The name of a marquess of Tsin. X. x. 4

彭  
peng

(1) 彭生 the name of a great officer of Loo VI. xi. 2; xiv. 3 ( ) In names of places. 彭衙 a place probably in T'ain.—acc. to T'ao Yu, in the pres. dia. of H'ao-shwuy dep. Tung-chow Shen so VI. II. 1. 彭城 a city of Sung.—In pres. dia. of Tung-shan, dep. Sen-chow K'ang soo VIII. xviii. 5; IX. I. 2.

## THE 60TH RADICAL. 彳

徐  
seo

The name of a State whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Ying (嬴).—In the pres. dia. of Chow Gan-hwuy Sen was occupied by tribes of the Jung in the early part of the Chow dynasty. A chief is said to have usurped the title of king, and to have been put to death by king Mu, who reconstituted the State. III. xxv. 4; V. III. 3; VI. I. 7; X. iv. 2; et al.

得  
dek

(1) To get. VI. ix. 3. (2) 得臣 the name—1st. of a great officer of T'ao, who lost the battle of Shing puh, V. xxviii. 6; 2d. of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-an clan in Loo, VI. III. 1; ix. 8; xi. 6 xviii. 3

**從** *ts'ung* To accord with, to be favourable. In the phrase **不從**, used of the result of divination as adverse V xxxi 3 VIII x 2 XI vi 2, x 2

**御** *yu* (1) In II xiv 4 we have the phrase **御廩**, meaning the granary connected with the ancestral temple, in which the grain grown in the field said to be cultivated by the ruler was stored **御** is, perhaps, =ducal, that which was specially connected with the duke (2) In names **御寇**,—see **寇** **御說**, the name of a duke of Sung V ix 1

**復** *fu* To return VI viii 6 VII viii 2 X ii 4, et al

**復** *fo* Again In the phrase **復入**,—see **入復歸** denotes the return to his dignity and position by a prince who has been in exile or degraded for a time II xv 5 V xxviii 2, 19, 21 VII xv 3 IX xxvi 3, et al

**徵** *chung* In names **徵舒**, an officer of Ch'in Head of the Hca family VII x 8 **徵師**,—see **師**

### THE 61st RADICAL 心

**心** *sin* In a name —**人心** See **大**

**忌** *ke* In a name —**何忌** See **何**

**快** *k'wae* The name of an officer of Choo X xxvii 6

**忽** *hwuh* The name of an earl of Ch'ing, from whom the text strangely withholds his title II xi 6, xv 5

**恆** *hāng* (1) Constant, regular **恆星**, the regular stars III. vii 2 (2) The name of a great officer of Ts'e XII xiv 3

**懷** *k'wei* **意懷**, a prince of Keu X xiv 6

**息** *sei* The name of a great officer of Tsin V x. 3

**患** *hwuy* The honorary or sacrificial title —1st of a marquis of Loo, I 1 4, 2d, of a marquis of Ts'e, VII x 10, 3d, of a marquis of Ch'in, XI iv 6, 4th, of an earl of Ts'in, XII iv 2, 5th, of an earl of Seeh, XII x 10

**忠** *goh* (1) The name —1st, of a great officer of Wei, IX xxvii 2, xxviii 2, 2d, of another officer of Wei, unless there be an error in the text, X 1 2, 3d, of a marquis of Wei, X vii. 5 (2) **忠曹**, the name of a place, situation unknown II xi 1

**悼** *taou* The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX xvi 1, 2d, of a viscount of Choo, X 1 10, 3d, of a baron

of Heu, X xix 5, 4th, of an earl of T'ang, X xxviii 1, 5th, of a viscount of T'ang, X xxviii 6, 6th, of an earl of K'e, XI iv 10, 7th, of a marquis of Ts'e, XII x 7

**意** *c* In names **意如**,—see **如意** **恢**,—see **恢**

**慶** *ling* (1) A clan-name in Ts'e IX xxiii 5, xxvii 1, xxviii 6 X iv 5 (2) The name of a great officer of Keu III xxvii 5 V xxv 7 (3) **慶父**, the name of a prince of Loo a son of duke Hwan, and ancestor of the Chung-sun family III ii 2, xxvii 6 IV ii 5

**懋** *yin* (1) The name of a prince of Loo X xii 8 (2) **厥懋**,—see **厥**

**懷** *hwae* The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of Ch'in XI viii 12

### THE 62d RADICAL 戈

A calendaric stem-character I iv. 2 II i 1 III xi 2, et passim

(1) A calendaric branch-character I iii 3, x 3, et passim (2) The name of a minister of Sung IX xi 1 X 1 2

(1) The name of a great officer of Wei XI xiv 1 (2) To guard a territory V xxviii 2 IX x 9, x 9

The name appropriate to designate the wild tribes of the west, but we find Jung in many different quarters I ii 1, 4 III xviii 2, xxi 4, xxiv 8, xxvi 1 2, et al Specially, we have —the **山戎**, in III

xxv 7, xxxi 4,—another name for the **北戎**, or northern Jung, VI viii 5,

**雒戎**, who had their seat in the pres

dep of Ho-nan, the **茅戎**, who had their seat in the pres dis of P'ing-luh,

Keae chow, Shan-se, **陸渾之戎**, who were removed by Tsin from their earlier seat in dis of Tun-hwang, dep

Gan-se, Kan-suh, to the pres dis of Kung, dep Ho-nan, X xvii 4, **戎蠻**, a tribe

in the pres Joo Chow, Ho-nan, and the **姜戎**, said to be a branch of the Jung

of Luh-hwān, V xxviii 3

(1) To settle, to pacify II ii 3 (2) Also written **郿**, a city of Loo,—in the pres dis of Ning-yang, dep Yen-chow

II vi 2 III xxx 2 IX xv 3, 4, et al (3) **成周**,—see **周** (4) The name

—1st, of a prince of Sung VIII xv 3, 2d, of a duke of Sung, X x 6, 3d, of an earl of K'e XI iv 5, 4th, of a baron of Heu, XII xii 2, 5th, of a great officer

of Wei, XII xvi 2 (5) A clan-name in Ts'oo X xii 6 (6) The honorary or sacrificial title —1st of a marchioness

of Loo, VI v 2, ix 13, ix 13, 2d, of a

marquis of Loo, (who gives the title to Book VIII.), VIII. xviii. 15; 8d, of an earl of Ts'au, IX. xix. 6; 4th, of a viscount of Tsang X. III. 2.

(1) Our; us II. xviii. 5; III. ix. 6; V. xv. 3; XII. viii. 2; xi. 1; *et al.* (2) 錫我 the name of a baron of Heu, VII. xvii. 1

畀我 an officer of Choo IX. xxiii. 2. To kill—the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a person of another State. VII. xviii. 4.

A city of Wei.—in the pres. K'ae Chow dep. Ta n'ing, Chih-le. VI. i. 9; VIII. xv. 3 IX. II. 6; 9; v. 7; *et al.* To fight a battle II. x. 4; xii. 9; V. xv. 13 xviii. 3; VIII. II. 2; *et al.*

Called also 戲童 A city of Ch'ing, —in the pres. dia. of Fan-shway dep. K'ao-fung. IX. ix. 5.

A small State, held by Taxes (子)—in the pres. dia. of K'au-shing dep. Kwel-tih L x 6.

### THE 63d RADICAL. 戶

Place. 王所 the place where the king was. V. xxviii. 10 17.

A city of Ch'ing—in the pres. dia. of Yuen woo, dep. Hwa-king. III. xxiii. 10; VI. vii. 8, xv. 10 xvii. 4; VII. ix. 7 9 VIII. xvi. 14; X. xxvii. 4.

### THE 64th RADICAL. 手

承僅 a city of Sung.—in the pres. Bay Chow dep. Kwel-tih. VI. xi. 2.

A place the situation of which has not been determined. II. xi. 7

The name of a prince of Ch'iu. X. i. 2; viii. 19

The name of a place, said to be unascertained; but it is probably the same as 鄰, q r. XI. III. 5.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. viii. 6; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, VIII. xvii. 1 IX. xiv. 3.

An officer of K'au. V. i. 9.

An officer of Loo. I. ix. 3.

(1) Prisoners and spoils of war III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The name—1st of a duke of Sung III. xii. 3 2d of an earl of Ch'ing V. xxxii. 2. (3) 捷菑 the name of a claimant of the State of Choo. VI. xiv. 7

### THE 66th RADICAL. 攴

To change VII. III. 1; VIII. vii. 1; XI. xv. 2; XII. i. 3. Always in connexion with circumstances which made it necessary to change the bull for sacrifice. To send away to banish. VII. i. 5; X. viii. 9; XII. III. 7

On account of:—after the word it governs IX. xxx. 9

To relieve, to succour III. vi. 1; xxviii. 3; IV. i. 2; V. i. 9; vi. 3; *et al.*

The name of the son of K'ing foo, the first of the chiefs of the Ch'ing-sun clan in Loo. V. xv. 4; VI. i. 9 11; II. 4; vii. 10; viii. 6; xiv. 8; *et al.*

To defeat I. x. 3; V. xxxiii. 3. 敗績 to suffer a great or disgraceful defeat. II. xiii. 1; III. ix. 6; xxviii. 2; V. xviii. 3; *et al.*

不敢—see 不

The honorary title of a marchioness of Loo. VII. viii. 9

### THE 67th RADICAL. 文

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marchioness of Loo, III. xxii. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Tsin, the famous duke Wan, V. xxxiii. 4; 3d of a marquis of Loo, giving the title of Book VI., VI. xviii. 4; 4th, of an earl of Ts'au, VII. xiv. 5; 5th, of a marquis of Ts'au VII. xvii. 3; 6th, of a duke of Sung VIII. III. 5; 7th, of an earl of K'uei, X. vi. 4; 8th, of a viscount of Loo XI. iv. 13.

### THE 68th RADICAL. 十

北十—see 北

### THE 69th RADICAL. 斤

The name:—1st, of a baron of Heu, XI. vi. 1; 2d of one of the chiefs of the K'ou-sun clan in Loo, XI. vi. 4, 7 viii. 13; XII. i. 1; III. 4 6.

(1) New VIII. III. 4 To repair III. xxix. 1 新作 to repair and enlarge. V. xx. 1; XI. II. 1 (2) 新臣 the name of a baron of Heu. V. iv. 2 (3) In names of places. 新邨 a city of Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Heli, dep. K'ae-fung. V. vi. 2 Another city of the same name in Sung—in pres. dia. of Shung

k'ew, dep Kwei-tih VI ㄨ 4 新  
策, a place in Wei, scene of a battle  
between Wei and Ts'e,—in pres dis of  
Wei, dep Ta-ming VIII ㄨ 2

斷 *twan* 斷道, a place in Tsin,—in pres  
Ts'in Chow, Shm-se VII ㄨ 5

# THE 70TH RADICAL 方

方 *fang* A quarter or region 東方, the  
eastern quarter of the heavens XII ㄨ 10

於 *yu* (1) 於餘斤,—see 斤 於  
越,—see 越, it is difficult to give  
any explanation of the 於

施 *she* The name of an officer of Ts'e X ㄨ 2

旅 *leu* The name of a viscount of Ts'oo VII  
ㄨ 5

# THE 71st RADICAL 九

既 *he* Completely Found in descriptions of  
a total eclipse of the sun II ㄨ 4 VII  
ㄨ 8 IX ㄨ 4

# THE 72D RADICAL 日

日 *juh* (1) The sun 日有食之, the  
sun was eclipsed I ㄨ 1 II ㄨ 4, ㄨ 8  
III ㄨ 1, ㄨ 3, ㄨ 5, ㄨ 5 V ㄨ 8, ㄨ 1, ㄨ 5 VI ㄨ 2, ㄨ 5 VII  
ㄨ 8, ㄨ 3, ㄨ 4 VIII ㄨ 4, ㄨ 11 IX ㄨ 2, ㄨ 5, ㄨ 8, ㄨ 5, 6,  
ㄨ 1, ㄨ 4, 7, ㄨ 6 X ㄨ 4, ㄨ 4, ㄨ 2, ㄨ 4, ㄨ 10, ㄨ 3,  
ㄨ 7 XI ㄨ 1, ㄨ 8, ㄨ 9 XII ㄨ 5 (2) A day VIII ㄨ 4 We may  
translate it by *day*, or by *sun*, in VII  
ㄨ 10 XI ㄨ 12

旱 *han* Drought, to be suffering from drought  
V ㄨ 3 VII ㄨ 4

日 *tsth* The sun declining to the west, in the  
afternoon XI ㄨ 12

昌 *ch'ang* 昌間, a district in Loo, perhaps  
taken from the name of a mountain,—  
probably in pres dis of Sze-shwuy, dep  
Yen-chow X ㄨ 3

星 *sing* A star, the stars III ㄨ 2 (bis) 星  
字, a comet,—see 字

春 *ch'un* In spring I ㄨ 1, ㄨ 1, ㄨ 1, et passim.

昭 *ch'au* (1) The name of a marquis of Ts'e V  
ㄨ 2 (2) The honorary or sacrificial  
title —1st, of an earl of Ts'au, V ㄨ 7,  
2d, of a baron of Hcu, VII ㄨ 3, 3d,

of a viscount of Ts'oo IX ㄨ 9, 4th,  
of a marquis of Tsin, X ㄨ 7, 5th, of a  
marquis of Loo, who gives its title to  
Book X, XI. 1 4, 6th, of a marquis of  
Ts'ae, XII ㄨ 10

This,=the same V ㄨ 1

是 *she*

時 *she*

時 *sin*

In names of places 時來,—see  
來 乾時,—see 乾

The State of Tsin, a marquisate held  
by K'es, descended from one of the sons of  
king Woo—one of the most powerful  
States of the Ch'un Ts'ew period The  
pres depp of Ts'ae-yuen and Ping-yang  
in Shan-se may be considered as the centre  
of its territory, but it reached east to  
the depp of Kwang-ping and Ta-ming  
in Chih-le, and indeed extended much in  
every direction Its capital city was  
first T'ang (唐) in pres dis of Ts'ae-  
yuen, then Tsin or Tsin-yang, in same  
district then Keang (絳), in dis of Yih-  
shang, dep Ping-yang, which was sub-  
sequently called Yih (冀) The capital  
was then moved to K'eu-hyuh, still the  
name of a dis in Ping-yang, retrans-  
ferred to Keang, and finally fixed at Sin-  
t'een, in dis of K'eu-hyuh, which was  
also called Keang V ㄨ 1, ㄨ 3, ㄨ 4,  
et passim (2) The name of a marquis  
of Wei I ㄨ 7 II ㄨ 8 (3) 日

陽, a city of Tsin, mentioned above  
XI ㄨ 5

The last day of the moon V ㄨ 10  
VIII ㄨ 6

晦 *hway*

景 *king*

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st,  
of a marquis of Ts'ae, IX ㄨ 8, 2d of  
an earl of Tsin, X ㄨ 2, 3d, of one of  
the kings of Chow, X ㄨ 5, 4th, of a  
marquis of Ts'e, XII ㄨ 6

暴 *paou*

暨 *he*

A place in Ch'ing VI ㄨ 5

And, with X ㄨ 1 VI, x 12

# THE 73D RADICAL 曲

曲 *l'eu*

In names of places 曲池, a place  
in Loo,—in the pres dis of K'eu-how,  
dep Yen-chow II ㄨ 2 河曲, a  
place in Tsin,—near the pres dep city  
of P'oo-chow The scene of a battle be-  
tween Tsin and Ts'in VI ㄨ 7 曲

沃, a city of Tsin,—see 晉 IX ㄨ 11

曲棘, a city of Sung,—in the pres  
dis of K'e, dep K'ae-fung X ㄨ 8

曲濮, a city of Wei—in pres dis of  
Puh, dep Tung-ch'ang XI ㄨ 14

費  
shoo  
曹  
ts'ao

The name:—lat. of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. vi. 11 viii. 3; ix. 8 d of a great officer of T'ao, XII. xl. 1

(1) A State an earldom held by descendants of one of king Wan's sons. Its capital was T'ao k'w in pres. dis. of Ting t'ao, dep. T'ao-chow Shun-tung II v 9; ix. 4; *et passim* T'ao was extinguished by Sung before the end of the Ch'ian T'ao period, and the name appears as a city of Sung in XII. xiv 7 9 (2)

惡曹 the name of a city of which the situation has not been ascertained. II. xi. 1

曼  
man  
會  
huay

In names. 曼姑—see 姑 曼

多—see 多

(1) To have a meeting or conference with. I. ii. 1 vi. 2; x. 1; xi. 2; XI. xiv 5; *et passim* The meeting or conference V xv 8 XI. iv 5 *et acq.* To be present at to take part in. VI. 1. 8; v 3 IX. xxxi. 5; XI. xv 11 To join and with I. iv 5; x. 2; III. xiv 2; VII. 1. 12; *et al.* (3) The name of a prince of T'ao. X. xx. \*

# THE 74th RADICAL. 月

月  
yue  
有  
yue

A month. I. 1 2, 4 5; *et passim*. In VI. vi. 8, 告月—to announce the month, i. e., the first day of the month

(1) To have I. iii. 1 In the phrase for an eclipse;—see 日 有疾 to fall sick. X. xxiii. 10 (3) As an impersonal verb. 有年,—see 年 有事,—see 事 有蜚—see 蜚 有星 孛 there was a comet. XII. xiii. 10. (8) The name of a prince of T'ao. X. xl. 9

有  
yue

Used constantly after 十 二十 三十 In specifying months and years. 十有一 the eleventh, 二十有二 the 22d. I. 1. 6; II. 7; III. 7 *et passim*

服  
fuk

The designation of an officer of the court. VI. 1. 8. Each at least is the account of the character given by T'ao Yu and K'ung Ying t'ah.

朔  
shook

(1) The first day of the moon I. iii. 4; III. xxv 3 xxvi. 2 xxx. 5; *et acq.* 視朔 to give audience to ministers on the first day of the moon, and arrange for the business of the month. VI. xvi. 2

望  
wang

The name of a sacrifice. 三望 to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey Spoken of the marquises of Loo but what those objects were is not fully settled. V. xxi. 3; VII. iii. 2 *et al.*

朝  
chao

(1) A clan name in T'ao X. xv. 3 ( ) The name of a royal prince X. xiii. 8; xxvi. 8. (3) 朝歌 appears in XI. xiii. 6 as a city of Tsin, which had appropriated it after Wei changed its capital to T'ao k'w Before that, it had been the chief city of Wei; and before the Chow dynasty it was the last of the capitals occupied by the su. rulers of the Shang-dynasty;—in the pres. dis. of h'w dep. Wei hway Ho-nan.

朝  
ch'ao

To come or go to court—whether to the royal court, or to that of one of the feudal States. I. xi. 1; *et acq. passim*. 朝

公 to pay a court visit to the duke. III.

來朝 is frequent, menni g—to come to the court of Loo. In V v 2, 來朝其了 came and presented her son at our court The term is applied also to a ruler's solemnly presenting himself in his ancestral temple VI. vi. 8.

# THE 75th RADICAL. 木

木  
muk

Trees. 木冰, the trees were all over ice VIII. xvi. 1

未  
mo

(1) Not yet. IX. vii. 10 (3) A calendaric branch-character I. iii. 8; x. 4; II. 1. 4; *et passim*.

夷  
mei

夷未—see 夷

札  
chak

(1) The name—lat. of a royal prince VII. xv 5; 2d, of a prince of Woo, IX. xiii. 8.

朱  
choo

The name:—lat. of a viscount of Keu, VIII. xiv 1; 2d, of a marquis of T'ao, X. xxi. 6.

朽  
t'ing

虛朽 a place probably in Sung the situation of which is not further ascertained. VIII. xviii. 14

李  
li

(1) A plum tree. V. xxxiii. 12 (3) 構李, a place in Woo,—in pres. dis. of K'ea h'ng dep. K'ea h'ng, Cheh k'ang XI. xiv 5

杏  
h'g

北杏—see 北

杞  
k'ie

A State whose lords were Sze, descendants of the line of the great Yu. They must originally have been dukes; but in the Ch'ian T'ao period we find them n w with the title of marquis, now with that of earl, and again with that of viscount. In the Chun T'ao period K'ie appears as one of the eastern States, between T'ao and Keu. In the Chuen on V. xiv 1 we find the marquis of T'ao, with the States, walling Yuen ling in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang loh, dep. T'ing-chow Its capital before that is supposed to have been Shun yu, in pres. dis. of Gan k'w also in T'ing-chow; but as that belonged to the State of Chow (州), up to the 8th year of duke Hwan (See the note on II.

v 9), we cannot tell where K'e had its capital in the east in the time of duke Yin. The first lord of the State was invested by king Woo with a portion of the dep of K'ae-fung in Ho-nan having as his principal town Yung-k'ew, (雍丘), in the pres dis of K'e in that dept. When and how his descendants moved away to the east I have not been able to discover. In the 29th year of duke Seang we find the capital of K'e once more in the dis of Gan-k'ew I iv 1 II ii 5, 7, *et passim*.

(1) Eastern IX viii 6, *et al* (2)

**東國**,—see **國**

The name of a minister of Ts'e VIII xviii 14 IX i 3, ii 9, xiv 4, xv 1, 1

(1) The name of a marquis of Ch'in III i 5 (2) **林父**, the name —1st, of a great officer of Tsin, VII ix 8, xii 3 III 12 2d, of a great officer of Wei, VII vii 9, xiv 2, xv 10 IX ii 6, 9, v 4, *et al* (3) **裴林**, a place in Ch'ing, —in pres dis of Sin-ch'ing dep K'ae-fung (4) **婁林**,—see **婁**

**杵臼**, the name —1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, V xii 4, 2d, of a duke of Sung, VI xvi 7, 3d, of a marquis of Ts'e, XII v 4

The name of a great officer of Loo II xi 7

A place,—in the pres dis of Yih, dep Yen-chow. Too Yu says that it belonged to Ts'oo, others with more probability assign it to Sung IX x 1 XII vi 5

(1) A city in Ts'e,—in pres dis of Tung-o, dep T'ae-gan III xiii 4. Another city belonging, probably, to Wei,—in pres dep of Ta-ming IX xix 15 (2) **柯陵**, a place in Ch'ing, with situation otherwise undetermined VIII xvii 3 (3) **祝柯**, a city of Ts'e,—in pres dis of Chang-ts'ing, dep Tse-nan IX xix 1

The name of a marquis of Ch'in XI viii 9

**柏舉**, the scene of a battle between Woo and Ts'oo,—probably in pres dis of Ma-shing, dep Hwang-chow, Hoo-pih XI iv 14

**安采**, a place, the situation of which is not ascertained VI vi 5

**根个**, probably the principal town belonging to one of the E tribes of the east,—in pres dis of E-shwuy, dep E-chow VII ix 5

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Wei, I v 2, 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, II v 2, 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ae, II xvii 10, 4th, of a marquis of Loo, which gives its title to Book II., II xviii 8 III 1, 6, *et al*, 5th, of one of the kings of Chow, III iii 3,

6th, of a marquis of Ts'e, the famous duke Hwan, V xviii 5, 7th, of an earl of K'e, IX xi 3

(1) An earldom held by Yings,—in the pres dis of Han-shing, dep T'ung-chow, Shen se. Leang was extinguished by Ts'in in the 19th year of duke He V ix 8 (2) A mountain, probably in the same district and department VIII v 4 (3) **梁丘**,—see **丘**

(4) **溴梁**, a city,—in pres dis of Ts'e-yuen, dep Hwa-k'ing IX xxi 2

Ilum trees V xxviii 12

(1) A city of Loo,—in pres dis of Wan-shang, dep Yen-chow IX xvii 4

(2) **桃丘**,—see **丘**

Rafters III xxi 1

(1) To abandon, to throw away IV ii 6 (2) **棄疾**, a prince of Ts'oo, afterwards king X xi 3, xiii 3

**裴林**,—see **林**

A place in Loo,—in pres dis of Yu-ta'e, Yen-chow dep I v 1

(1) A city ceded by Ts'e to Loo,—in the pres dis of Fei-shing, dep T'ae-gan VIII iii 9 (2) In names of other places

**大棘**—see **大曲棘**,—see **曲**  
**亦棘**, a place in Tsin, not otherwise determined VIII i 5

A great officer of Ts'oo, VI ix 12

(1) One of the largest and most powerful States of the Ch'un Ts'ew period. Its lords were Mes (𡈼), and said they were descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-héuh. At first they had their principal city in Tan-yang **月陽**,—in the pres dis of Kwei-chow, dep E-ch'ang, Hoo-pih. Not long before the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, the ruling viscount assumed the title of king, and moved his capital to Ying (郢), a few miles from the pres dep city of King-chow, from which a temporary change was made to a city called Joh (郢). Ts'oo extended its territory in every direction, till at last, long after the Ch'un Ts'ew period, it was extinguished by Ts'in V i 6, xv 2, *et passim* (2) **楚宮**, the Ts'oo palace, built by duke Seang in Loo IX xxxi 3 (3) **楚丘**,—see **丘**

**維榆**, a city of Tsin,—in the pres dis of Seun, dep Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan IX xxiii 9

**東**  
tung  
**杼**  
c'hou  
**林**  
lin

**杵**  
ch'oo

**采**  
yew  
**祖**  
cha

**柯**  
ko

**柳**  
liu  
**柏**  
pih

**采**  
leih  
**根**  
kin

**桓**  
hwan

**梁**  
leang

**梅**  
mei  
**桃**  
t'au

**桷**  
k'oh  
**棄**  
k'e

**裴**  
fei  
**棠**  
t'ang  
**棘**  
keih

**椒**  
tsean  
**楚**  
ts'oo

**榆**  
yu

- 業 *yeak* The name of a baron of Hou. VI. v 7
- 栢 *hek* A small State an attached territory of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Yu t'ue, dep. Yen-chow I. II. 3.
- 櫨 *gung* Pillars. III. xxiii. 8
- 樹 *shoo* An archery court. VII. xvi. 2.
- 榮 *yang* A clan name in Chow III. I. 6; VI. v 1
- 樂 *loh* Music, musicians. X. xv 2
- 構 *goh* 長構 a place near the capital of Tain. IX. III. 8.
- 櫨 *ch'oo* 櫨臬 a place in Woo,—in the pres. dia. of Ch'au, dep. Loo-chow Gan hway XII. xii. 3.
- 櫨 *ch'ay* 櫨李—see 李
- 櫨 *ch'ing* A city of Ch'ing.—in the pres. Ch'ing Chow dep. K'ue-fung V. I. 7
- 櫨 *leak* (1) A clan name in Tain. VIII. vi. 11; viii. 2; ix. 8; xvi. 5; IX. I. 2; et al. (2) A clan name in T'ue. X. x. 2

## THE 76TH RADICAL. 欠

- 欠 *ts'ue* To halt, to rest for a time. III. III. 5; viii. 1; x. 4; xix. 2; VI. x. 7; et al.
- 欠 *ts'ue* The name —1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, after earls marquise, V. viii. 4; viii. 1; xxviii. 12; 2d, of an earl of North Yen X. III. 7
- 歌 *ko* 朝歌—see 朝

## THE 77TH RADICAL. 止

- 止 *che* (1) The name:—1st, of a great officer of T'ue, IX. xxix. 5 10; 2d, of a prince of Hou, X. xix. 2. (3) 首止 a city of Wei,—in the pres. Sui Chow dep. Kwel tih. V. v 4 5
- 正 *ching* First. Always in specifications of 正
- 武 *woo* 月 the first month I. I. 1; at passim
- 武 *woo* (1) The name of a mini ter of Tain. IX. xxvii. 2; X. I. 2. (3) A clan-name in Chow I. III. 5. (3) The honorary or sacrificial title:—of an earl of Ts'au, X. xiv. 4; of a marquise of Loo, earlier than the Ch'ing Ts'au period, VIII. vi. 2; X. xv. 2. (4) 武父 a place in Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Tung-ming, dep. Ta ming II. xii. 7
- 歷 *leak* 適歷 a city of Tain, not otherwise dete. I. vii. X. xxxi. 2.

- 歸 *kwai* (1) To return, to go back,—with various degrees of significance. 以歸 —see 以 復歸—see 復 In VII. xvi. 8, and VIII. v. 1 the subject is of a divorced wife returning to Loo. (2) To restore; to send back. VI. xv. 4 11; VII. x. 2; VIII. viii. 1; XI. x. 5; et al. (3) To carry to, to render up. V. xxviii. 10; VIII. xv. 4 XI. iv. 8. (4) To send to, to present. I. I. 4; III. vi. 5 VI. v. 1 ix. 13; XI. v. 2; xiv. 10 I. viii. 2 may also be thus explained, or—surrender (5) To go to be married,—either as the wife, or as other member of the harem. I. II. 5; vii. 1; II. ix. 1 III. I. 7; et al. In III. vii. 1 the word is used of a widow going to the place where her husband had died to continue the sacrifices to him (6) The surname of a marchioness of Loo. X. xi. 4 8. (7) In names. 歸父 the name:—1st, of a great officer of T'ue V. xxviii. 2; 2d, of a grandson of duke Chwang, belonging to the Tung mun clan VII. x. 10, 13, 16; xiv. 6; xv. 1; xviii. 6, 8. 歸生 the name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing VII. II. 1; iv. 3; 2d, the grandson of one of the marquises of Ts'ue IX. xxvii. 2

## THE 78TH RADICAL. 殳

- 殳 *shu* To die. Used of a bull. VII. III. 1
- 殳 *shu* A great officer of Wei. IX. I. 2; II. 5; xvi. 7
- 殳 *shu* To be slaughtered. III. xvii. 2

## THE 79TH RADICAL. 殳

- 殳 *shu* The name —1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, I. I. 3; 2d, of a grandson of an earl of Ch'ing, IX. xxix. 5
- 殳 *shu* To kill, to put to death I. iv. 6; III. v. 1; et al. Applied to vegetation. V. xxviii. 12; XI. I. 6, where 殳, which perhaps is the true reading, ought to be found,—in XII. iv. 1
- 殳 *shu* A dangerous defeat, the scene of a great defeat of T'ain by Tain, in pres. dia. of Yang ning, dep. Ho-nan V. xxviii. 8
- 殳 *shu* To pull down. VI. xvii. 5.

## THE 80TH RADICAL. 母

- 母 *moo* 甯母—see 甯 虞母 (母), a descendant of Tung, XII. xi. 6.



## THE 81st RADICAL 比

比 *pe* (1) The name —1st, of a prince of Ts'oo, X 1 12, XIII 2, 3, 2d, of an earl of Seeh, XI XIII 8 (2) 合比, see 合

比 *p'e* 比浦, a place or district in the south of Loo X XI 5 XI XIII 3, XIV 14

毗 *p'e* A city in the western borders of Loo, not otherwise determined XII. 1

## THE 82d RADICAL 匕

匕 *maou* A small State in the royal domain, whose lords were earls,—in the pres dis of E-ch'ang, dep Ho-nan VI 1 5, IX 1 VII XV 5 X XVI 8

## THE 83d RADICAL 氏

氏 *she* (1) Having such and such a surname. Thus we find it after the surnames of ladies I 11 7 II 11 6, 8, XVIII 1 VI 14 7, et al (2) Having such and such a clan-name, and denoting the Head of the clan I, 11 3, 4 VII x 5 (3) 苒氏, a small State, held by Yens, descendants of Kaou-yaou,—in the pres Luh-gan Chow, one of whose districts is still called Ying-shan, Gan-hwuy V XVII 1 (4) 潞氏, a tribe of the Red Teih,—in the pres dis of Loo-shing, dep Loo-gan, Shan-se VII xv 3 (5) 甲氏, another tribe of the Red Teih,—in pres dis of Ke-tsih, dep Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le, VII, XVI 1 (5)

力氏,—see 力

## THE 84th RADICAL 水

水 *shwuy* Water 人水, there were great floods II 1 5, XIII 3 III XXIV 7 VII x. 14 VIII. v 5 IX XXIV 6 潮水, the K'oh water, a stream which ran through Choo IX XIX 4 XII 11 1

求 *l'ew* To ask for I 11 5, II xv 1 V XXXI 5 VI ix 1

汧 *k'ang* A small State, whose lords were Yings,—probably in the pres dis of Ching-yang, dep Joo-ning, Ho-nan V 11 4, 11 4, 14 5 VI 11 4, 7 14 4

池 *ch'e* 黃池, a place in Wei,—in the pres dis of Fung-k'ew, dep K'ae-fung XII XIII 3 曲池, a place in Loo,—in the pres dis of K'eh-fow II XII 3

汶 *wan*

汶陽田, a district of Loo, lying north of the river Wan,—in the pres dis of Ning-yang, dep Yen-chow VIII 11 7, XIII 1

沃 *yuh*

曲沃,—see 曲

沂 *e*

沂西田, the lands on the west of the E, a river which gives its name to the pres dep of E-chow XII 11 1

沈 *shin*

A small State, whose lords were Kes, with the title of viscount,—in the dep of Joo-ning, Ho-nan VI 11 1 X 14 2, 1 8 XI 14 3

沓 *tah*

The name of a place, the situation of which has not been ascertained VI XIII 6

沙 *so*

(1) The name of a place,—in the pres dis of Yuen-shing, dep Ta-ming, Chih-le XI 11 5 It is called 瑣 in the

Chuen (2) 沙鹿, a hill, near the above

沙 *sha*

沙 V XIV 3 沙 should probably be

pronounced so (3) 沙隨, a city in

河 *ho*

Sung,—in pres dis of Ning-ling, dep Kwei-tih VIII XVI 8 IX XXII 4

河 *ho*

(1) The Ho or Yellow river X XII 4, XIII 11 (2) 河陽, a place belonging to Tsin,—in pres dis of Mäng, dep Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan V XXVIII 16

河 *ho*

(3) 河曲,—see 曲

泓 *hung*

The name of a river in Sung V XXII 4

治 *ch'e*

To exercise 治兵,—see 兵.

泉 *ts'eu*

(1) 翟泉, a place in Chow,—in pres dis of Loh-yang, dep Ho-nan V XXIX 3 (2) The name of a tower in the capital of Loo VI XVI 5 (3) 蜎

泉 *ts'eu*

泉, a place in Loo, not otherwise determined X v 6, (4) 狄泉, a fortified

泉 *ts'eu*

place outside the wall of the capital of Chow X XXIII 8 ? : q (1)

洙 *shoo*

A stream flowing through Loo into the Sze. III ix 8

洩 *seeh*

A clan-name in Ch'in VII ix 13

洮 *t'au*

(1) Probably the same as 桃, q v III XXVII 1 V XXV 7 (2) A city in

洮 *t'au*

Ts'au,—in the pres Puh Chow, dep Ts'au-chow V VIII. 1 XI XIII 9

浚 *seun*

To deepen III ix 8

浮 *fow*

浮來,—see 來

涖 *le*

To go and superintend V 11 6 VI VII 9 X VII 3 XI XI 4

**淮** The river Hwae. **淮夷**—see **夷**  
 A city on the Hwae—in pres. See Chow  
 Gan hway V xvi. 6.

**淵** (1) **淵淵** a city of Wei,—in pres.  
 K'ao Chow dep. Taming IX. xx. 2;  
 xxvi. 8; xxx. 8. (2) **蛇淵** the name  
 of a park of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Fei  
 shing dep. Tse-nan. VI xiii. 2.

**清** (1) A city of Wei,—in pres. dis. of  
 Tung-a, dep. Yen-chow I. iv. 3. (\*)  
**清丘**—see **丘**

(1) The name of a city in Chow used  
 as a clan name II. iv. 2. (2) **渠** 蘇  
 a place in Sang, not otherwise determin-  
 ed XI xv. 7

**溫** A State in the royal domain, held by  
 H'ea (己) with the title of viscount,—  
 the pres. dis. of Wan, dep. Hwae-king  
 But in the time of duke Yin, we find Wan  
 given by the *ki* to Ching. Subsequently  
 it was re-constituted as a State and then  
 extinguished by the Teli in the 10th year  
 of He. Afterwards it came into the  
 possession of Tsin. V x. 2; xxviii. 16.

A clan-name in Ching X. xxv. 1; XI  
 vi. 1; x. 10

**陸渾** the name of a tribe of the  
 Little Jang VII. III. 4; X. xvii. 4

**渙梁**—see **梁**

To extinguish, to put an end to. Applied  
 to the overthrow of States when the  
 ruling House was all placed, and the State-  
 sacrifices to its ancestors aboli- shed III.  
 x. 6; xiii. 2; V. xii. 2; xvii. 2; xxv. 1;  
 et. 1 The term is applied to the taking  
 of a city in V. II. 3; but that was in  
 connection with other measures against  
 the State to which it belonged. It is  
 also applied to the overthrow and death  
 of individuals in X. xxiii. 2

The name of a marquise of Ch'in. V.  
 viii. 2. Also of a prince of Loo. III. iii. 1

A small earldom, held by Hsue—in pres.  
 dis. of Yen-see dep. Ho-nan. It was  
 extinguished by Tsin in the time of duke  
 Ho; but we find it subsequently belong-  
 ing to Tsin. III. xvi. 4; V. xx. 4; xxxiii. 1

**滑** in III. III. 8 is probably the  
 capital of this State, though Too Yu gives  
 it as a city of Ching.

(1) A small State, whose lords were  
 K'ea, marquises at first, but subsequently  
 only viscounts,—in the present dis. of  
 Tung dep. Yen-chow I. vi. 2; III. xvi.  
 4; et. passim (2) The name of an earl  
 of T'ao. X. xiv. 2.

A city of Choo. IX. xxi. 2; XL xv. 14

See **水**

The name of a marquise of T'ao VI. xiv.  
 2. On p. 264 this character is printed  
 滑; and so many good editions give it.  
 But no such character is to be found in  
 the Hwang he dictionary

A place somewhere in Loo,—probably  
 in the south west of Yen-chow dept. I  
 II. 1

**路氏**—see **氏**

To scatter to disperse. Used of the  
 people abandoning their superiors. V  
 iv. 1; VI. II. 1; X. xxix. 2.

(1) **瑯澤** a city—probably the  
 same as 沙澤; see 沙 (2) **雞澤**  
 a city of Tsin,—in the pres. dep. of  
 Hwang ping Chih-k. IX. III. 6

**沮淵**—see **淵**

A river. See on the Shuo, III. I. Pt. 1  
 20. III. xviii. 2. It was part of the bound-  
 ary between Loo and T'ao. Hence we have  
 魯濟 the country on the Loo side of  
 the T'ao III. xxx. 6. 齊西田 is a  
 name for a tract on the west of the river

V. xxxi. 1; VII. I. 8. x. 2

**濟陰**—see **陰**

A city of Choo. X. xxxi. 6

(1) The name of a city of Ch'in near  
 the river P'oh. I. iv. 6. (2) **城叔**—  
 see **城** (3) **曲叔**—see **曲**

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

A place near the river so named, be-  
 tween Loo and T'ao II. xviii. 1

# THE SUN RADICAL 火

To be set on fire VII. xvi. 2

To take fire;—suddenly and as if by  
 the act of Heaven. II. xiv. 4; III. xx. 2;  
 V. xx. 3; VII. III. 4; IX. x. 1; xxx. 3;  
 X. ix. 3; xviii. 2; XII. III. 3; iv. 2.

To offer the winter sacrifice in the an-  
 cestral temple II. viii. 1. 3.

To burn,—to hunt burning the country  
 to drive the animals from their overt.

II. vii. 1

(1) The impersonal verb—there I  
 was, &c., no. III. vii. 8; xxviii. 5; VIII.  
 I. 3; IX. xxviii. 1 (2) In names. 無

駱 a prince of Loo. I. II. 3; viii. 10

無知 a scribe of the ruling House of  
 T'ao II. viii. 5; ix. 1

無野 a mar-  
 quis of T'ao. VIII. ix. 7

無咎—see

無咎—see

無咎—see

無咎—see

無咎—see

咎 無平,—see 不 (8) A city of Keu or of K'e VII xv 7

煬 *yang*  
Honorary title of the second duke of Loo long before the Ch'un Ts'ew period XI 1 6

熊 *heung*  
The name of a great officer of Ts'oo X xii 6

燕 *yen*  
There were two States called Yen—the Southern Yen, which appears simply as Yen, a small earldom, held by K'eihs (姑),—in the pres dis of Keih, dep Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan II xii 3, and the Northern Yen,—see 北

燬 *uei*  
Name of a marquis of Wei V xiv 1, 2

燮 *sieh*  
The name—1st, of a great officer of Tsin VIII xiii 9, 10, xv 10, 2d, of a prince of Ts'ac, IX xv 5

### THE 87TH RADICAL 父

父 *foo*  
(1) Used after the clan-name, and being the designation II viii 2, xv 1 (2) Forming part of the designation I 1 2 (儀父) II ii 1 (孔父) (3)

In names 考父, a marquis of Ts'ac I viii 4 祿父, a marquis of Ts'e II xiv 6 慶父,—see 慶 茲父,

a duke of Sung V xiiii 2 虎父, a

great officer of Tsin VI ii 3, iii 7, vi

4 行父, a grandson of Ke-yew the

ancestor of the Ke-sun clan in Loo VI

vi 2, 3, xv 1, 9, xvi 1, *et saepe* His

death is recorded in IX v 13 鄭父,

a great officer of Tsin VI ix 6 甲

父, a great officer of Tsin VII, i 5 林

父, 1st, a great officer of Tsin, VII ix

8, xii 3, 2d, a great officer of Wei, VIII

vii 9, xiv 2, *et saepe* The last notice of

him is in IX xxvi 1 歸父, 1st, a

minister of Ts'e, V xxxiii 2, 2d, a grand-

son of duke Chwang of Loo, the Kung

tsze Suy, and styled Tsze-kea (了家),

VII x 10, 13, 16, xiv 6, xvi 6, 8 (4)

In names of places 武父,—see 武

雞父, a place in Ts'oo,—in present

Show Chow, dep Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy

X xxiii 7 黃父, another name for

黑壤 in III vii 5,—see 壤, X xxv 2

### THE 90TH RADICAL 𠂔

𠂔 *tsang*  
A viscount of Tun VI xiv 3

### THE 92D RADICAL 𠂔

A son of duke Hwan of Loo III xiii 3

### THE 93D RADICAL 牛

The cow kind Always masculine—a bull VII iii 1 VIII vii 1 XI xv 2 XII 1 3

(1) A small attached State,—in pres dis of Lae-woo, dep T'ae-gan II xv 8 V v 3 (2) 牟婁, a city of K'e,—

in pres dis of Choo-sung, dep Tsing-chow I iv 1 X v 4 (3) 很牟,—

see 根 (4) 牟夷,—see 夷

牡 𠂔,—see 𠂔

(1) 蟲牟, a city of Ch'ing,—in pres dis of Sung-k'ew, dep K'ae-fung VIII

v 7 (2) 虎牟, a city of Ch'ing,

held for a time by Tsin,—in pres dis of

Sze-shwuy, dep K'ae-fung IX ii 9, x 9

In a name 仇牧,—see 仇

A victim, an animal to be used in sacrifice III xxv 3, 5, xxx 5 V xxxi 3 VI xv 5 IX vii 2

A viscount of Choo IX xiii 1

A city of Wei,—probably in pres dis of Seun, dep Wei-hwuy XI xiv 7

祁祁, an officer of Sung XI vi 5

A great officer of Tsin VIII xi 2, xvi 14, xvii 13

### THE 94TH RADICAL 人

(1) The general name for the wild tribes of the north III xxxiii 7 IV ii 7 V viii 4, x 2, xiii 1, xiv 4 X i 6

We have 小狄, the Red Teih, in VII

iii 6, iv 4, xv 3, xvi 8, and 白狄,

the White Teih, who occupied about the

pres dep of Yen-gan, Shen-se, in VII

viii 6 VIII ix 11 IX xviii 1 (2) 狄

泉,—see 泉

A viscount of Keu XII xiv 8

(1) A clan-name in Tsin VI vi 7.

(2) 令狐,—see 令.

(1) To hold the winter hunting II

iii 1 III iv 7 XII xiv 1 (2) To

hold a court of inspection Used of the

king V xxviii 17

𠂔  
*ya*

牛  
*niu*  
牟  
*niu*

牡  
*niu*  
牟  
*niu*

牧  
*muh*  
牲  
*sing*

輕  
*k'ang*

索  
*k'een*

犁  
*le*

𠂔  
*ch'ow*

狄  
*teh*

狂  
*k'wang*

狐  
*hoo*

狩  
*show*

**猛** *mey* A son of king King of Chow. In X. xii. 7, 8, 9 he is mentioned as **王猛** *wang mey* Ming the king, but he died so soon after his father that he can hardly be said to have reigned.

Still, but still. V. xxxi. 3; VI. vi. 8; VII. iii. 3; viii. 4; VIII. vii. 4

A marquise of Tsin. VIII. x. 5.

To take to capture, to be taken. V. l. 0; xv. 18; X. xx. iii. 7; *et al.*

A great officer of T'iao, grandson of one of its marquises. XII. iii. 7

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. ( ) The honorary or sacrificial title—1st. of a marquise of Wei. IX. xxix. 9; 2d. of an earl of Ch'ing. XI. ix. 4 (4) **獻舞** a marquis of T'iao. III. x. 5.

### THE 90TH RADICAL. 玉

**王** *wang* King, the king. I. l. 1; III. l. 1; viii. 6; V. v. 4 *et passim*. Often **王** is preceded

by **天** meaning the king by the grace of Heaven, the king *de jure*. See **天王**

**子** king's son.—see **子王城**—see

**城王室**—see **室** (3) **王臣** a duke of Sung. VI. vii. 3.

Jade. **寶玉**—see **寶**

An earl of T'ao. V. vii. 5.

(1) The name:—1st. of a prince of Wei. V. xxx. 3; 2d. of a royal prince. IX. xxx. 5. (2) **邾瑕** a city of Choo, taken and fortified by Lo.—in pres. Tse-nung Chow dep. Yen-chow. XII. xi. 1

A great officer of Sung. XII. vii. 1; ix. 2; xii. 4

(1) A viscount of Choo. III. xxxviii.

2. (3) **瑱澤**—see **澤**

A peit, the round jade-token of rank. II. l. 3.

A marquise of T'ao. IX. xix. 5.

### THE 88TH RADICAL. 瓦

(1) The name of a minister of T'ao. XI. iv. 14 (3) A city of Wei.—in pres. dia. of Hwah, dep. Ta-nung. XI. viii. 7

**瓦屋**—see **屋**

A place in T'ao.—in pres. dia. of Leth-shing, dep. Tse-nan. V. xviii. 3.

### THE 100TH RADICAL. 生

**生** *sheng* (1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced,—of insects. VII. xv. 9 (2) In names. **終生** an earl of T'ao. II.

x. 1 **瘡生**—see **瘡中生** a

prince of Tsin. V. v. 1 **彭生**—see **彭**

**歸生**—see **歸陽生** a marquise of T'ao. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

### THE 101ST RADICAL. 用

**用** *yung* To use. III. xxiv. 6; xxv. 2, 5; xxx. 5; VI. xv. 5; VIII. xviii. 6. —to institute. XII. xii. 1 To use the occasion:—**一過** and thereon. V. viii. 5 To put to death and use as a victim,—of human beings. V. xix. 4; X. xii. 9

**安甫**—see **安**

See **寧**.

### THE 102ND RADICAL. 田

**田** *tien* Fields or land. We have **許田**

certain lands of Lo, parted with to Ch'ing by a bargain,—in the pres. Hen Chow

K'ao-fung II. l. 3; **濟西田**—see

**濟**; **汶陽田**—see **汶**; **龜陰**

**田** a part of the **汶陽田**, so named

from their lying on the north of mount

Kwei. XL. x. 5; **郭東田** lands on

the east of the K'oh (See **水**). XII. ii.

1; **沂西田** lands lying west of the

E (See **沂**). XII. ii. 1 **田賦** a cer-

tain contribution levied for military pur-

poses from the lands. XII. xii. 1

(1) A calendaric stem-character. II.

viii. 2; xii. 8. (2) A buff-coat,—used for a

certain number of soldiers armed with buff

coats. VIII. l. 4 (3) **甲父**—see **父**

(4) **甲氏**—see **氏**

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I.

iv. 2 II. ii. 1; *et passim*. ( ) A mar-

quisate, held by K'angs, whose capital

was S'ay (邾).—in Nan yang dia. dep.

Nan yang, Ho-nan. It appears to have

been absorbed by T'ao in the 6th year

of duke Ch'wang and thenceforth appears

as a city of T'ao. X. iv. 2; xii. 2. (3) A

clan-name in Ch'ing. V. vii. 3. (4) The

name—1st. of a marquise of T'ao. VII.

xvii. 2; 2d. of a prince of T'ao. IX. ii.

10 3d. of another great officer of T'ao,

X 2, 1th, of a great officer of Wei, X  
xxxii 1, 5th, of another marquis of Ts'ao.  
XII xi 1, of a third great officer a prince,  
of Ts'oo, XII xiii 5 (5) In names  
申牛, —see 牛 宜申, —see 宜  
The fifth or lowest title of nobility, =  
baron I viii 5 V iv 12, *et saepe*

(1) To give to V xxxiii 1 (2) 男

我, —see 我

(1) A prince of Chin X viii 5 (2)

留吁, —see 吁

A mou, —a Chinese acre VII xi 8

To lay out the boundaries of lands X  
1 9

THE 104TH RADICAL 𠂔

疾  
tsih

(1) Illness 有疾, to be taken ill.  
X xxiii 10 (2) In names 𠂔疾,  
—see 𠂔 and 𠂔 棄疾, —see 棄

A prince of Sung IX xxxi 6

瘥  
tso

THE 105TH RADICAL 𠂔

癸  
ku ei

A calendaric stem-character II xi 2  
III viii 5, *et saepe*

發  
jah

The name —1st, of a prince of Ch'ing  
IX 2, 8, 2d, of a great officer of  
Ts'e, X. xix 4

THE 106TH RADICAL 白

白  
ph

(1) White 白狄, —see 狄 (2)  
小白, —see 小 (3) 白羽, called  
also 析, a city of Ts'oo, —in pres dis of  
T'ang dep Nan-yang, Ho-nan In X  
xxiii 5, Hsu appears moving its capital  
to this place

白  
hwang

(1) A city of the royal domain, —in  
pres dis of Kung, dep Ho-nan X xxxii  
7 (2) A clan-name in Sung XII vii  
1, ix 2

THE 108TH RADICAL. 𠂔

𠂔  
yu

A city of Sung, —in the pres Suy  
Chow, dep Kwei-tih V xxi 4

𠂔  
ying

(1) The name —1st, of an officer of  
Tsin, IX xxi 4, xxiii 7, 12, 2d, of an-  
other officer of Tsin, IX xxi 5

益  
yih

(1) A viscount of Choo XII vii 4,  
viii 4, x 1. (2) 益師, —see 師

益姑, —see 姑

A robber, ruffian IX x 8 X xx 3  
XI viii 16 XII xiii 11, *et al*

盜  
luu

盟  
ming

To covenant, a covenant I 2, 5, ii  
1, 6, iii 7, vi 2 II i 4, *et passim*

盧  
loo

葛盧, the chief of one of the wild  
tribes of the east V xlix 1, 5

THE 109TH RADICAL 目

The name of a minister of Tsin VI  
viii 5, xiv 5 VII i 11, ii 1, vi 1

Inadvertent offences III xxi 1

The name of a minister of Sung III.  
xxii 1

Name of an earl of Ching IX ii 1

THE 111TH RADICAL 矢

無知, —see 無

THE 112TH RADICAL 石

石  
shih

(1) A stone, stones V xxi 1 (2)  
The name of an officer of Sung VIII xv  
9, xxiii 5 (3) A clan-name in Wei  
IX xiii 3, xxiii 2, xxxii 2, xxxiii 1  
XI x 12 Also a clan-name in Chow  
XI xiv 9 (4) 石門, a city of Ts'e,  
—in pres dis of Ch'ang-ts'ing, dep Tse-  
nan I iii 6

THE 113TH RADICAL 示

祁稯, —see 稯

The sacrifice at the altar of the Spirits  
of the land III xxiii 3, xxi 3, 5, xxx  
5 VI xv 5 XII iv 8

To sacrifice to XI viii 15

A city and lands adjacent, originally  
assigned to Ch'ing, near mount T'ae, —in  
pres dis of Pe, dep Yen-chow, after-  
wards assigned by Ch'ing by contract to  
Loo I viii 2, 8

祝  
chuh

祝丘, —see 丘 祝柯, —see 柯

祥  
ts'iang

祿祥, a city of Loo, —probably in  
pres dis of Tsze-vang, dep Yen-chow  
X xi 6

祭  
chae

(1) An earldom, held by descendants of the duke of Chow. It is generally referred to the pres. Ching Chow dep. K'uei-fung. But there must have been an older Chae which had disappeared from the States before the Chun T'ieh period and the descendants of whose lords were transferred to the royal domain, and employed in the service of the court. I. 1. 6; II. viii. 6; III. xxiii. 2. (2) A city of Ching—probably in the pres. district of Chung-mow dep. K'uei-fung. II. xl. 4. (3) 餘祭 the name of a viscount of Wou. IX. xxix. 4.

禮  
fai  
祿  
16

禮祥—see 祥

祿父—see 父

The name of certain great sacrifices. We have 吉禘 the sacrifice offered when the period of mourning for a king or the ruler of a State was completed, and his Spirit tablet was introduced in its proper place, into the temple of ancestors, IV. II. 2; and the 祿 sacrifice *par excellence*, offered once in 3 or once in 5 years, to the remote ancestor to whom the kings of Ch'w or the king to whom princes of the Chow surname traced their lineage V. viii. 4.

A city on the western border of Ts'e. III. II. 4; IV.

祿  
chak

## THE 115th RADICAL 禾

Paddy III. xx. viii. 9.

Autumn, in autumn. I. 1. 4; II. 4; III. 5; cf. *passim*.

(1) A place in Loo,—in the pres. di. of Fan, dep. T'ai-nou-chow III. xxxi. 5. (2) The great State of Ts'in, which ultimately wrested the kingdom from the kings of Chow. Its lords were earls, Yings, claiming to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-t'ieh, through Shun's minister Pih-e. Its commencement dates from a. c. 908, when its seat was in the pres. Ts'in Chow Kan-tuh. Its chiefs gradually extended their sway eastwards, and when they appear in the classic, their chief city was Yung, in pres. dep. of Fung to Sang, Shou-se. V. xv. 13; cf. *supra*.

To tax, to lay a tax on VII. xv. 8.

A city of Sung—K'ang Yung thinks in pres. dep. of Kwei-tih. II. II. 2.

(1) An earldom, held by Yings,—in the pres. di. of Kuei-shan dep. K'ang yang, Hoo-pih. It is mentioned in II. vii. 2; but had perhaps already fallen under the power of T'oo. (2) A city of Ts'e,—in the pres. di. of Tung-a, dep.

稅  
aiwuy  
稅  
tsach  
穀  
kuk稻  
tsow  
穆  
muk

Yen-chow III. vii. 4; xxiii. 6; V. xxvii. 8; VI. xvii. 3. 5; cf. *et al.* (3) The name of an earl of Shou X. xxxi. 3. (4) In name of places. 穀丘—see 丘小穀—see 小陽穀 a city of Ts'e, which has lost its name in the district so called, dep. Yen-chow V. III. 6; xl. 2; VI. xvi. 1.

An earl of Ts'in. VII. iv. 2.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st of a duke of Sung I. III. 8; 2d, of a baron of Hien, V. iv. 8; 3d, of an earl of Ching VII. III. 9; 4th, of a marquess of Wei VIII. II. 2; 5th, of a marchioness of Loo, IX. x. 4.

## THE 116th RADICAL 穴

穿  
ch'wew

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in. VII. I. 13; 2d, of another great officer of Ts'in. VIII. viii. 1; 3d, of a viscount of Choo. XI. III. 2.

(1) The name of a prince afterwards earl, of Ching II. xl. 5; xv. 4. 0; III. xxi. 2. (2) 子突 the name or designation of a king's officer III. vi. 1.

To steal. XI. viii. 16.

竊  
irich

## THE 117th RADICAL 立

立  
kuk

To set up. VIII. vi. XI. I. 6.

章  
ch'ang

章羽 a viscount of Sou. X. xxx. 4.

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VIII. xviii. 1.

章  
rang

## THE 118th RADICAL 竹

筵  
aiwuy

A place on the eastern border of Loo,—probably in the north of dep. T'ai-nou-chow VII. xviii. 8.

筵  
k'wang

水筵—see 承

(1) A place in Ts'in,—in pres. di. of T'ao-kub, loc. T'ao-yuen, Hian-se V. xxxiii. 8. (2) A clan name in Ts'in VI. ix.

(1) To build; to make an enclosing wall for a park. III. I. 4; xxviii. 4; xxxi. 1. 3, 5; VIII. xvii. 10; X. ix. 4. (2) 新築

築  
chak

—see 新

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st of one of the kings of Ch'w IX. II. 1; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing X. xii. 8.

A musical instrument—a kind of flute. VII. viii. 4; X. xv. 2.

簡  
fien  
簡  
jok

## THE 119TH RADICAL 米

粟  
suh  
糴  
tcih

A species of millet or maize XI v 2  
Perhaps it means *grain* generally.

To buy grain III xxviii 7

## THE 120TH RADICAL. 糸

糾  
kiew

(1) 伯糾, —see 伯 (2) 糾, a prince of Ts'e III ix 3, —called 了糾, as being the eldest, in par 7

紀  
ke

A small State, a marquissate held by Keangs, the chief city of which was in the pres dis of Kwang, dep Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung It was extinguished by Ts'e in the 4th year of duke Chwang of Loo I ii 5, 6 II vii 6, *et al*

紅  
hung

A tract of Loo, which it is impossible to determine with any certainty X viii 6

紇  
hesh

The name of a great officer of Loo IX xxiii 11

納  
nah

(1) To present, to offer III xxii 6 VI ii 8 VIII viii 5 (2) To in-state, sometimes=to restore III ix 3 V xxv 5 VI xiv 7 X xii 1

終  
chung  
結  
kēch

終, see 夂

The name —1st, of a prince of Loo, III xix 3, 2d, of a great officer of Wei, XI vii 4, xiv 4, 3d, of a prince of Ts'oo, XI xiv 3, XII x. 11, 4th, of a viscount of T'ang, VII iv 9

綏  
suy  
緡  
min

The name of an earl of Kuh II vii 2

A city of Sung, in the pres dis of Kin-heang, dep Yen-chow V xxiii 1, xxvi. 7

緣  
yuen

緣陵, a city to which the capital of K'e was moved, —in the pres dis of Chang-loh, dep Ts'ing-chow V xiv. 1 see 杞

綸  
seu  
紱  
hwoh

紱綸, —see 紱

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VI ii 4, ix 6- VII. xii. 4

紱  
chuh  
績  
tseih  
繹  
yih

An elder brother of a marquis of Wei. X xx 3

Merit, service Always in the phrase 敗績, —see 敗

(1) To repeat a sacrifice on the day after its first and great celebration VII viii 4 (2) A city of Choo, —in the present dis of Tsow, dep Yen-chow VII. x. 13 (3) 句繹, see 句.

缺  
kueh  
堯  
ying

The name of a great officer of Ts'in VI xi 2, xv 7 VII ix 12

The name —1st, of an earl of Ts'in, VI xviii 2, 2d, of a great officer of Ts'in, VIII. xxi 7 IX i 7, ii 6, 9, iii 9

## THE 122d RADICAL 冏

罕  
han

A clan-name in Ch'ing X i 2, xi 7 XI xv 6

羅  
p'e  
鞞  
ke

The name of a great officer of Ts'oo IX. xxi 1 X vi 7

A prince of Ts'ao III xxiv 8

## THE 123d RADICAL 𠂔

羯  
kēch

The name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo IX xxiv 2, xxviii 5, xxix 11

## THE 124TH RADICAL 羽

羽  
yu

(1) The long feathers of a bird As they were carried in the hand by dancers or pantomimes, we have the term used for a row of pantomimes I v 4. (2) 白羽, —see 白 (3) 章羽, —see 章

翟  
teh  
翟  
tsouy

翟泉, —see 泉

A prince of Loo I iv 5, x 2 II iii 5

## THE 125TH RADICAL, 老

老  
考

The name of an officer of Loo IX xiv 1; xvi 7, xx 7, xxii 3

(1) To finish, to complete I v 4 (2) 考父, —see 父

## THE 126TH RADICAL. 而

而  
urh

And —In what in Index III to vol III I have called its idiomatic use VI. viii 6 VII viii 10.

## THE 128TH RADICAL 耳

耳  
urh

車耳, the name of a marquis of Ts'in V xxxii 5 諸耳, the name of a marquis of Ts'e. III viii 5

**聘** *ping* The term used to describe a complimentary or friendly mission,—to go on such a mission. I. vii. 4 6; II. iii. 9; viii. 2; *et sepe*.

**聞** *wen* To hear, to be informed. IX. xix. 9

**聲** *shing* The honorary title of a duchess of Loo. VI. xvii. 2

**聃** *tan* the name of a prince of Wei. XI. xiv. 11; XII. ii. 5; xvi. 1.

**聃** *tan* 聃北—see 北

### THE 129TH RADICAL. 聃

**聃** *tan* To pardon, to remit. III. xxii. 1

### THE 130TH RADICAL. 肉

**肯** *keng* To be willing. VII. iv. 1.

**肱** *hu* 黑肱 the name of an *etc.* of Choo. X. xxxi. 6.

**肱** *hu* The name:—1st, of a marquis of Tsao, V. xiv. 5; 2d, the name of a brother of duke Seven of Loo. VII. xvii. 7 See on 叔

**背** *pei* 黑背 the name of a prince of Wei. VIII. x. 1.

**胡** *hoo* A small State held by Kweis (歸), viscounts,—the chief city of which was in the north west of Ying-chow dep., Gan-hway. It was extinguished by Ts'oo in the 15th year of duke Ting. X. iv. 2; XI. iv. 2.

**胥** *seu* (1) Mutually each other II. iii. 2. (2) A clan-name in Tain. VII. i. 5; VIII. xviii. 1.

**胥** *seu* (1) Flesh used in sacrifice, and afterwards sent by the king to the feudal nobles of his surname. XI. xiv. 10. (2) 經胥, the name of a place, site unknown. VIII. xvii. 10.

**胥** *seu* 黑胥 the name of a marquis of Tain. VII. ix. 3.

### THE 131ST RADICAL. 臣

**臣** *chin* The name of a great officer of Sung. IX. xvii. 6. In names. We have 新臣—see 新; 得臣—see 得; 商臣—see 商; 王臣—see 王.

**臧** *tsang* (1) The name of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Wei. VII. xviii. 1 VII. xiv. 6. (2) 臧孫, a clan name of Loo.

The Tsang-suns, or Tsangs, if the 孫 be omitted, were descended from a Tsang-tsang a son of duke Hsiaoou, who appears in the Chuen of I. v. as Tsang Hsiao-pih (臧伯), III. xxviii. 7; VI. x. 1; VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iv. 4; IX. xxiii. 11

### THE 132D RADICAL. 自

**自** *tsze* From. II. ii. 9; III. 8; xvi. 3; xvii. 5; *et sepe*.

More properly 阜 (1) 夷阜—a name; see 夷 (3) In names of places. 阜隄 a city of Ch'ing.—in the pres. dia. of Lin ying Hen Chow Honan. XI. iv. 4 桑阜—see 桑

### THE 133D RADICAL. 至

**至** *che* (1) To come to, or as far as. V. xxvi. 2; VI. viii. 6; VII. viii. 2; xvii. 6; *et al.* 至于—until VI. x. 4 The term is frequently used of the return of the dukes of Loo to their capital, after having been absent on business of the State, and has reference to a ceremony then performed in the ancestral temple. II. ii. 9; III. 6; xvi. 3; xviii. 3; *et sepe*. We have the same usage in the case of great officers returning from other States where they had been kept as prisoners. X. xiv. 1; xxix. 3. There is a difficulty with VI. xv. 6. (2) The name of a great officer of Tain. VIII. xvii. 13.

Apparently meaning—to complete. We have 致夫人 to complete the position of a deceased marchioness by placing her tablet in the temple, V. viii. 5; and 致女 to complete the position of a daughter who has been married three months and is acceptable to her husband by a mission from her parents. III. ix. 5.

A tower. III. xxxi. 1, 3, 5; VI. xvi. 5; xviii. 1

### THE 134TH RADICAL. 白

**白** *tsai* 杵白—see 杵

**與** *yu* (1) And. II. xviii. 1 (2) 與夷—see 夷

To be present at, to take part in. X. xiii. 6.

**與** *yu* 柏舉—see 柏



THE 135TH RADICAL 占

舍  
shay

(1) To place or lodge VIII xvi 12  
(2) The name —1st, of a marquis of Ts'e, VI xiv 9, 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan, called 姑 by Tso-she, X vii 3, x 5, xiii 1, 8, xiv 2, xxv 1, 7 (2) 舍之,—see 之.

舍  
shay  
舒  
shoo

To dispense with, to disband X v 1

(1) A small State, held by Yens, viscounts,—in the pres dis of Shoo-shung, dep Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy V iii 3 In the Chuen on VI xii 4, we read of the seizure of a viscount of Shoo by a general of Ts'oo, and we may suppose that Shoo was then extinguished, but we meet with a 舒蓼, in VII viii 7, extinguished then by Ts'oo, a 舒庸, extinguished by Ts'oo, in VIII xiii 4, and a 舒鳩, also extinguished by Ts'oo, in IX xxv 8 All these are placed, like Shoo, in the same dep of Leu-chow They were no doubt a confederacy of small States, somehow linked together (2) 徵舒,—see 徵 追舍, a great officer of Ts'oo IX xxii 6 (3) 舒州,—see 州

THE 186TH RADICAL 舛

舛  
pan  
wo

獻舛,—see 獻

THE 137TH RADICAL 月

般  
pan

The name —1st, of a son of duke Chwang, III xxxii 5, 2d, of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Ts'ae, IX xxx 2 X xi 2

THE 188TH RADICAL 艮

艮  
läng

(1) A clan-name in Ch'ing IX xi 10, xxvi 5, xxvii 2, xxx 7 (2) 艮人,—see 人

THE 140TH RADICAL 艸

艾  
gae

(1) The name of a hill in Loo,—in the pres dis of Mung-yin, dep E-chow I. vi. 2 II xv 7 (2) 艾陵, the scene of a battle between Loo and Ts'e,—in the pres dis of T'ae-gan, dep T'ae-gan XII. xi 4

芻  
ts'oo

負芻, name of an earl of Ts'au IX xviii 5

苕  
t'iaou

苕丘,—see 丘 VIII xvi 12

苗  
miao

Growing grain,—in the blade III vii. 3

英  
ying

英氏,—see 氏

茅  
mao

茅戎,—see 戎

茲  
tsze

(1) Name of a grandson of duke Hwan of Loo, father of the first of the Shuh-sun chiefs V iv 8, v 3, xvi 4

(2) 茲父,—see 父 (3) A city of Keu,—in pres dis of Chow-shung, dep Ts'ing-chow X v 4

荆  
kung

(1) The earlier name of the State of Ts'oo,—see 楚 III x 5, iv 3, xiii 5, xxviii 3

草  
ts'au

Grass V xiii 12

荀  
seun

A clan-name in Tsin N v 3 VII iv 8, vii 3 VIII iv 1, viii 4, et saepissime

荼  
t'oo

Name of a marquis of Ts'e XII vii 8

莊  
chwang

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of an earl of Ching, II xi 3, 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, III ii 1, 3d, of a duke of Sung III ii 2, 4th, of an earl of Ts'au, III xiv 2, 5th, of a marquis of Loo (giving its title to Book III), IV i 3, ii 2, 6th, of a viscount of Choo, VI iv 4

呂  
leu

A State, the name of which remains in the present Keu Chow, dep E chow Its chiefs were viscounts claiming to be descended from the prehistoric Shaou-haou, with the surname of Sze (尸) or Ying (嬴) I ii, 2, 6 IV ii 5 V xvi 1, et passim

苧  
sin

A place in Ts'ae,—in the border of the pres dis of Joo-yang, dep Joo-ning III x 5

菅  
kwan

A place in Sung,—probably in the south-west of the pres dep of Yen-chow I x 3

菑  
tsze

捷菑,—see 捷

華  
hwa

(1) The name —1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, V vii 4, 2d, of a viscount of Choo, X i 5 (2) A clan-name in Sung VII ii 1 VIII iv 1, viii 4, xv 9, 10, xvi 8 IX i 1, et saepissime. Instead of 華 we have

華孫 in VI x 2

叔  
shuh

Pulse XI i. 7

采  
lai

A small State, held by Keangs, with the title of viscount,—in the dis of Hwang, dep T'ang-chow, Shan-tung VII vii 2, 3, ix 4 IX vi 8 It was extinguished in Seang's 6th year by Ts'e.

萬  
落  
葉  
葛

- (1) An officer of Sung III xli 3, 4  
(2) Dancers, pantomimes. VII. viii 4

落姑—see 姑

A city of T'ao, to which Hsu removed its capital, in VIII x 11. It was in the pres. dis. of Shieh dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan.

(1) A small earldom held by Yü, —in the present dis. of Ning ling dep. Kwei tih. II xv 8. (\*) 長葛 a city of Ching—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ing koh Hsu Chow Ho-nan. I v 8; vi 4

(3) 葛盧 the name of a chief of the State of K'ao V xxx. 1 5

To bury I. li. 7; III. 8; v 2; II v 4; et scripsi.

垂

垂葛—see 垂

葵丘—see 丘

The name of the spring hunting. Used for—an h. d. a military review X. viii. 6; xi 5; xlii. 3.

薤降 name of a viscount of Choo. V I. xli. 3. 渠降 see 渠

薤降—see 降

薤

(1) A city of Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ing yuen, dep. Ta ming II. III. 4; VIII ix 3 (3) 比薤—see 比

(3) 州薤—see 州

舒薤—see 薤

薤

A city of Lo,—in pres. dis. of Yih dep. Yeu-chow III. ix. 2.

(1) A place in Lo,—in pres. dis. of Sze-chwy dep. Yen-chow I. i. 2. (3) The name—lat. of a great officer of Tsin, VI vii. 6; d. of one of the chiefs of the Chung sun clan in Lo, VII ix. 3; xv 7; VIII v 1; vi. 8; et scripsi.

A marquessate held by K'ao. Its capital at first was 上蔡 which is still the name of one of the districts of Joo-ning, dep. Ho-nan. Subsequently it was moved to 新蔡 which is the name of another dis. in the same dep. In the 11th year of duke Ch'iao of Lo, T'ao extinguished it; and though it was soon restored, it finally became a portion of that great State. I. iv 4; viii. 4; i passim.

A clan-name in Sung. V xxv 3.

(1) A small attached State of Sung, afterwards inc. as a city with it. Its name remains in the dis. of K'ao, dep. Neu-chow K'ang soo. V xxx. 6; VII xli. 3; XI xl. 1 3; xiv 13. (2) 蕭魚 a city of Ching,—in the pres.

Hsu Chow Ho-nan IX xl. 8.

薄  
薛

A city of Sung—in the pres. dis. of Shang k'ow dep. Kwei tih. V xxi. 7

(1) A State,—in the pres. dis. of T'ang dep. Yen-chow In I. xl. 1, we have the marquess of S'eh but afterwards its lords appear with the title of earl only. They were Jins (任), and claimed to be descended from Hwang te. I. xl. 1; III xxxi. 4; et scripsi (2) A city of Lo, but it is not known where situated. III xxxi. 3.

The term appropriate to narrate the death of the ruler of a State or of his wife; but confined in the text to the decease of the marquesses and marchionesses of Lo. I. xl. 4; II. xviii. 4; III. xli. 3; xvii 4; IV ii. 3; V i. 8 et scripsi.

A clan-name in T'ao. IX. xxx. 1; X. vi. 7

A State in the royal domain,—in the pres. dis. of Wan, dep. Hwa-king VI x. 8.

See 薛

Name of an earl of Ching. VII iii 8

遠  
蘇  
薤  
薤  
薤

THE 141st RADICAL 虍

虎

(1) The name—lat. of a royal prince VI iii. 1; 2d of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxxiii. 6; 3d, of a great officer of Ching, X. i. 2; xi. 7 (3) 虎牢—see 牢

The name (assumed by himself) of one of the viscounts or kings of T'ao. X. xli. 2; xlii. 2.

處父—see 父

處  
處  
處  
處

(1) A city of Sung,—perhaps in pres. Buy Chow dep. Kwei tih. II xli. 3 (2) 虛村—see 村

(1) A small dukedom, held by K'ao,—descended from Chung yung second son of king Tao the grandfather of king Wan. Its chief city was in the pres. dis. of P'ing-ling, K'ao Chow Shan-se. V ii. 3; v 9 It was extinguished by Tsin in the 5th year of duke He of Lo. ( ) 鮮虞 the territory occupied by a tribe of the White Teth, whose chiefs were K'ao,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'in-ting Ch'ih le X. xli. 10; xv 5; VI iv 12; v 6; VII vi. 2 (3) 虞母—see 母

A city of Ching—probably the chief city of the State of the Eastern Kwob, extinguished by Ching before the Ch'ao T'ao period.—in the pres. dis. of Fan-shwy dep. K'ao-fung XI \*

虞

蕭  
蕭

## THE 142D RADICAL 虫

蚋

fun

蛇

shay

蚋

shuh

蚋

fei

或

yih

蚋

yuen

蚋

chung

蚋

mung

蚋

chung

蚋

ch'ung

蚋

ch'ae

蚋

man

蚋泉,—see 泉

蛇淵,—see 淵

A city of Loo,—in pres dis of T'ae-gan, dep T'ae-gan VIII 11 9, 10

Probably a kind of locust III xxix 3

Probably a kind of fly, produced in the water, and inflicting a painful bite III xviii 3

Larvæ of locusts VII xv 9

A locust II v 8 V xv 7 VI iii 5, viii 7 VII vi 3, xiii 3, xv 6 VIII vii 6 XII xii 6, xiii 9, 12

Grubs that eat the heart of grain I v 6, viii 9 III vi 4

蚋牛,—see 牛

The name —1st of a grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing, IX xiv 1, 3, 7, 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI ix 2

戎蠻,—see 戎

## THE 144TH RADICAL 行

行

hāng

衍

k'an

術

shuh

衍

ya

衛

wei

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

衡

hāng

(1) 行人, a messenger from one State to another IX xi 16, xviii 2 X vii 4, xxiii 3, et al. (2) 行父,—see 父

The name of a marquis of Wei. IX xxvi 3, xxix 3

The name of a great officer of Tsin VI xii 6

彭衙,—see 彭

A marquissate, held by Kes, descendants of K'ang-shuh, one of the sons of King Wān. Its chief city was at first Chaou-ko (朝歌), in the pres, dis of K'e, dep Wei-hwuy. It was subsequently changed to Ts'oo-k'ew (楚丘), in dis of Hwah, same dep, and afterwards to Te-k'ew (帝丘), in pres K'ae-chow, dep Ta-ming, Chih-le I ii 9, iv 4 III xxxviii 1, et passim.

衡雍, a city of Ch'ing,—in pres dis of Yuen-woo, dep Hwae-k'ing VI viii 4

## THE 145TH RADICAL 衣

衣

yuen

衣

yuen

yuen

(1) A clan-name in Chin IX iii 6 7 Should be 袁 (2) 袁婁,—see 婁

婁

ch'e

婁

seang

婁

suy

婁

shuh

A city of Sung,—in the pres Suh Chow, dep Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy II xv 10. The K'ang-he dictionary gives the pronunciation in this case as e, but ch'e is that of Luh Tih-ming.

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st of a marquis of Ts'e, III ix 5, 2d, of a marquis of Tsin, VI vi 5, 3d, of one of the kings of Chow, VI ix. 3, 4th, of an earl of Ch'ing, VIII iv 6, 5th, of a marquis of Loo (giving its title to Book IX), IX xxxi 4, 6th, of a marquis of Wei, X vii 8, 7th of an earl of Seeh, XI xii 2

Clothes presented to be used in the burial of the dead, grave-clothes VI ix 13

To surprise, to attack by surprise IX xxiii 13

## THE 146TH RADICAL 山

山

se

The west, western III xviii 2, xix 5 V x 3, xxvi 2, et scpe 濟山,—see 濟

濟

## THE 147TH RADICAL 見

見

k'een

見

heen

視

she

覲

teih

覲

k'wan

To see, to admit to an interview, or to have an interview with VIII xvi 8 IX vii 10

To be visible III vii 2

In the phrase 視朔, used of a ruler giving audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon VI xvi 2

To have an official interview with, an audience of III xxiv 6

(1) To see, to look at I v 1 III xxiii 3 (2) The side tower at a gate XI ii 1, 4

## THE 148TH RADICAL 角

角

k'eh

A horn. VIII vii 1

## THE 149TH RADICAL 一

一

yen

許

heu

To speak about. VIII viii 1

(1) A small State, the lords of which were Keangs and barons. Its chief city at first was Heu-ch'ang (許昌), in the pres Heu Chow, Ho-nan. It was afterwards moved to Sheh (See 巢), then to 大 (See 大), then to Suh (析 or 白析), and finally to Yung (容). Feeble as Heu was, it outlasted the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and was ultimately extinguished

by Ta'oo, I xl. 3 II xv 6; cf. *separation*  
( ) 許田 some lands originally  
granted to Loo, near the first capital of  
Hou. II. 1. 3. (3) The name of one of  
the chiefs of the Tsang-sun clan in Loo.  
V III. 1. 5; II 3; iv 4

皆

皆婁—see 婁

詹

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing  
III. xvii. 1 3.

詹

The name of one of the chiefs of the  
Shuh clan in Loo. X. xxv \*; xxiv 8

詹

詹諸 name of a marquis of Ts'in. V  
ix 5

詹

To beguile, to inveigle X. xiv 2.

詹

Name of a prince of Ch'ing. II. xvi. 3.

詹

御說—see 御

詹

(1) In the phrase 諸侯—see 侯  
(2) A city in Loo,—in the pres. dia. of  
Choo-shing dep. Ts'ing-chow III. xxix.  
5 VI. xii. 8. (3) 諸耳—see 耳

詹

(4) 諸諸—see 諸  
A small State, whose lords were Tazoo  
(子) and viscounts,—in the pres. dia. of  
Leth-shing dep. Tso-nan. It appears in  
the text only once, when it was extin-  
guished by Ta'oo III. x. 6.

詹

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of  
Fet-shing dep. Tso-gan II. III. 6, 8; XI.  
x. 5; viii. 3, 7

詹

THE 130th RADICAL. 谷

詹

A valley 夾谷—see 夾

詹

乾谿—see 乾

詹

THE 151st RADICAL. 豆

詹

The name of a great officer of Ch'in.  
XII. xiv 6, 13.

詹

THE 153rd RADICAL. 豸

詹

(1) The name of one of the chiefs of  
the Shuh-sun clan. IX. II. 8 III. 7 iv 2;  
v 5 xiv 3; cf. *seps*. His death is men-  
tioned in X. iv 8 (2) A viscount of  
Hoo XI. xv 8.

詹

厥貉—see 厥

詹

經

經脈—see 脈

(1) The name of one of the chiefs of  
the Chung sun clan. X. ix. 4; x. 3; xl. 6;  
xxiv 1 (2) 獲且—see 且

THE 154th RADICAL. 貝

貝

The name of a prince of Tsoo. IX. v  
10; vii 8; x. 8, 8, 10; xii. 5; xiv 6.

貝

負鄒—see 鄒

貝

A city of Sung—in the pres. dia. of  
Tso'ou, dep. Tso'ou-chow V II 4 But  
this identification proceeds on the sup-  
position of 負's being for 質 in which  
case the pronunciation should be different.

貝

The name;—1st of a prince of Loo, a  
son of duke Ch'wang. V. xxviii 3; 2d of  
a great officer of Wei. IX. xvii. 3; xviii.  
2; 3d, of a baron of Hou X. xix. 2; 4th  
of a great officer of Ch'ao. XII. xiv 14

貝

(1) The name of an earl of Ch'ing  
VIII. vi. 7 (3) A city of Loo,—in the  
pres. dia. of Pe dep. E-chow It was the  
principal city of the Ke-sun clan. IX. vii.  
4; X. xiii. 1; XI. xii. 5

貝

To levy or collect taxes. 田賦 a  
certain contribution levied for military  
purposes from the land in Loo. XII. xii. 1

貝

To give to, to confer on. VIII. viii. "

貝

A small State, whose lords were vis-  
counts, surname unknown,—in pres. dia.  
of Shang-shing Kwang Chow Ho-nan.  
It was extinguished by Ta'oo, in X. iv 8.

貝

Presents for the burial of the dead—  
specially of carriages and horses. I. I. 4

貝

Presents or contributions of money for  
the burial of the dead. I. III. 4

貝

Presents or contributions of money for  
the burial of the dead. I. III. 4

貝

THE 155th RADICAL. 赤

赤

(1) Red. In the name 赤狄—see  
狄 (2) The name —1st, of a prince  
perhaps an earl, of Tso'ou, III. xxiv 8;  
2d, of a viscount of the Jung-man, XII.  
iv 6. (3) 赤棘—see 棘

赤

Presents or contributions of money for  
the burial of the dead. I. III. 4

赤

THE 156th RADICAL. 走

走

The name of a minister of Tsin. X. II.  
1; xi "

走

(1) The name of a city in Wei, or acc.  
to others, in Tso'ou. If not identical with  
垂 it was near it; also 垂. II. I. 4.

走

(2) A large State, called also 於越, whose lords were Szes (妣), and viscounts, having their principal city in the pres dis of Shap-yin, dep Shaou-hung, Cheh-kiang. It first appears in Tso-she in the 8th year of duke Senen X v 8, viii 9, xxvii 2. 於越 seems to be an attempt to give the name of the State as it was pronounced by its own people.

趙 A clan-name —1st, in Tsin, VI viii 4, xiv 5 VII i 11, 13, *et saepe*, 2d, in Wei, XI xiv 2.

淮 A city in Loo,—in the borders of the present districts of Sze-shwuy and Tsow II xvi 2.

### THE 157TH RADICAL 足

路 Great, state- In the phrase 路寢, —see 寢

踐 踐 |, —see |

躋 To advance, to raise higher VI ii 6

躍 The name of a marquis of Ch'in II xii 5

蹀 The name of a great officer of Tsin X xxi 2, 4

### THE 159th RADICAL 車

車 A carriage II xv 1

車 An army,—consisting, properly, of 12,500 men IX xi 1 X v 1

軫 The name of a viscount of Ts'oo xii vi 6

輒 The name —1st, of the grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing, IX x 4, 8, 2d, of one of the Heads of the Shuh clan in Loo, X xxi 5, 3d, of a marquis of Wei, XII xvi 1

輸 To offer, to make overture of I vi 1

輿 庚輿,—see 庚 辰輿,—see 展

輟 A clan-name in Ch'in V iv 4 XII xii 2, xiv 14 See 袁

### THE 160TH RADICAL 彳

彳 A calendaric stem-character I iii 4 III vi 2 *et passim*

### THE 161st RADICAL 辰

辰 (1) A calendaric branch-character I ii 4, iii 5, ix 2, xi 4 *et passim* (2) The name —1st, of a minister of Loo, one of the Heads of the Tsang-sun clan, III xxi 7, VI x 1, 2d, of a brother of a duke of Sung, XI x 11, xi 1, xiv 13, 3d, of a grandson of a marquis of Ts'ae, XII iv 2 (3) 辰陵, a city of Ch'in,—in the pres dep of Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan VII xi 2 (4) 人辰,—see 大.

### THE 162nd RADICAL 辵

追 (1) To follow after, to pursue III xviii 2 V xxi 2 (2) 追舒,—see 舒

退 Retiring, backwards V xvi 1

送 To escort II iii 6 III i 3

逃 To slink away, to make one's escape from III xvii 3 V v 6 IX vii 11

逆 To meet Generally used of officers going to meet a bride for their ruler, or for the king I ii 5 II iii 5, viii 6 III xxiv 3 V xxi 3 VII i 2 VIII xiv 3 IX xi 2 To meet one's own bride III xxvii 5 VI iv 2 To go to meet a coffin VIII ix 1

逞 The name of a viscount of Shun (沈) X xxi 7

遯 The name —1st, of a great officer of Wei, V xxi 1, 2d, of a marquis of Wei, VIII ii 6, 3d, of one of the Heads of the Chung-sun clan in Loo, IX xx 1, 4, xxiii 10, 4th, of a great officer of Ch'ing, XI vi 1, x 10

遂 (1) And thereon, and then II viii 6, xviii 1 III xix 3 V vi 3, *et saepe*

(2) A small State, held by Kweis (嬌), descendants of Shun,—in the pres dis of Ning-yang, dep Yen-chow III xii 2, xvii 2 (3) The name of a son of duke Chwang of Loo, whose descendants had the clan-names of Chung (仲) and Tung-mun (東門) V xxvi 5, xxvii 4 VI ii 8 vi 5 VII i 2, 3, 7, viii 2, 3, *et saepe*

遇 (1) To meet hurriedly,—without previous agreement I iv 3, viii 1 III iv 3, xxiii 6, xxx. 6, xxxii 2, *et al* To meet with II x 3 (2) A city in Loo, situation unknown IX xv 3

過 To pass by V xvi 1.

過 The name —1st of a prince of Ch'ing, X. viii. ; 2d, of an earl of K'uei, XII. viii. 6.

過 The name of a viscount of Woo. IX. xxv 10

道 In names of places. 斷道—see

斷 善道 see 善

達 The name —1st of a great officer of Wei, VII. xiv 1 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, XI. xv 6; XII. ii. 6 xiii. 1.

適 歷—see 歷

適 To remove, to transport. Used both transitively and intransitively. III. 1. 8 x. 3 IV. ii. 1; V. 1. 3; xxxi. 7; X. ix. 2.

還 To return. III. viii. 4; VI. xiii. 8 IX. xix. 9 Read 還, 還 should not be marked 還

還 The name of a great officer of Loo. XI. xi. 4 XII. v 6; vi. 5; xiv. 4.

子還 the designation of a great officer of Wei. XII. xvi. 2.

# THE 163d RADICAL. 邑

邢 (1) A small marquisate, held by the descendants of one of the sons of the duke of Chow. Its principal city at first was in the pres. dis. of Hing t'ae, dep. Shun tih, Chih-le; but it was afterwards moved to E-se in dep. Tung-ch'ang Shan tung. III. xxxii. 7; IV. 1. 2; V. 1. 2, 8, 4 xix. 1; xx. 5 xxv. 1. The last record Hing's extinction by Wei.

邲 A place in Ch'ing.—In present Ch'ing Chow dep. K'uei-fung; the scene of a famous battle between Tsin and T'oo. VII. xii. 8.

邾 (1) A small State held by T'aozou (曹), claiming to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen hēh. It was at first merely an attached territory of Loo, but afterwards its chiefs were advanced to be viscounts.—In pres. dis. of T'ow dep. Yen-chow I. I. II. viii. 4; V. xix. 2, 4; et al. (2) 小邾—see 小. (3) 邾瑕—see 瑕

邾 A small State near Loo,—in the pres. T'ow-chow dep. Yen-chow IX. xiii. 2.

郁 釐 the name of an earl of K'uei. X. xiv. 6

邲 A city of Loo,—in the pres. Tung p'ing Chow dep. T'ao-gan. It belonged to the Shuh-sun clan. XI. x. 6, 7; xii. 3.

(1) A border sacrifice, and to offer it V. xxxi. 3 VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1, 4; x. 2; xii. 6 et al. (2) A city of Chow X. xiii. 4

邾 A small State, held by earls, K'uei, descended from one of the sons of King Wan.—In the pres. dis. of Wan-shang dep. Yen-chow I. v 3 x. 8; II. iii. 3; vi. 2 III. vii. 3; VI. vii. 1.

邲 A city of Ke.—in the pres. dis. of Gan k'uei dep. T'ao-gan. III. 1. 8. (2) A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Sze-shu-wu dep. Yen-chow VI. vii. 2.

邲 Outer suburbs. VI. xv 12 IX. xv 4; xix. 14 XII. iv 7

(1) A city of Sung,—in pres. dis. of Shing woo dept. T'ao-gan. I. x. 4. This was called South Kaou. (2) Another city of Sung not far from the former and called North Kaou. It had been the chief city of a small State. II. ii. 4 (3) A viscount of Kaou is mentioned in V. xx. 2 which may possibly be the same referred to in II. ii. 4 in which case Kaou could not have been another city of Sung

邲 A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Yu t'ae dep. Yen-chow I. ix. 4; II. iv 1; x. 4; III. viii. 1; x. 4; xxxi. 1; X. ix. 5

邲 The capital of T'ao,—see 楚. XI. iv 15

A clan name.—1st in Tsin, VI. xi. 2; xv. 7; VII. ix. 12; VIII. ii. 3; III. ii. 1; xii. 2 xiii. 1; xvi. 14 xvii. 13; 2d, in T'ao XI. iv 9 This character is unfortunately read in the translation as K'uei or K'uei, from its having been confounded with 邲 formed from 卩 邲 and 邲 are constantly confounded together

邲丘—see 丘

邲 A small State held by Sze (巳; some read 己 Ke), viscounts, claiming to be descendants of the ancient Shao-haou. VII. iv 1 xvi. 3 VIII. vii. 2; viii. 10 IX. vii. 1 X. xvii. 8.

邲 A city of Ke,—in pres. dep. of T'ing ch III. 1. 8

邲 The same as Little Choo,—see 小邲 III. v 3; xv. 2.

The name of a State but where it was is unknown. III. xxiv. 9

(1) A capital V. xvi. 1 (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. VI. ix. 4

邲 A city of Loo,—in the pres. Tung p'ing chow dep. T'ao-gan. III. xxviii. 4

A small State,—originally in the pres. dis. of Nuy-hang, Nan-yang dep. Honan. Afterwards its capital was removed to J h,—in the dis. of E-shing dep. Béang yang. Hsu-pu. After this it became an attached territory of T'oo, which afterwards on an emergency removed its capital to it. T'oo must have before that, quite extinguished the independent existence of J h. VI. v 5

邲 A city of Wei,—in the pres. Puh-chow dep. T'ao-gan. III. xiv. 4; xv. 1; xix. 2.

邲 A small State held by viscounts, with the surname Yun (云). Its chief city

(2) A large State, called also 於越, whose lords were Szes (姒), and viscounts, having their principal city in the pres dis of Shan-yin, dep Shaou-hung, Cheh-keang. It first appears in T'ao-she in the 8th year of duke Seuen X v 8, vin 9, xxvii 2 於越 seems to be an attempt to give the name of the State as it was pronounced by its own people

趙 A clan-name —1st, in Tsin, VI viii 4, xiv 5 VII i 11, 13, *et saepe*, 2d, in Wei, XI xiv 2

趙 A city in Loo,—in the borders of the present districts of Sze-shwuy and Tsow II xvii 2

趙  
chou  
趙  
ts uy

### THE 157TH RADICAL 足

路 Great, state- In the phrase 路寢,

—see 寢

踐 踐 I, —see I.

To advance, to raise higher VI ii 6

The name of a marquis of Ch'in II xii 5

The name of a great officer of Tsin X xxvi 2, 4

路  
loo  
踐  
ts'een  
路  
tse  
躍  
yoh  
蹀  
leih

### THE 159th RADICAL 車

車 A carriage II xv 1.

An army,—consisting, properly, of 12,500 men IX xi 1 X. v 1

The name of a viscount of Ts'oo XII vi 6

The name —1st, of the grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing, IX x 4, 8, 2d, of one of the Heads of the Shuh clan in Loo, X xxi 5, 3d, of a marquis of Wei, VII xvi 1

To offer, to make overture of I. vi 1.

輿, —see 輿 展輿, —see 展

A clan-name in Ch'in V iv 4 XII. xii 2, xiv 14 See 袁

車  
leu  
ch'ay  
車  
keun  
軫  
chin  
輓  
cheh  
輪  
shoo  
輿  
yu  
輿  
yuen

### THE 160TH RADICAL 辛

辛 A calendaric stem-character I iii 4 III vii 2 *et passim*

辛  
sin

### THE 161st RADICAL 辰

辰  
shun

(1) A calendaric branch-character I ii 4, iii 5, ix 2, xi 4, *et passim* (2) The name —1st, of a minister of Loo, one of the Heads of the Tsang-sun clan, III xxviii 7, VI x 1, 2d, of a brother of a duke of Sung, XI x 11, xi 1, xiv 13, 3d, of a grandson of a marquis of Ts'ao, XII iv 2 (3) 辰陵, a city of Ch'in,—in the pres dep of Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan VII xi 2 (4) 大辰, —see 大

### THE 162d RADICAL 辵

追  
chuy

(1) To follow after, to pursue III xviii 2 V xxi 2 (2) 追舒, —see 舒

Retiring, backwards V xvi 1

退  
t'uy

To escort II iii 6 III i 3

送  
sung

To slink away, to make one's escape from III xvii 3 V v 6 IX vii 11

逃  
t'au

To meet Generally used of officers going to meet a bride for their ruler, or for the king I ii 5, II iii 5, viii 6 III xxiv 3 V xxi 3 VII i 2 VIII xiv 3 IX xi 2 To meet one's own bride III xxvii 5 VI iv 2 To go to meet a coffin VIII ix 1

逆  
yuh

遑  
ch'ing

The name of a viscount of Shun (沈) X xxi 7

速  
sun

The name —1st, of a great officer of Wei, V xxvi 1, 2d, of a marquis of Wei, VIII ii 6, 3d, of one of the Heads of the Chung-sun clan in Loo, IX xx 1, 4, xxii 10, 4th, of a great officer of Ch'ing, XI vi 1, x 10

遂  
suy

(1) And thereon, and then II viii 6, xviii 1 III xix 3 V vi 3, *et saepe* (2) A small State, held by Kweis (嬌), descendants of Shun,—in the pres dis of Ning-yang, dep Yen-chow III xii 2, xvii 2 (3) The name of a son of duke Chwang of Loo, whose descendants had the clan-names of Chung (仲) and Tung-mun (東門) V xxvi 5, xxvii 4 VI ii 8 vi 5 VII i 2, 3, 7, viii 2, 3, *et saepe*

遇  
yu

(1) To meet hurriedly,—without previous agreement I iv 3, viii 1 III iv 3, xxiii 6, xxx 6, xxvii 2, *et al* To meet with II x 3 (2) A city in Loo, situation unknown IX xv 3

過  
lo  
lwo

To pass by V xvi 1

過

The name — 1st, of a prince of Chin, *U*, viii. 7; 2d, of an earl of K'ao, *XII*, viii. 10.

過

The name of a viscount of Woo, *IX*, xv. 10.

道

In names of places. 斷道 — 道

道

斷 善道 — 善

達

The name — 1st of a great officer of Wei, *VII*, xiv. 1; 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, *VI*, xv. 6; *XII*, ii. 6; *xiii*, 1.

適

適歷 — 歷

還

To remove to transport. Used both transitively and intransitively. *III*, i. 8; *x*, 3; *IV*, ii. 1; *v*, 1, 3; *xxxix*, 7; *X*, ix. 1.

還

To return. *III*, viii. 4; *VI*, xiii. 8; *IX*, xix. 9. Read *hwa*, 還 should not be marked 還.

還

The name of a great officer of Loo, *XI*, xl. 4; *XII*, v. 5; vi. 5; xiv. 4. 子還 the designation of a great officer of Wei, *XII*, xvi. 2.

### THE 103D RADICAL. 邑

邢

(1) A small marquisate held by the descendants of one of the sons of the duke of Chow. Its principal city at first was in the pres. dia. of Hing-t'ao dep. Shun-t'ao, Chih-le; but it was afterwards moved to E-se in dep. Tung-ch'ang Shan-tung. *III*, xxxii. 7; *IV*, i. 2; *V*, i. 2, 3, 4; xix. 1; xx. 5; xxv. 1. The last passage reads Hing's extinction by Wei.

邳

A place in Ch'ing, — in present Ching Chow dep. K'ao-fang the scene of a famous battle between Tsin and T'ao. *VII*, xii. 3.

邾

(1) A small State, held by T'aoans (曹), claiming to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-h'eah. It was at first merely an attached territory of Loo, but afterwards its chiefs were advanced to be viscounts; — in pres. dia. of T'ao dep. Yen-chow. *I*, i. 11; viii. 4; *V*, xix. 2, 4; *et seq.* (3) 小邾 — 邾

邾

(3) 邾瑕 — 瑕

邾

A small State near Loo, — in the pres. T'ao-ning Chow dep. Yen-chow. *IX*, xiii. 2.

邾

邾 釐 the name of an earl of K'ao, *X*, xxiv. 3.

邾

A city of Loo, — in the pres. Tung-ping Chow dep. T'ao-gan. It belonged to the Shih-san clan. *XI*, x. 6, 7; xii. 3.

邾

(1) A border sacrifice and to offer it. *V*, xxxi. 3; *VII*, iii. 1; *VIII*, vii. 1, 4; *x*, 2; xii. 6; *et seq.* (2) A city of Chow. *X*, xxiii. 4.

邾

A small State, held by earls K'ao, descended from one of the sons of king Wan, — in the pres. dia. of Wan-shang dep. Yen-chow. *I*, v. 8; *x*, 8; *II*, iii. 3; vi. 3; *III*, viii. 3; *VI*, vii. 1.

郛

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A city of K'ao, — in the pres. dia. of Gan k'ow dep. T'ao-gan. *III*, i. 8. (\*) A city of Loo, — in the pres. dia. of Szu-shu dep. Yen-chow. *VI*, vii. 2.

Outer suburbs. *VI*, xv. 12; *IX*, xv. 4; xix. 14; *XII*, iv. 2.

(1) A city of Sung — in pres. dia. of Shing woo, dept. T'ao-choh. *I*, x. 4. This was called South Kaou. (2) Another city of Sung not far from the former and called North Kaou. It had been the chief city of a small State. *II*, ii. 4.

(3) A viscount of Kaou is mentioned in *xx*; which may possibly be the same referred to in *II*, ii. 4. In which case Kaou could not have been another city of Sung. A city of Loo, — in the pres. dia. of Yu-t'ao dep. Yen-chow. *I*, ix. 4; *II*, iv. 1; *x*, 4; *III*, viii. 1; *x*, 4; xxxi. 1; *V*, ix. 5.

The capital of T'ao, — see 楚. *XI*, iv. 15.

A clan-name — 1st. In Tsin, *VI*, xl. 2; *xv*, i. 1; *II*, ix. 1; *VIII*, ii. 3; *III*, ii. 1; xii. 1; xvi. 14; xvii. 13, 2d, in T'ao. *XI*, iv. 9. This character is unfortunately read in the translation as *K'ao* or *K'ao*, from its having been confounded with 郛 formed from 郛 and 郛 are constantly confounded together.

郛丘 — 丘

A small State held by Szes (巳; some read 己 *K*), viscounts, claiming to be descendants of the ancient Shao-haou. *VII*, iv. 1; xvi. 3; *VIII*, vii. 2; viii. 10; *IX*, vii. 1; *X*, x. ii. 3.

A city of K'ao, — in pres. dep. of T'ing ch. *III*, i. 5.

The same as Little Choo, — see 小邾.

*III*, v. 3; *xv*, 3.

The name of a State, but where it was is unknown. *III*, xxiv. 9.

(1) A capital. *V*, xvi. 1. (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. *VI*, ix. 4.

A city of Loo, — in the pres. Tung-ping chow dep. T'ao-gan. *III*, xxviii. 4.

A small State, — originally in the pres. dia. of Nay-lang, Nan yang dep., Hon-nu. Afterward its capital was removed to Jui, — in the dia. of E-shing dep. Séang yang, Hon-pih. After this it became an attached territory of T'ao, which afterwards on an emergency removed its capital to it. T'ao must have before that, quite extinguished the independent existence of Jui. *VI*, v. 5.

A city of Wei, — in the pres. Pub-choh dep. T'ao-choh. *III*, xiv. 4; *xv*, 1; xix. 3.

A small State, held by viscounts, with the surname Yau (宥). Its chief city



was K'ue-yang (啟陽)—in the pres dep of E-chow X xvi 3

鄆  
yun

A city of Loo—in the pres dis of E-shwuy, dep E-chow. But this city sometimes appears as belonging to K'eu VI xi 8 VIII ix 10 IX xii 2, *et saepe*. There appears to have been another Yun in Loo,—in pres dis of W'au-shang VIII ix 8, and perhaps some other places

鄆  
tsze

(1) A city of Ke,—in pres dis of Ch'ang-yih, dep T'ung-chow III i 8 (2) A place in Loo,—somewhere in Yen-chow dept III xi 2

鄆  
yun

A city of Wei,—in the pres dis of Joo-kaou, T'ung Chow, K'ang-soo XII xii 4 It was also called 發陽

鄆  
p'ei

Border, frontier III ix 5 V xxi 2, 5 VI vii 7, *et al*

鄆  
chuen

(1) A small State, an attached territory of Loo,—perhaps in the pres dis of T'an-shing, dep E-chow VIII vi 3 (2) 鄆陵, A city, site unknown, by some said to be the same as the preceding X xxi 4

鄆  
yen

A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres dis of Yen-lung, dept K'ue-fung I i 3. Later on, Yen received the name of 鄆陵, and gave its name to one of the famous battles between Tsin and Ts'oo VIII xvi 6

鄆  
chang

A small attached State, held by Keangs,—in the pres T'ung-p'ing Chow, dep T'ae-gan III xxi 3

鄆  
tang

(1) A marquissate held by Mans (曼),—probably in the pres T'ang Chow dep Nan-yang, Ho-nan II vii 3 (2) A city of Ts'ao,—in the pres dis of Yen-shing, H'eu Chow II ii 6

鄆  
tsang

(1) A small State, held by Szes (姒), viscounts, descendants of Yu,—in the pres dis of Yih, dep Yen-chow. It was extinguished by K'eu in the 6th year of duke Seang, but came in the 4th year of Ch'au into the possession of Loo V xiv 2, xv 9, xvi 3, xix 3, 4 VII xiii 4, *et al* (2) A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres Suy Chow, dep K'wei-tih IX i 3

鄆  
wei

A place in Ch'ing. No more is known of it IX vii 9

鄆  
ching

(1) An earldom, held by Kes, descended from a son of king Le. The investiture of the first earl was in B C 805, and the seat of the territory was then in the present Hwa Chow, dep T'ung-chow, Shen-se. His successor moved to the east, and settled in what he called 'New Ch'ing,' still the name of a district in K'ue-fung dep I i 3, ii 9, iii 7, iv 4, v 6, xi 3, *et passim* (2) The name of a marquis of Wei VII ix 10 (3) 鄭

父,—see 父

鄆  
ts'au

A place in Ch'ing. No more is known of it IX vii 10

鄆  
mun

A city of T'auou,—in the pres dep of T'auou chow X xi 2

鄆  
he

(1) A city of Ke,—in the pres dis of Lin-tze, dep T'ung-chow III iii 4, xii 1 (2) A city of T'ao,—in pres dis of Tung-o, dep T'au-gan V xxi 2

鄆  
h

Name of a place in Loo V i 9

## THE 161TH RADICAL 酉

酉  
yu

A calendar branch character I vi 2 III ix 5, xxi 2, *et passim*

## THE 165TH RADICAL 禾

禾  
shih

To liberate V xxi 7

## THE 166TH RADICAL 里

里  
li

(1) A neighbourhood, a district 南里,—see 南 (2) A clan-name in Tsin V ix 6, x 5

重  
chung

重耳,—see 重 重斤,—see 斤

野  
yay

(1) The name of a son of duke S'ang of Loo IX xxi 3 (2) 無野,—see 無 野井,—see 井

釐  
le

無 野井,—see 井 郁釐,—see 郁

## THE 167TH RADICAL 金

金  
kin

Metal, the precious metals,—may be translated by money VI ix 1

鎬  
e

The name of a great officer of Tsin VIII xiii 1, xiii 13

錫  
seih

(1) To confer on, to give to III i 6 VI i 5 (2) 錫我,—see 我

鐵  
h'ien

(1) A clan-name in Ch in IX xxiv 11 (2) The name of a prince of Tsin X i 4

鍾  
chung

(1) 大鍾,—see 大 (2) 鍾離, a city of Ts'oo,—in pres dis of Fung-yang, dep Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy VIII xv 10

鐵  
t'eeh

And 鐵上, a hull,—in the pres K'ao Chow, dept Ta-ming XII ii 6

## THE 168TH RADICAL 長

長  
ch'ang

In names of places 長葛,—see 葛 長勺,—see 勺 長檣,—see 檣 長岸,—see 岸

## THE 169th RADICAL. 門

門  
men

(1) A door or gate,—double-leaved.  
III. xxv 5 V xx. 1 雉門 the name  
of the south gate of the ducal palace of  
Loo. XI. II. 1 4 (3) To attack a gate  
IX. xxv 10 (3) 石門—see 石

Intercalary VI. vi. 8 XII. v 6.

閭  
fa

昌閭—see 昌

閭  
fa

閭丘—see 丘

閭  
fa

(1) To examine the carriages of a  
State—to hold a military review II. vi.  
8 (3) The name of a great officer of  
Sung IX. xiv 7

閭  
fa

A gate-keeper a porter IX. xxix. 4.

閭  
fa

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Wan  
shang dep. Yen-chow II. xi. 9; X. xxxii. 1

閭  
fa

A city of Loo,—in pres. dia. of Ning  
yang dep. Yen-chow XII. xiii. 8. 7

閭  
fa

## THE 170th RADICAL. 阜

防  
fang

(1) A city of Loo,—in the pres. dia.  
of Po, dep. E-chow I. ix. 8; III. vii. 1;  
xxii. 8; xxix. 8; V. xiv. 2; IX. xiii. 4;  
xvii. 4 (2) A city of Sung. I. x. 4. (3)  
A city of K'au,—in pres. dia. of Gan  
k'au dep. Ts'ing-chow X. v. 4.

To surrender III. viii. 3. To reduce  
III. xxx. 2.

降  
fang

(1) A place in Ts'ao,—in pres. dia. of  
Yen-shing, Hien Chow Ho-nan. V. iv. 1.

陞  
fang

(2) 升降—see 升

陞  
fang

龜陰 a city of Loo,—in the borders  
of the present dep. of Ts'ao-gan. XI. x. v

陳  
fang

A marquise, held by Kwai (嬌),  
claiming to be descendant of the ancient  
Shun. Its capital was Yuen-k'au (宛)

邱,—in the pres. dia. of Hwao-ning,  
dep. Ch'ing-chow Ho-nan. I. iv. 4; II. 3;  
cf. pinyin.

陵  
fang

In names of places. 召陵—see  
召 綠陵—see 綠 馬陵 a city

of Wei,—in pres. dep. of Ta ming Chih  
le. VIII. vii. 3. 鄆陵—see 鄆 柯

陵—see 柯 鄆陵—see 鄆 艾

陸渾—see 渾

陸  
fang

(1) A marquise, held by K'ou,—in  
the pres. dia. of E-shway dep. E-chow  
We hear nothing about it after the notice

陽  
fang

In IV. II. 1 (2) A city of North Yen,—  
in pres. dia. of Tang dep. Paon ting Chih  
le X. xii. 1 (8) A clan name in Tsin  
VI. III. 7; vi. 6. (4) The name —1st,  
of a great officer of Wei, XI. xiv. 2; 2d,  
of an earl of Ts'ao, XII. viii. 1 (5)

下陽—see 下 陽穀—see 穀

河陽—see 河 平陽—see 平

汶陽—see 汶 偃陽—see 偃

晉陽—see 晉 敢陽—see 敢

陽生—see 生 陽州—see 州

To fall III. vii. 2; V. xvi. 1 xxxiii  
1 XI. 1 7

(1) A marquise, held by K'ou,—in  
the pres. Suy Chow dep. Th-gan, Hoo-  
ph. V. xx. 6. (2) 沙隨—see 沙

The honorary title of a marquis of  
Loo, giving its title to Book I. XI. xi. 6

垂隴—see 垂

THE 172d RADICAL. 隹

雉門—see 門

(1) 衡雍—see 衡 (2) 雍丘  
—see 丘 雍榆—see 榆

雒戎—see 戎

雞澤—see 澤 雞父—see 父

吾離—see 吾 鍾離—see 鍾

THE 173d RADICAL. 雨

Rain, there was rain I. ix. 2; III. vii.  
2 xxx. 6; V. II. 5; III. 1 2, 4 et al.

To rain,—followed by an object. I. ix.  
3 II. viii. 5 V. x. 7; VI. III. 5; X. III. 6.

Snow I. ix. 2; II. viii. 5; V. x. 7

A sacrifice for rain to offer that sacri-  
fice. II. v. 7; V. xi. 3, xiii. 4; VIII. III.  
10; vii. 8; IX. v. 5 xvi. 9; xvii. 5; xxviii.  
4; X. III. 5; vi. 6 viii. 8; xvi. 5; xxiv. 4;  
xxv. 1; XI. I. 5; vii. 6, 8 xxii. 6 XII.  
iv. 4.

Hail V. xxix. 4; X. III. 6; iv. 1

Lightning; to lighten. I. ix. 2.

(1) To thunder I. ix. 2. The thunder  
struck... V. xv. 10. (2) To shake, to  
quake. In the phrase 地震 see 地

隕  
yun隕  
yun隕  
yun隕  
yun隕  
yun隕  
yun雉  
che雍  
yong雍  
yong雒  
lo戎  
fo雞  
ke雞  
ke吾  
wu鍾  
chung雨  
yu雨  
yu雪  
se雪  
se雪  
se

霄  
*sc'au*  
霍  
*hoh*

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing IX ㄨ 10, ㄨㄨ 5, ㄨㄨㄨ 2, ㄨㄨ 7

The name of a grandson of one of the marquises of Ts'ae XII ㄨ 5

霜  
*sc'ang*

Hoarfrost V. ㄨㄨㄨ. 12 XI 1 7

露  
*loo*  
靈  
*ling*

The name of an earl of Ts'au XI ㄨ 5

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, VII ㄨ 1, 2d, of a marquis of Ts'ae, IX ㄨ 13, 3d, of a baron of Heu, IX ㄨ 10, 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X ㄨ 10, 5th, of a marquis of Wei, XII ㄨ 7

### THE 174TH RADICAL 青

靖  
*tsing*

The honorary or sacrificial title of an earl of Ts'au XI ㄨ 11

### THE 177TH RADICAL 𠂔

鞅  
*yang*

The name —1st, of a great officer of Tsin, IX ㄨ 6 X ㄨ 2, *et al*, down to XI ㄨ 10, 2d, of another great officer of Tsin, X ㄨ 2 XI ㄨ 4, *et al*, down to XII ㄨ 5, 3d, of a great officer of Loo, X ㄨ 5, ㄨ 2

𠂔  
*gan*

A place in Ts'ae,—the scene of a great battle and the defeat of the forces of Ts'ae. It was, probably, in the pres dep of Tse-nan VIII ㄨ 3

### THE 178TH RADICAL 𠂔

𠂔  
*han*

(1) A place in Tsin, the scene of a battle between Tsin and Ts'in,—in P'ing-yang dep, Shan-se V ㄨ 13 This place, called the plain of Han, ought to be distinguished from the State of Han, which was in Shen-se. (2) A clan-name in Tsin,—derived from the name of the old State. VIII ㄨ 1 IX ㄨ 3 X. ㄨ 1

### THE 181ST RADICAL 頁

頃  
*k'ing*

The honorary or sacrificial title —1st, of a marquis of Ts'ae, VIII ㄨ 9, 2d, of a viscount of Ts'ang, XII ㄨ 11

頃  
*heang*

The name of a small State,—in the pres dis of Heang-shing, dep Ch'in-chow, Ho nan V ㄨ 2 It appears there as extinguished by Loo, but it was afterwards territory of Ts'oo

須  
*seu*

(1) The name of an earl of Ts'au X. xviii 1 (2) 須句—see 句

頃  
*tun*

A small State, whose lords were Kes, and viscounts Its chief city was, probably, in the pres dis of Shang-shwuy, dep Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan V ㄨ 5 IX ㄨ 7 X ㄨ 2 XI ㄨ 2 (extinguished by Ts'oo)

頗  
*p'o*  
頑  
*huan*  
頑  
*keun*

Name of a great officer of Ch'in XII ㄨ 2

髡頑, the name of an earl of Ch'ing IX ㄨ 10

Name of a marquis of Ts'ae VI 1 10

### THE 182D RADICAL 風

風  
*fung*

The surname of the rulers of Jin (任) and some other States, who claimed to be descended from the ancient T'ae-haou VI ㄨ 7, ㄨ 2, ㄨ 13

### THE 183D RADICAL 飛

飛  
*fei*

To fly V ㄨ 1

### THE 184TH RADICAL 食

食  
*shih*

(1) To eat,=to nibble away VIII ㄨ 1 XII 1, 3 (2) In the phrase 日有

食之, descriptive of an eclipse,—see 日

餘  
*yu*

(1) 餘祭,—see 祭 (2) 於餘斤,—see 斤

館  
*kwan*

A lodging or reception house III 1 4

饑  
*ke*

A famine, there was a famine VII ㄨ 18, ㄨ 10 IX ㄨ 13 XII ㄨ 16

### THE 185TH RADICAL 首

首  
*show*

(1) The name —1st, of a prince of Ts'au, VIII ㄨ 3, 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII ㄨ 3 (2) 首止,—see 止

### THE 187TH RADICAL 馬

馬  
*ma*

(1) 司馬, minister of War VI ㄨ 8, ㄨ 2 (2) 馬陵,—see 陵

馮  
*p'ing*

The name of a duke of Sung III ㄨ 5

駟  
*sze*

(1) A clan-name in Ch'ing XII ㄨ 6 (2) Name of a prince and great officer of Ts'ae XII ㄨ 9

駟  
*h'ae*

無駟,—see 無

驍  
fou  
驍  
k'aox

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. x. 8.

The name of a marquis of Tsin. VI. vi. 4.

THE 180TH RADICAL. 高

高  
k'ao

(1) A clan name in Ts'ao. III. xiii. 5; IV. ii. 6 VII. v. 3, 5 xv. 7; VIII. xv. 10; et al. (2) 高寢—see 寢

THE 190TH RADICAL. 髡

髡  
k'ao

(1) The name:—1st, of a viscount of Hoo, X. xiii. 7; 2d, of a great officer of Sung. XII. iii. 5.

THE 191TH RADICAL. 鬼

魍  
w'ang  
魍  
w'ang  
魍  
w'ang

The name of a great officer of Sung. XII. xiv. 7, 9.

A clan, or sur name in Tsin. XII. vii. 2; xiii. 7. The origin of the surname is to be found in the Chien introduced after IV. 1, 3.

THE 192TH RADICAL. 魚

魚  
yu

(1) Fish.—fishermen. I. v. 1. A clan-name in Sung. VIII. xv. 9. xviii. 5. (2) 蕭魚—see 蕭

The State of Loo, having for its capital K'uh-fow (曲阜), in the pres. dia. so named in the dep. of Yen-chow. It occurs in the text only in the combination 魯濟—see 濟

The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. xviii. 13; IX. xii. 3.

The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, II. v. 1. 2d, of a duke of Sung. VIII. ii. 3.

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. VIII. xv. 16.

鮮虞—see 虞

The name of a prince of Wei. IX. xxvii. 4.

THE 196TH RADICAL. 鳥

鳩  
k'ao  
鵲  
k'ao  
鵲  
k'ao

舒鳩—see 舒

鵲鵲, the grackle. X. xxv. 3.

鵲  
k'ao  
鵲  
k'ao  
鵲  
k'ao

A kind of fish-hawk. V. xvi. 1.

See 鵲 above.

THE 197TH RADICAL. 鹵

鹵  
loo

大鹵—see 大. Kuh l'ang observes that this was the name given to the place by the barbarous tribes, while the Chinese called it 大原

(1) A city in Wei,—in the pres. K'ao Chow dep. Ta-ming. V. xiii. 3; XI. vii. 3. (2) A place in Loo, site unknown. VI. xi. 6.

THE 198TH RADICAL. 鹿

鹿  
lu  
麋  
lu  
麋  
lu

(1) Deer. VIII. xviii. 10. (2) 鹿上—see 上 (3) 沙鹿—see 沙

(1) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. X. i. 11. (2) A small State, ruled by viscounts. Its chief city was called 錫

穴,—in the pres. dia. of Yun, dep. Yun yang Hoo-ph. VI. xi. 1. Some critics wrongly assign it to the dep. of Pih-lo Hing-gan Chow Shen so.

Probably the red deer. III. xvii. 4.

The female of the K'o-lin, a fabulous animal but probably founded on some animal of the deer tribe. XII. xiv. 1.

THE 199TH RADICAL. 麥

麥  
mai

Wheat. III. vii. 3. xxviii. 5.

THE 201ST RADICAL. 黃

黃  
k'uang

(1) A city of Ts'ao,—perhaps in the pres. dia. of Poh-lung dep. Tai'ing-chow. II. xvii. 1; VII. vii. 2; XI. xii. 7. (2) A small State, held by Ying, in the pres. dia. of Shang-shing, Kwang Chow Ho-nan. V. ii. 4. iii. 5; iv. 5; v. 7; xi. 4; xii. 2. (3) The name of a prince of Ch'in. IX. xx. 6. xxiii. 6. (4) 黃父—see 父 黃池—see 池

THE 203D RADICAL. 黎

黎  
li

黎來—see 來

THE 202<sup>ND</sup> RADICAL 黑

𩇛 (1) The name of a grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing X vii 2 (2) In names 黑髻, —see 髻. 黑背, —see 背. 黑肱, —see 肱 (3) 黑壤, —see 壤

𩇛 The name of a great officer of Tsin VIII vii 5 IX i 2

THE 206<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼎

鼎 A tripod II ii 4

THE 207<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼓

鼓 To beat drums III viii 3, 5, viii 5 VI xv 5

THE 208<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼠

鼠 A mouse In the phrase 鼯鼠, field mice VII vii 1 XI vi 1 XII i 3 鼠鼯, —see 鼠

鼯 *ho* See 鼠

THE 210<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 齊

齊 (1) A powerful State, held by Kiang, marquises Its chief city was Ying-k'ew (營丘), —in the pres dia of Lin-tszc, dep T'ing-chow I iii 7 II ii 3, iii 2, et passim (2) A clan name in Wei X i 2 (3) The name of a great officer of Wei XII xi 7 (4) The honorary title of a marchioness of Lo, IX ii 7, of another, X xi 8 (5) In names. 奚齊, —see 奚 嬰齊, —see 嬰

THE 211<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 齒

齒 The name of a great officer of Ch'in X xxiii 7

THE 213<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 龜

龜 (1) A city of Sung, —probably in the pres Sny Chow, dep Kwai-tih II xii 6 (2) 龜陰, —see 陰

According to the above Index, there are in the Ch'un Ts'ew no more than 952 different characters. Of these there are 131 not found in the Four Books, the Yih, the Shoo and the She. I should have been glad to embrace in the Index the Tso Chuen as well as the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, but the time and labour necessary for such an undertaking were more than I could command. The following list is intended to give, under the different radicals, all the characters formed from them which are found in the Chuen in addition to those in the preceding index.

1	丈	前
2	丨	个
3	丶	九
4	ノ	久, 乏, 乎, 乖
5	7	也, 乳
6	丿	予, 予
7	一	𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 亞
8	丶	𠂇, 九, 办, 亨, 亨, 魯
9	人	今, 仁, 什, 他, 仕, 任, 伏

伍	伊	休	似	伉	仰	伋	依	余
佚	使	侈	佩	供	侍	佻	保	俎
信	信	侮	係	俛	便	修	俱	倉
俾	倒	候	借	倚	倖	倨	俯	倡
偏	偕	倦	偷	傅	備	傲	僂	傳
傳	傾	僂	偃	僅	僕	傳	僞	僭
僮	僚	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉
儒	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉	儉
10	兒	允	兄	兆	允	允	允	允
兒	兒	兒	兒	兒	兒	兒	兒	兒
11	入	內	內	兩	兩	兩	兩	兩
12	八	分	具	具	典	兼	兼	兼
13	口	內	內	冑	冑	冑	冑	冑
14	口	冠	冠	冑	冑	冑	冑	冑
15	口	次	况	凍	凍	凍	凍	凍
16	几	几	几	几	几	几	几	几
17	口	凶	凶	凶	凶	凶	凶	凶



THE 202<sup>ND</sup> RADICAL 黑

𩇛 *hik* (1) The name of a grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing X vi 2 (2) In names 黑臂, -see 臂 黑背, -see 背 黑肱, -see 肱 (3) 黑壤, -see 壤

𩇜 *yin* The name of a great officer of Tsm VIII vi 5 IX 1 2

THE 206<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼎

鼎 *tung* A tripod II n. 4

THE 207<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼓

鼓 *koo* To beat drums III vii 3, 5, vii 5 VI xv 5

THE 208<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 鼠

鼠 *shoo* A mouse In the phrase 鼯鼠, field mice VII vii 1 XI vi 1 XII 1 3

鼯 *yew* 鼯鼠, -see 鼠

鼠 *See* 鼠

THE 210<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 齊

齊 *tee* (1) A powerful State held by K'ang, marquises. Its chief city was Ying-k'uei (營丘), -in the pres. dis. of Lin tze, dep. T'ung-chow I vi 7 II n 3, iii 2, et passim (2) A clan name in Wei X 1 2 (3) The name of a great officer of Wei XII xi 7 (4) The honorary title of a marchioness of Loo, IX ii 7, of another, X xi 8 (5) In names 奚齊, -see 奚 嬰齊, -see 嬰

THE 211<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 齒

齧 *nich* The name of a great officer of Ch'in X viii 7

THE 213<sup>TH</sup> RADICAL 龜

龜 *wei* (1) A city of Sung, -probably in the pres. Sui Chow, dep. Kwai-tih II vii 6 (2) 龜陰, -see 陰

According to the above Index, there are in the Ch'un Ts'ew no more than 952 different characters. Of these there are 131 not found in the Four Books, the Yih, the Shoo and the She. I should have been glad to embrace in the Index the Tso Chuen as well as the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, but the time and labour necessary for such an undertaking were more than I could command. The following list is intended to give, under the different radicals, all the characters formed from them which are found in the Chuen in addition to those in the preceding index.

- 1 丈 𠂔
- 2 亅 个
- 3 乚 九
- 4 乚 久 乏 𠂔 乖
- 5 7 乚 也 乳
- 6 亅 了 了
- 7 丩 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
- 8 丩 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
- 9 人 今 仁 什 他 仕 任 伏

- 伍 伊 休 似 伉 仰 伋 依 余 𠂔
- 𠂔 使 侈 佩 供 侍 佻 保 俎
- 信 信 侮 係 俛 佻 俱 倉
- 俾 倒 候 借 佻 倨 俯 倡
- 偏 偕 倦 偷 傳 僂 僂 僂
- 傳 傾 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂
- 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂 僂
- 10 兒 允 兄 兆 允 兕 兕
- 兕 兒 允 兄 兆 允 兕 兕
- 11 入 內 內 兩 兩
- 12 八 兮 共 具 典 兼 冀
- 13 𠂔 冉 冉 冑 冑 冑 冕
- 14 𠂔 冠 冠 冑 冑 冑 冕
- 15 𠂔 决 况 凍
- 16 几 几
- 17 𠂔 凶 凶

[illegible]



[illegible]



170 阜 阪, 阨, 阮, 阜, 阳, 附,

